

https://dspace.org/

Building Movements without Movement: On Surviving the COVID-19 Mobility Regimes with the Black Womxn Caucus

Phatshwane, Tshegofatso

2025
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/48119
Phatshwane, Tshegofatso. (2025). An overview of applied behavioural analysis and its potential use for treating children with autism in South Africa [Master's dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg]. WIReDSpace. https://hdl.handle.net/10539/48119

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/



A thesis titled:

Building Movements without Movement: On Surviving the COVID-19 Mobility Regimes with the Black Womxn Caucus

Authored by: Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane

Student ID: 2622007

Degree: Master of Arts in Anthropology

Supervisor: Prof. Julia Hornberger



Plagiarism Declaration

I, Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of the Witwatersrand, declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism is the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source.
- I am aware plagiarism is wrong.
- I confirm this MA thesis is my original work except where I have stated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or if I have failed to acknowledge the ideas or writing of others.

Signature: **T. R. Phatshwane** Date: **30/03/2025**

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the Wits Anthropology department, the Mobility Regimes of Pandemic Preparedness and Response Project for supporting this study, and my supervisor Prof. Julia Hornberger.

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to the:

- *Gworls* who swim against the tides of crippling academic burnout and anxiety.
- *Gworls* who never let our broken selves forget that we are, love and loved.
- *Gworls* who survived a global pandemic, *halala* Black Womxn Caucus, *halala!*
- ICONIC *gworl,* Dr Sethunya Tshepho Mphinyane-Mosime—*we did it! Until we meet again on a Tuesday, izela nge dothodzo motho o montle!*

Reader's Note

On Symbols

All names used in this thesis are pseudonyms unless indicated with an asterisk (*).

On Acronyms & Abbreviations

This paper contains a significant number of abbreviations and acronyms. To aid eased comprehension, consider the abbreviations list below.

Abbreviation	Meaning
ANC	African National Congress
AGI	African Gender Institute
AWHR	African Womxn Human Rights
AWHRD	African Womxn Human Rights Defender
BWC	Black Womxn Caucus
CGE	Commission of Gender Equality
FiB	Feminism in Botswana
GBV	Gender-based Violence
GBVF	Gender-based Violence and Femicide
MTZ	Majority Translated from Zulu
MTS	Majority Translated from Setswana
SA	South Africa
SRHR	Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights
WHR	Womxn Human Rights
WHRD	Womxn Human Rights Defender
WRO	Womxn's Rights Organisation
UAF-Africa	Urgent Action Fund Africa
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand

Table of Contents

Plagiarism Declaration **2**

Acknowledgements & Dedication **3**

Reader's Note **4**

Abstract **7**

Preamble: How It Started **8**

Chapter 1: *Hello, Ba-Bye, Koko, Come In:* The Introduction **9**

1.1 Rationale & Argument **12**

1.1.1 Conceptual Framework 13

1.2 Chapter Structure & Research Questions **14**

1.3 Methodology **16**

1.3.1. Research Site 16

1.3.2. Collaborators & Key Informant Selection 17

1.3.3. Data Collection Methods 17

1.4 Ethical Considerations **19**

1.5 Chapter Conclusion **22**

Chapter 2: *Asiyiqale Phansi Lendaba:* Welcome to the Black Womxn Caucus! **23**

2.1 Deconstructing the Foundations of a Feminist Movement **25**

2.2 Born from Other Movements: On Attachments & Transference **27**

2.3 Rooted in (Black) African Feminism: On Identity & Ideology **32**

2.4 Chapter Conclusion **37**

Chapter 3: *Imbokodo* Build Motion with Emotion **39**

3.1 Adapting or Revolutionising?: On Repurposing and Rearticulating Affect **41**

3.2 *Anisabi yini?* **42**

3.2.1 Repurposing Fear and Anger 45

3.3 *Ngothando nozwelo* **48**

3.4 Sxstering Against *Mbokodification* **51**

3.1 Chapter Conclusion **57**

Chapter 4: *From Imigwaqo* to *Mafaratlhatlha!*: Digitally Organising for Survival **59**

4.1 Remembering *Imigwaqo* 61

4.2 Into *Mafaratlhatlha* 63

4.2.1 Involving Experts 64

4.2.2 Writing Themselves into History 65

4.2.3 Going Analogue 66

4.3 Chapter Conclusion 67

Chapter 5: *Ka bokhutshwane,* We Learn in Retrospect 68

5.1 A Full Suitcase: Lessons to Take Home 69

5.1.1 Reflect, and Readjust 69

5.1.2 People ARE the Movement Also 69

5.1.3 Rest Is Resistance 70

5.1.4 Think Mobilities not just Mobility 70

5.1.5 Be Teachable 71

5.2 Parting Gifts: Recommendations for Continued Dialogue 71

Bibliography 72

Appendices 91

A. Ethics Clearance Certificate 92

B. Participant Request Letter: Black Womxn Caucus 93

C. Participant Information Sheet: Black Womxn Caucus 96

D. Informed Consent Form: Black Womxn Caucus 98

E. Participant Confirmation Letter: Black Womxn Caucus 101

F. Interview Guide: Black Womxn Caucus 102

G. Participant Request Letter: Independent Activists 103

H. Participant Information Sheet: Independent Activists 106

I. Informed Consent Form: Independent Activists 109

J. Interview Guide: Independent Activists 111

Building Movements without Movement: On Surviving the COVID-19 Mobility Regimes with the Black Womxn Caucus

Abstract

The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 saw the escalation of gender-based violence and femicides (GBVF), especially in Botswana and South Africa. These challenges would thus compel feminist and African Womxn Human Rights (AWHR) movements like Feminism in Botswana (FiB) and the Black Womxn Caucus (BWC) to respond. However, like many of these movements, FiB would crumble under the pressures of imposed immobility. Meanwhile, the BWC would emerge on the other side of the pandemic, seemingly unscathed and thriving despite facing similar challenges.

Thus, this study sought to answer the question: How did the Black Womxn Caucus survive the COVID-19 mobility regimes? To which the answer was revealed to be the centring of affect in their movement building and organising model and strategies. By valuing emotions, feelings and embodied experiences, the BWC was able to realise its mandate through the implementation of various projects at the height of the pandemic, re-affirm its values, principles and identities while evolving and growing with its incorporation of social media as one of their now most impactful and noticeable mobilising strategies.

Through auto-ethnography, in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and textual analysis, this study explored the ways the BWC mobilised emotions, feelings, and embodied experiences to outmanoeuvre the pandemic and its mobility regimes. Through this 8-week journey, the author aimed to collate lessons from the experiences of a surviving movement to help defenders, activists, and movements affected by the pandemic, like FiB, in their rebuilding efforts.

Keywords: COVID-19, Mobility Regimes, Affect, African Feminism, Movement Building

Preamble:

How It Started

Lame*: *…but Tshego, we have to restart FiB…*

Tshego*: *…and how'd we do that? You saw how COVID nearly killed us. Yes, we'd made good progress, but it feels like all that work went to waste 'cause all the people we connected with either left the space or are exhausted like us, where would we start?*

Lame: *COVID was bad, but I still believe we can revive it. The same way we started with little resources, and passion, we can do it again! We have a working network, motivation, and the material. We just need to find those who survived to teach us things*

Tshego: *...you might be on to something…*

The onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 saw the escalation of gender-based violence and femicides (GBVF), especially in Botswana and South Africa. In response and with a shared passion for advancing anti-violence feminist agendas and African Womxn's[1] Human Rights (AWHR), my friend Lame and I launched Feminism in Botswana (FiB). Initially envisioned as a movement that would culminate in the first Botswana Feminist Festival, due to the pandemic's restrictions, it became a digital platform facilitating intersectional feminist discourse, building individual agency and collective power. However, FiB would succumb to the pandemic-induced pressures and challenges within the year. That was because the mobility regimes created conditions that de-prioritised GBVF interventions and feminist movement resourcing, which burned out activists like Lame and I, then overwhelmed and collapsed movements like FiB.

My conversation with L in 2023 would, thus, spark my curiosity about feminist movements that seemingly survived the mobility regimes and appeared to be thriving. The Black Womxn Caucus (BWC) thus came to mind as one such movement following the vibrancy of their social media that creatively documented their organising efforts at the height of the pandemic. Recognising the impact of these COVID mobility regimes on various aspects of social and political life, *how were they surviving?* Moreover, *what did they do differently?* In a quest for answers, I engaged the group in an eight-week, multi-pronged, in-depth conversation, and our sojourn began in Soweto.

[1] Politicised spelling for woman/women.

Chapter 1:

Hello, Ba-Bye, Koko, Come In: **The Introduction**

After three weeks of obsessively checking my emails in anticipation of a response from the BWC to my research participation invite, I decided to take matters into my own hands—respectfully, of course! On 16 June 2023, reeking of an ungodly amount of desperation and a modicum but pungent stench of delusion, I decided to gatecrash one of their outreach missions. Stalking their vibrant and lively Instagram page had become routine at this point. Hence, in the early hours of the allotted day, I came across a digi-poster advertising their Youth Day pop-up stall on Vilakazi Street, Soweto, with the caption, "Join us." So, I accepted the open invite. However, before randomly showing up, I brazenly *slid into their DMs* to ask if I could join and volunteer, which surprisingly was met with an enthusiastic and swift yes! The plan was to show up and sweep them off their feet with my bedazzled personality so they could warm up to me and, hopefully, my numerous proposition emails lull in their inbox. Zadrożna (2016) and other ethnographers alike (Glesne 1989; Williams 1995, 38; Bernard 2006; Le Dantec and Fox 2015) would call this "building rapport." However, as a Motswana from Botswana, allow me to expand the latter to say, I missioned *go ipala mebala ya kgaka,*[2] *ka bokgabana le botswerere!*[3]

> *Mduduzi (5.00 stars) is arriving soon in a Nissan Almera. After arriving, they'll wait five minutes before charges begin. It is busy, so higher charges will apply.*

As I chaotically rushed downstairs from my room, nearly missing a step and almost falling to my demise with my wet Feminist Republik flask in one hand and my black leather satchel in the other, I agonised over the absurdity of my decision with each step and minute I waited for the Uber. But then again, with only three weeks left till the end of the university-sanctioned fieldwork break, what. was. a. girl. to. do? Before I could overthink myself into an abyss of doubt and manically cancel this excursion, Mduduzi arrived, and on beat, I gaslit myself into cosplaying a bold activist/ ethnographer-in-training. Fake it till you make it, *I guess?*

After about 20 minutes, we arrived in bustling Vilakazi Street and in typical *Jozi* fashion on such a public holiday, we were greeted by boisterous music and ever-mobile spirited crowds. As we slowly drove up the road, moving through the masses donned in school uniforms harmoniously singing and marching in remembrance and celebration of the resilient spirits of the 1976 youths, in the distance, I saw moving bodies in black T-shirts, and I instinctively knew where to drop off. With their salient banner wall ornate with their bold logo erected opposite

[2] Setswana idiom meaning: to profess one's deep admiration for another in hopes of soliciting a deep connection.
[3] Translation from Setswana: "with great craftsmanship and diligence."

the former home of the icon *Mam'*[4] Nomzamo Winfred Zanyiwe Madikizela-Mandela, there they were…unapologetically taking up space with not only their stall that aesthetically displayed their merchandise but what I later learned was passionate conversations with passers-by on issues of GBVF. As I exited the vehicle and bid Mduduzi well, a lady wearing a black BWC beret with a matching T-shirt and slightly dusty military green boots immediately caught my attention.

The depth in her brown almond-shaped eyes exuded a warmth that defied the day's chilly weather, a sensitivity cusped in vulnerability but at the same time a strength I could not describe in words. She saw me, and I saw her. In a romcom, they would call that moment a meet-cute, but in this moment, seeing as there were no romantic inclinations from either party, let us call it a *"hello, ba-bye, koko, come in"*—a colloquial phrase made famous, and I first heard from the legendary Afropop musician Brenda Fassie in her 1992 song *Istraight Lendaba*. In her documentary Not A Bad Girl, Fassie (1997) implied that this phrase can be understood as a greeting or acknowledgement of the other, particularly in conversations among Black[5] [South African] womxn who are familiar—or want to be—with one another. On the other hand, award-winning theatre practitioner Putuma (2021) adapted the phrase to draw attention to the complexities of everyday life for African *women*, activists, and artists. Seeing as I, too, wanted to become familiar with the group to unpack similar challenges, *indaba yami be istraight ingayifun'iruler.*[6] Sebaga was her name and for the next eight hours, embraced me as the newest volunteer recruit. So, while distributing flyers with the four other members present, I got to learn about other BWC projects like the Crisis of Care helpline, Fund the Fight campaign, and Kathrada Food Distribution Project.

My dear reader, globally, different moments of crisis, such as threats to democracy and health epidemics, have come and gone, but the most enduring has been that of violence against womxn. The COVID-19 pandemic was thus no different. In fact, the pandemic and its accompanying mobility regimes concretised this disheartening reality by unearthing and sustaining the hidden social anathemas that anchor social inequality and facilitate the continued violation of marginalised populations like womxn (Dlamini 2020, 3; Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2020, 369). For instance, the SA GBV Command Centre recorded 100,000 cases within the first three

[4] Short for 'Mama,' which in South Africa is used as a respectful term of address for older womxn.
[5] The capitalised Black refers to "the global political identification of individuals and collectives who are constructed and classified as black" (Erasmus, Wits University News, 2017; Erasmus 2017, 83).
[6] Tsotsitaal with IsiXhosa roots lyrics from Istraight Lendaba song translating to "my story is straight and doesn't need a ruler" (Ramalapa, So What Art blog, 2012).

weeks of the national lockdown (SA News 2021). However— and sadly— the severity of these circumstances barely motivated significant resource injection and impactful political buy-in for supporting efforts and entities addressing GBV (Ndawonde 2023; Human Rights Watch 2021). Instead, severely under-resourced feminist activists, WHRDs and their organisations and movements like the BWC found themselves, as always, working tirelessly throughout the pandemic to fill the gaps in service delivery (Díaz-García et al. 2021, 5). Although such should be jarring, SA's notorious reputation as the global GBVF epicentre precedes itself, and COVID-19 was just another layer—complex and grand nonetheless— to an established crisis (Govender 2023, 1; Human Rights Watch 2022).

According to Zaaroura and Fox (2021, 7), the restrictive conditions of the mobility regimes not only exacerbated GBVF rates but also overwhelmed the everyday operations of these WHR organisations and feminist movements leading to their collapse. For context, mobility is central to the survival and progress of individuals and organisations, the overall metamorphosis of society (Nyamnjoh 2013, 674), and the construction of spatial and political relations (Sheller 2020, 14). This is because mobility is "not solely concerned with the movement of people but also information, technology, goods, and global systems of resource facilitation" (Cheung 2020, 138). For example, without physically convening in Soweto, 197 conversations with strangers about anti-GBVF agendas would not have occurred, 124 info-flyers would not have been distributed, and seven pins and a T-shirt not sold. So, after such a movement demanding outreach, it was clear that mobility was and is important to fundraising, and advocacy efforts which are central to a movement's growth, sustenance and in this case, survival. *How?* Money is a resource and political tool that keeps movements alive by supporting operations (Nazneen and Okech 2021, 243), and continued dialogue keeps a movement's agenda relevant to an ever-shifting status quo (Lazar 2007, 154-155; UN Women ESAR, 2024).

Considering that the mobility regimes impinged on outreaches like these, we can say, they threatened the survival of feminist movements like the BWC. In this paper, survival refers to the ability for collective political agendas and movements to retain relevance despite the presenting challenges. Therefore, the BWC's continued organising at the height of the pandemic despite the limitations of the mobility regimes, was but an act of survival. While reflecting on the collapse of FiB and ways to revive it, my curiosities about the Caucus' navigation of the pandemic and its mobility regimes heightened. Thus, I posed the research question, how did the Black Womxn Caucus survive the COVID-19 pandemic mobility regimes?

Although it would take yet another two weeks, on July 3, 2023, the BWC officially accepted my research invite. Safe to say, I was *in*—finally! However, such an outcome was not because of my *stellar* flyer distribution skills; Instead, as I came to learn, by engaging in deep reflective conversations with Sebaga and colleagues, an emotional connection was cultivated and thus, motivated the group's eventual decision. So, my enmeshment in the outreach not only gave credence to my rapport building and trust strengthening efforts (Hamal 2020, 100); but foreshadowed what unwarily would become the central theme of this study—affect. This is because I learned that the BWC places significant value on affect (emotions and feelings) and its role in their organising. Hence, affect was revealed as a key resource in their survival.

1.1 Rationale & Overall Argument

As we gradually transition into post-pandemic realities, it is evident that COVID-19 has had an enduring impact on various aspects of social and political life (Bonotti and Zech 2021, 8-13; Greyling et al. 2021, 3-5). However, research on the effects of this global crisis focused significantly on the economic impacts. For example, Okech et al. (2022), alongside UN Women's 2021 *Beyond COVID-19* and Urgent Action Fund Africa's (UAF-Africa) *Fire in the Rain* reports, looked into the intersections of WHR movements and COVID-19, however, like most they zeroed in on the financial loss. Little research explored the affective and political costs of the pandemic and how this shaped feminist movements' navigation of the mobility regimes. Therefore, this study's impetus was to contribute to the research efforts bridging this epistemic gap. It aimed to do so by engaging a surviving movement to assemble lessons defenders, activists, and movements affected by the pandemic, like FiB, can draw in their rebuilding efforts. So, the central research question posed was: how did the Black Womxn Caucus survive the COVID-19 pandemic mobility regimes?

To answer this question, the BWC credited its survival to recognising and prioritising affect as a critical resource in their organising and movement building. This is because while resources like money play a significant role in facilitating organising efforts (Okech et al. 2022, 257; Nazneen and Okech 2021, 243), for the BWC emotions and feelings better galvanise solidarity and continued resistance especially during crisis. For example, according to Sebaga, toiling under the scorching Soweto winter sun without enough money to secure: a gazebo for shade, more than 1.5 litres of water per person, and at least two meals over a single skinny *kota* were a demonstration of their emotional investment in the anti-GBVF discourse. Hence, during the pandemic, the BWC centred affect because it facilitated their reimagination of movement building during times of crisis to ensure continuity and survival.

Therefore, the overarching argument of this paper is that prioritising affect i.e. emotions, feelings and embodied experiences, in feminist movement building especially during crisis, enables survival. I anchor this argument with the understanding that feminist movements are built and sustained by affect (Whittier 2021; Hemmings 2012). Moreover, according to Ahmed (2004), and Lorde (2008 [1984]) for feminist work, affects are to be harnessed in service of a larger political project. Hence, the BWC's survival and outmanoeuvring of the mobility regimes by drawing strength and strategy from affect is but an adaptation of Åhäll's (2018) offerings of affect as a critical methodology in feminist theory and practice.

1.1.1 Conceptual Framework

To deepen our understanding of this paper's key argument(s), we must define and contextualise the working concepts: affect, mobility, mobility regimes, womxn and feminist movement building. To begin, to understand affect requires the engagement of the concept of *atmosphere*. According to Riedel (2019, 85), *atmosphere* is a "feeling or mood that fundamentally exceeds an individual body and pertains to the (external real-life) circumstances bodies are entrenched." Åhäll (2018, 40) and Ahmed (2004, 120-121; Schmitz and Ahmed 2004, 9) define affect as the ways in which bodies respond to their surroundings, and, within our perceptual framing of the world (Morrison 2014, 147). Therefore, affect is understood as the embodiment of feelings and emotions as they influence or are influenced by the environment and motivate politicised action (Åhäll 2018, 39; Riedel 2019, 85; Protevi 2009, 50; Ahmed 2004). Hence, this paper considered the COVID-19 pandemic a moment and space with an atmosphere that generated particular affects to which the BWC used to overcome the COVID mobility restrictions and related challenges.

Secondly, mobility generally refers to a shift from one position to another. In this study, though, I utilised Cresswell's (2018) understanding of mobility as a three-pronged concept. Meaning, here, mobility was considered as the simultaneous physical act of moving, its societal and cultural interpretation, as well as its embodiment by people (ibid, 20). Additionally, Ziegler and Schwanen (2011, 758) through Salazar et al. (2017, 1) state that mobility is "the act of overcoming any type of distance whether situated in the physical, electronic, social or psychological space." Following this line of thinking, the concept of *mobilities*, is thus understood as the varied presentations of the "entanglements of movement, meaning, and practice" (Salazar et al. 2017, 14). So, this paper recognises mobility as a multi-layered concept with the capacity to have varied presentations. Furthermore, mobility regimes are the "intersecting systems that determine and dictate people's movements realised through either

the criminalisation of movement and/or the implementation of restrictions and entrapment of ventures" (Schwarz 2020, 219; Schiller and Salazar 2013, 189; Koslowski 2011, 1). Hence, the COVID-19 mobility regimes were the movement restrictions implemented to curb the spread of the coronavirus (Ma, COMPAS, 2020; MoRePPaR 2022); and these regimes included travel bans, lockdowns, quarantines, and social distancing orders.

At this point, *you,* my dear reader, should have noticed the conspicuous 'x' in *womxn*. If the grammar police are bothered, rest easy; the x is intentional! According to the BWC's official LinkedIn, their x is mobilised to include defenders and activists from the LBTQIA+, gender non-conforming and non-binary communities in their programming, advocacy and principles (BWC, LinkedIn, 2017). While I, as an AWHRD and feminist researcher, use the x to reflect my positionality on gendered identities and decision to use intersectional methodologies and inclusive language. Petillo and Hlavaka (2022, 2) refer to this practice as embodied intersectionality, which encourages researchers engaging in gender discourse to reject the unknowing reproduction of harmful hegemonic representations. Additionally, Lorde (2008 [1984], 69) endorses the rewriting of labels like the x in womxn to push society to think outside of the universalism of *white*[7]-washed *womanhood* and exclusionary feminism. That is because the latter tend to "lose sight of the many varied tools of patriarchy" that layer the oppression of Black (and Trans) womxn, as well as non-binary and non-conforming persons (Koyama 2020, 741). Therefore, womxn in this study refers to cis-gendered *women* of varied abilities, LBTQIA+, gender non-conforming and non-binary persons.

Lastly, social and political movement building refers to organising and mobilising individuals around a shared cause to incite and/or contribute to social, political, or cultural change (Zemsky and Mann 2011, 14). Batliwala (2012, 6-7) and Wilson (2011, 7) then define feminist movement building as the process of incorporating gender analysis, anti-violence, and intersectional perspectives in the acts of mobilising *women* and their allies for gender justice. Hence, the more niche (Black) African feminist movement building which the BWC falls under is everything Batliwala (2012) and Wilson (2011) put forth but with a prioritisation of Black African perspectives and realities.

1.2 Chapter Structure & Research Questions

[7] Capitalised 'White' indicates the term's historical and current understanding as well as categorisation of white and whiteness; A non-capitalised 'white' refers to the racialised construct (Erasmus 2017).

Beyond this introduction, this paper has four additional chapters. The synopses as guided by the study's sub-questions below offer the ordered brief chapter outlines.

a. Who are the Black Womxn Caucus?

To set up this research inquiry well, it was imperative that I first lifted the veil off the BWC. Hence, the first data chapter of this thesis, Chapter 2: *Asiyiqale Phansi Lendaba:*[8] Welcome to the Black Womxn Caucus! Offers the argument that a feminist movement's survival of crises like the pandemic depends on the stability of its foundation. However, such stability is determined by the strength of the affective bonds and attachments between activists, the collective agenda, and identity as influenced by ideology. I draw this argument from Ahmed's (2004) propositions that affects align people, and intensifies their attachments to, collective agendas. I also mobilised Roseneil's (2011, 324) argument that, friendship-like bonds ground feminist movements.

b. How are feminist solidarity galvanising *affects* shaped by crisis?

In Chapter 3: *Imbokodo*, Build Motion with Emotion, I argue that the same way emotions and feelings can build and sustain, they can also collapse feminist movement as a result of the conditions these emotions and feelings were generated, and environment movements are realising within. This argument draws from Nkealah (2022), who posits that African feminism(s) operating in crisis are practicalised by emotions and feelings and therefore, their optimisation is influenced by the negative or positive power of the affects influencing action (Åhäll 2018). I, thus, propose the understanding that to adequately navigate the pandemic, the BWC needed to 'revolutionise' emergent affects by repurposing their intent and rearticulating their attached social meaning.

c. How did the BWC transition physical organising into the digital space?

In Chapter 4: *From Imigwaqo*[9] to *Mafaratlhatlha!*[10]*:* Digitally Organising for Survival, I argue that social media facilitates the reimagination of mobility and feminist movement building. However, effective and impactful digital activism depends on the successful digital translation of affect and collective effervescence. Therefore, to successfully outmanoeuvre the mobility regimes, the BWC had to incorporate and bolster their social media presence and use for continued organising; however, this was reliant on their successful digital translation of the emotions and feelings that anchor their movement. This argument draws on Stark (2019, 121)

[8] Translation from IsiZulu: "Let's start this story from the beginning."
[9] Translated from IsiZulu: "Streets"
[10] Translated from Setswana: "Digital space and/or social media." Used here mostly to refer to social media.

who posits, that digital systems (including social media) operate as "agents intensifying affect, feeling and emotion" to sustain physical relationships and collectivism digitally.

d. What lessons can *we* learn from the BWC?

In lieu of a conclusion, the final chapter, titled *Ka bokhutshwane,*[11] We Learn in Retrospect, closes this thesis by discussing the key lessons AWHRDs, feminist activists, and movements like FiB can draw from the BWC's survival story. To this end, I situate the discussion in my reflections about my time in Johannesburg and with the BWC. Then, recommend how other activists, defenders, and researchers can further this study.

1.3 Methodology

Admittedly, my arrival in the field was a tad bit chaotic, borderline intrusive and appeared to operate on abrasive spontaneity. However, I recognised the incongruous violent histories of Anthropology and ethnography in South Africa and Africa at large (Nyamnjoh 2012, 76; Niehaus 2013, 117). Therefore, it was imperative that my research conduct was informed by a carefully designed and contextual methodology that would not compromise: 1. the study's collaborators and key informants and 2. the values of respect, empathy and patience that anchor feminist ethnography (Neves et al. 2018, 245; Rogers and Brown 2023, 3-7). In this section, I, thus, outline my conceptualisation of the research site, sampling process and data collection methods used.

1.3.1 Research Site

Despite having offices in Gandhi Square, Johannesburg, the BWC's work centers community outreach and stakeholder engagement. So, my days with them in Johannesburg as established began in Vilakazi Street in Soweto, then evolved into travelling to Dikarabo Care Facility[12] in Westbury, Danie Van Zyl Hall in Newlands, and to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. So, this study was mobile and multi-sited. This approach was inspired by Walton (2017), who posits that a 'good' field site is not limited to a physical location but is made by its sustainability to the study and discipline. Moreover, my physical presence as a researcher in the various field sites "remains a hallmark virtue of bona fide ethnography" (Walton 2017, 148; Watson 1999).

Furthermore, SA, in its entirety, was ideal for this study because of its apparent leading efforts in continental feminist organising and resourcing (Pereira 2017, 17; 21); yet it was named among the southern African countries whose "support services to GBV victims were not taken

[11] Translated from Setswana: "In summary"
[12] Pseudonym

into consideration in the design of the COVID-19 control measures" (Amnesty International 2021, 13). Additionally, SA has an arguably progressive constitution that aims to "eliminate the various forms of gendered discrimination and violence" (Rustin 2021, 48-49), despite some of the highest incidences of rape and femicide in the world. So, these contradictions cultivated rich conversations about the relationship between policy, law, and social reality under the grim auspice of gendered violence during a global health crisis.

1.3.2 Collaborators & Key Informant Selection

This study engaged ten participants over the age of 18 who, in this paper, have been assigned pseudonyms unless stated otherwise. The first batch of participants, whom I prefer to recognise as collaborators similar to Pope (2020, 3749) and in recognition of their significant contributions, were eight members of the BWC. To ensure that all the movement's three divisions were represented, I engaged three members from the Bereka Mosadi division, three from the BWC Core (young university womxn), and two from Black Girls in Caucus. These collaborators were all identified through snowballing. This sampling technique identifies potential collaborators through referrals and recommendations from an already recruited participant(s) (Dragan and Isaic-Maniu 2013, 161). In this case, Sebaga was my first recruit, who then assisted with identifying the rest.

To situate the BWC's sentiments in the broader SA context, I engaged two additional independent feminist activists and AWHR defenders as key informants. The first was feminist health demographer, epidemiologist, and biostatistician Dr. Naledi. The second was feminist philanthropy and funding expert Sethunya. I selected both individuals through purposive sampling, an informant selection technique where the researcher identifies a key informant because of certain qualities, such as expertise on the research subject (Tongco 2007, 147). My conversation with Dr Naledi was about how the mobility regimes shaped her personal-professional reality as a feminist scientist who was alive to the impact the 'science-based' restrictions had on womxn specifically. While with Sethunya, we focussed on the COVID-induced evolution and transformation of feminist funding entities and their influence on the survival of African feminist movements.

1.3.3 Data Collection Methods

This study employed four data collection methods: in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observation, auto-ethnography, and textual analysis. These methods were

appropriate for this study because they adequately accommodated its collaborators and informants, research site, and generated data.

First, I engaged this study's collaborators and informants through semi-structured in- depth interviews, a technique whose conversation is facilitated and guided by "predetermined but open-ended questions" (Given 2008, 423). With this interview style, which included an impromptu group interview, I incorporated bespoke interview questions that aided in soliciting exhaustive and substantive material. According to Lokot (2021, 6) and Hesse-Biber (2006, 113), in-depth interviews are critical in feminist- oriented studies because they amplify silenced womxn's voices by creating space for conversations that also values and engages the unsaid. As this study engaged recent histories, the contextualised questions also helped prompt active recall of specific moments vital to the dialogue (Spradley 1979, 125). All the BWC interviews were in person, while Dr Naledi and Sethunya's were conducted online via MS Teams. According to Lobe et al. (2022, 4) and Hine (2005), computer-mediated communication techniques increase "geographical access" by bridging the distance gap between the researcher and informants; in this case, myself and the non-Johannesburg-based informants.

As it stands, South Africa has 12 official languages (SA News Agency 2023), and from the 12, IsiZulu, Setswana and English are amongst the most spoken in Johannesburg. As *Jozi* is a city considered by many a melting pot of cultures, conversations are often multi-lingual (Putter 2012, 19; Makalela 2013). Thus, it is worth noting that most interview and speech excerpts were partly (less than 30%) or majorly (over 60%) translated from Setswana or IsiZulu unless indicated otherwise. To indicate the degree of translation, excerpts have the indicator note MTZ to mean that it has been majority translated from IsiZulu' or MTS for the majority translated from Setswana. Excerpts partly translated have the indicators PTZ or PTS. For the phrases or words left untranslated, these are privileged. Moreover, ethnographic observations incorporating photography, video, and audio recordings accompanied all the interviews, including those in person. However, all the content documented was only used for data analysis. According to Briggs (2007, 553), the impact of dialogue depends on embodiment. Thus, documenting non-verbal cues, which "elicits detailed, often overlooked information" (Mjaaland 2009, 397; Vium 2017, 172), elevated my data analysis.

The second technique was participant observation— an ethnography staple. In addition to moving with the BWC between the different sites, I participated in three of their activities as volunteer. The first was the Youth Day pop-up stall. Although I had not *officially* started fieldwork then, I count this site because the events of this excursion would later prove relevant.

The second activity was the 67 minutes of Mandela Day at Dikarabo Care Facility, where I was the volunteer designated photographer. The third activity was marching in protest with the United Domestic Workers of South Africa (UDWOSA) to the Union Buildings in Pretoria. Lastly, was the *Ke Nako Basadi*[13] Womxn's Month Celebrations at the Danie Van Zyl Hall in Newlands, where I supported logistics tasks. Immersing myself in the activities would prove especially useful in my data analysis and navigating fieldwork as a whole. This was because it helped me avoid imposing "exogenous meanings" resulting from possible misinterpretation of actions, expressions and objects influencing behaviour (Emerson et al. 2011, 131; Löw 2006, 120; Low 1996, 862).

As a researcher with experience in movement building and organising at the height of the pandemic, it was important that I also documented and drew some analysis from my experiences in the field. Hence, my third method was auto-ethnography. Lohmeier (2009, 2) states that research informants often perceive their position and identity to the researcher. So, to sustain relatability and ensure that I fairly engaged the collaborators, I kept a journal that I routinely used to record my observations and track my reception of the information I was becoming privy to. Additionally, and similar to Keeton (2021, 42-43) and Mampane (2022, 2), autoethnography granted me space to visibilise "the unique ways of knowing" that validate feminist thought that connects abstract knowledge and experience.

Lastly, I engaged various media, organisational and academic archive material documenting the impacts of COVID-19 on feminist movements and BWC activities. This method is known as textual analysis. However, as I used both ethnography and textual analysis simultaneously to contextualise theory against reality and vice versa, I considered this hybridised method an adapted textography. According to Starfield et al. (2014, 105), textography is a method that is "more than a traditional text analysis yet less than a full-blown ethnography." It, therefore, aims to help researchers understand text (and other forms of preserved data like video) by unpacking its ethnographic context (ibid). So, any publicly available texts and videos that highlighted and documented the activities of the BWC, as well as feminist organising during the pandemic in SA and Africa as a whole, were subject to such exploration.

1.4 Ethical Considerations

For a budding researcher committed to producing a thesis centring decolonial and intersectional feminist thought, I must admit that my decision to "just show up" in Soweto slightly pandered

[13] Translation from Setswana: "*Women,* its time."

to invasive *white* colonial Anthropology. By this, I mean the latter operated in a manner where hesitation and resistance from an identified potential research participant/subject were not seen and understood as rejection and boundary setting but instead motivated *pressured* engagement (Beliso-De Jesús et al. 2023, 426-427). Although I will never know if the ignored emails were a subtle rejection or if my unfamiliarity was the source of hesitation, it was important that I was hyperaware of the position my relentlessness had put me in and the overall dynamics at play. So, the ethical challenges I anticipated and faced majorly orbited around confidentiality and anonymity, disproportionate power dynamics, the *Trickster's dilemma* and ethnographic refusal as well as sample homogeneity and bias.

To work with a known group and activists alike requires the acceptance of the inevitability of challenges emerging around confidentiality and anonymity. In this study, however, collaborators and key informants were guaranteed both. For confidentiality, due to our constant movement, involvement with external parties, and the use of open spaces for interviews, to a degree, the latter could have been compromised for the BWC collaborators. So, I cautioned each of the interviewees beforehand about the possible challenges arising from the presenting conditions, and consent to engage was subject to this exchange. Luckily, none of these factors materialised real threats. All the online interviews were conducted in the safety of a private room and in the absence of a third party. Regarding anonymity, all collaborators and key informants were assigned codes during data collection and analysis, then graduated into pseudonyms during report writing. All participants were also expected to sign a mandatory consent form detailing the anticipated challenges as they apply to them individually. The form also upheld their right to withdraw consent regarding participation at any time.

It is worth noting that my first encounter with the BWC was in 2021 through an organisation where I was previously employed. Hence, as a researcher formerly affiliated with a prominent African feminist funding organisation, the second ethical challenge I anticipated was the disproportionate power dynamics that lay at the core of most funder-grantee relationships. This is because of the existing and persistent funding disparities for African NGOs and coalitions that result in rigorous resource competition between them, operating foundations, and public sector entities (Layode et al. 2021, 11-12). To guard against this, I disclosed the details of my professional background and affiliations only as they relate to the purpose of this study (Mathiot 1982, 339; Lohmeier 2009, 2-3). Although, I was apprehensive to share this information because I believed it might exert unintended pressure and coercion. Interestingly,

in sharing these details, the group validated my relatability and trustworthiness, leading them to warm up to me and the study gradually.

Thirdly, sharing intimate spaces with participants comes with a great deal of complexity but also responsibility. As a researcher in this position, spending time with the BWC exposed me to a significant amount of intra-group dynamics, both negative and positive. Closely observing how they conducted themselves as individuals and collectively gave me unprecedented access to the different vulnerabilities at play, which to some extent helped in contextualising the data but also put me in a "duplex position like a trickster" (Pels 2000, 136). My dilemmas were often rooted in my struggle with balancing the said and unsaid. Throughout fieldwork, I often asked myself: *to what extent can I write about a particular observation?* And *to whom did I owe loyalty; was it you, the reader, myself as the researcher, the study itself or the collaborators?* Meijl (2005, 242) states that, due to the degrees of involvement and attachment, social anthropologists often face dilemmas due to the varying loyalties created by the different contexts and experiences in the field. So, it was obvious that I was no different.

Thickening the complexity, due to the nature of the politics and issues feminisms confront, participants often shared sensitive information. Although they gave consent to the use of the information, I had to practice restraint. For example, this thesis purposefully excluded the stories of sexual assault and exploitation. To reiterate, I oriented this thesis with the understanding that written material is "endowed with great power over those being written about" (Ortner 1995, 187; Mafeje 1976, 306). Therefore, and pushing against the enduring idea that Black experiences are "only legible through tones of pathology, misery and trauma" (Palmer 2017, 32), I aimed to tell a story about the resilience of (Black) African feminist movement building at a time when society stood still, ruptured by a novel viral cough; instead of the calamities surrounding the Black womxn's body in SA. However, it is also not to deny these painful experiences and realities. The exclusion of this sensitive information, whether at the request of a participant or my better judgment, was an intentional act of ethnographic refusal inculcated in my commitment to anti-violence agendas (Avishai et al. 2012, 339-400; Petillo and Hlavaka 2022, 2).

Lastly, it is important to note that although I am a Black African feminist and AWHRD cognizant of the different gendered dynamics as they pertain to knowledge production and research, I am also a cis-gendered womxn. That is to say, I am naturally susceptible to "gender blindness" as a product of my own privileges (Rogers and Brown, 2023, 5-6). So, the absence

of *mxn* [14] Transgender, gender non-conforming and non-binary defenders, and activists in the participant pool was not deliberate. It was in fact a result of these social factors influencing the sampling processes, which, in most cases, researchers like myself have no control over (Alpert 1952, 32). Nonetheless, as a researcher carrying out a feminist study, I had the responsibility to practice some critical ethical reflexivity. Therefore, as recommended by Rogers and Brown (2023, 11), I led with epistemic humility to avoid replicating and validating "dominant norms and ideologies" that could further marginalise the absent.

All in all, all ethical precautions took were also accompanied by my regular consultation of the Wits Ethics Manual. While in instances of confusion, dilemmas, and uncertain judgment, I leveraged Prof. Julia Hornberger's expertise as my research supervisor.

1.5 Chapter Conclusion

As difficult as this paper was to craft, the experiences of the brave and resilient defenders and activists who emerged on the other side of the pandemic were important to explore and memorialise. So, it was labour I am proud to have undertaken. By setting up the context of how I first engaged the group in Soweto, I aimed to demonstrate to *you*, dear reader, the external conditions in which I was engaging with the Caucus in conversation with my intrinsic motivations. Through this, I introduced to *you* the nature of mobilising and organising of the BWC and lay the background of the pandemic realities for context. In giving an expansive methodology and ethics breakdown, I aimed to surface what it actually takes to conduct a feminist study. With the chapter structure given, I introduced the rest of the thesis details as a means to help you prepare for what is to come.

[14] Refers to both queer and cis-gendered heterosexual *men* feminist allies and WHRDs in the BWC.

Chapter 2:

Asiyiqale Phansi Lendaba: **Welcome to the Black Womxn Caucus!**

Zizaw'ujik'izinto (Thula mntanam)[15]
Wen'ukhalelani (Thula mntanam)
Wen'ukhalelani (Thula mntanam wen'ukhalelani)

…and indeed, things between the Caucus and I had changed! By week six, my ignored email status had been elevated to regular event invites and WhatsApp check-ins. So, on 12 August 2023, with a raggedy-looking notepad with motley sticky notes hanging on for dear life on multiple coffee-stained and crinkled-edged pages in one hand and a flimsy backpack digging into my shoulder with the weight of my audio and video equipment on the other, I walked into the Danie Van Zyl Hall in Newlands, Johannesburg to what would be my last field site visit. On this day, the BWC's *Ke Nako Basadi* Womxn's Month celebrations were underway, and with the insistence of *Mam'* Lore, who had taken a liking to the study, I was invited.

To my dear readers who may be unfamiliar with the South African context, while *you* may be wondering how these commemorations were possible in August instead of March[16], kindly note that, in 1995, August was declared the country's National *women's* Month. This was done in tribute to the 20,000 womxn who marched to the Union Buildings on 9 August 1956 in protest of the apartheid government's Pass Laws that targeted racial minority *women* (SA Government 2014). Hence, the BWC's celebration theme, *Ke Nako Basadi*, was a call to celebrate BWC's progress alongside AWHRDs and feminist activists who have contributed immensely to the SA gender-justice space. Moreover, as this was the first grand post-pandemic convening of the Caucus, the theme was also punctuating the overdue celebration of BWC activists who had lost their lives to the coronavirus.

So, according to *Mam'* Lore's invitation, this event would surface the details of who the BWC is, what their work entails and how they organise, especially in the context of the pandemic. It, therefore, was imperative that I attended to honour *Mam'* Lore's invitation and learn more about this movement in such a capacity. That was because, despite spending several weeks with the group, I was still struggling to fully grasp the specifics of their outward-facing programmes and operations. Moreover, my attempts at consulting the "official" archives failed as documented detailed information about this movement was and remains scarce. Even contemporary archives like GALA (2024), whose focus is "to promote social equality and

[15] IsiXhosa lyrics from the Zizojik'izinto liberation song translating to: "Things will change (be quiet my child), Why are you crying (be quiet my child,) Why are you crying (be quiet my child, why are you crying)"
[16] Considered the global International Women's Month.

youth development" and is, ironically, headquartered at Wits—the birthplace of the BWC—offered little to no information. Although such should be surprising, the disappointing truth is that AWHR and feminist movements similar to the BWC have notoriously been subjects of erasure in the SA archiving and memorialization processes (Gibb 2019, 4-6; Gqola 2004, 54).

Histories of exclusion aside, at around 09h23, I arrived at the venue. Anticipating the start of the program scheduled to start in the next seven minutes, I began pacing briskly towards the building from the entrance gate after hopping off yet another Uber. With each step, the air thickened with excitement and joy of seeing Sebaga and comrades again. The closer I got, the higher the octave of the sounds pouring out of this pseudo-brutalist, two-tier building with a green roof and clay face brick walls with a rustic, burnt copper finish. So, by the time I reached the registration table upfront, all I could hear was *Mam'* Lore's distinct voice soaring above the harmonious ensemble in a way that each lyric triggered a flashback memory about the complex yet equally fulfilling journey I had travelled with this group. It was as if each note carried feelings of joy, sadness, triumph, failure, optimism, and regret simultaneously. According to Ka Dideka and Ben (2023, 13), songs like *Zizojika izinto* "archive emotions conjured each time it is sung," Therefore, it was unsurprising that I was experiencing this plethora of emotions.

After registering, I enthusiastically walked through the passage to the room sourcing these transcending melodies. And as soon as I flung the doors open, I was instantly enveloped by a beautifully chaotic atmosphere that evoked a kind of sensorial delight. The singing from the hallway was accompanied by dancing and a backsplash of animated conversations laced with occasional bursts of laughter. Everywhere I looked, folks were sharing warm hugs, affectionate cheek kisses, and exchanging handshakes. As this was my first (and last) BWC event that involved more than the usual six Caucus' womxn members, while snapping a few videos to preserve the memories, I also came alive to the depth of the BWC's diversity. From Hijab-wearing Muslimas, *inyanga ne zangoma,*[17] to different political party affiliates and gender androgynous folks of multiple races, the BWC was finally demographically colourful. As anticipated, though, before I could snap more videos, and within a few minutes of my arrival, the singing began to quiet down, ushering *Mam'* Keneilwe to the podium and signalling the start of the day's program. Like everyone, I rushed to the first open seat I saw; luckily, one was next to Sebaga.

Phew!

[17] Ntombela (2019, 50) translates from IsiZulu to English to mean, "traditional doctors and diviners."

To ground us in the anticipated proceedings of the day, *Mam'* Keneilwe began her welcome remarks with an agenda outline. In her speech, she highlighted that some presentations would speak to the Caucus' histories, operations, and vision. From these presentations and numerous conversations I joyfully engaged, I learned that the BWC places significant value on the intricate emotional bonds and ties between members. To them, *sxsterhood* and friendship are what anchor their foundation. Moreover, their attachments and commitment to the collective agenda were also linked to sourcing the collective's resilience. So, the energy, the ambiance and the atmosphere I walked into earlier were but an embodiment of the *sxsterhood* and friendship I came to learn resides at the heart of the BWC's movement building and organising.

Therefore, in this chapter, I argue that the Black Womxn Caucus' survival of the COVID-19 pandemic's immobility-induced challenges depended on the stability of its foundation and identity. However, such was only possible because it is anchored by the deep emotional bonds between the activists and the cause they are organising for. I drew this argument from Ahmed's (2004, 26) propositions that emotions and feelings align people to others and agendas. I also mobilised Roseneil's (2011, 324) offerings that friendship-like affective bonds are key to building feminist movements with formidable foundations and collective identity. Adding to the latter, Collins (2003, 64) through Belenky et al.'s (1986) 'epistemology of connection' also argues that "connected knowers see personality as adding to an individual's ideas and therefore group member's individual personalities enrich a group's understanding." The merger of these two thoughts then further reifies and cements my argument in the understanding that the intensity of the activists' attachments to each other and the group itself ensures a movement's ability to endure and overcome crises.

So, to ground this chapter's argument, I begin with a brief theoretical discussion under the sub-section, *Deconstructing the Foundations of a Feminist Movement*. Then, the second subchapter, *Born from Other Movements: On Attachments & Transference*, unpacks how the suggested affective bonds at the core were formed and anchored the movement. Lastly, in the *Rooted in (Black) African Feminist Thought: On Identity and Ideology* subchapter, I explore the group's conceptualisation of (Black) African feminism(s) as an intersectional ideology that grounds their work, weaves relationships and informs their identity.

2.1 Deconstructing the Foundations of a Feminist Movement

Did you know? The Great Mosque of Agadez in Niger is over 500 years old, and its longevity is often accredited to the stability of its foundation. The simplicity of the materials used to

construct this foundation—mud, wood, straw, and stone—is what skilled architects believe truly reflects its brilliance (Alluring World 2018; UNESCO 2013). *You* may be wondering what ancient architecture has to do with the tenets of this paper, to this I say, political and/or social movements are like physical monuments. They tend to follow similar principles of construction. Hence, to understand how movements like the BWC started and managed to survive the effects of the pandemic mobility regimes, we must begin with a theoretical unpacking that employs an architectural deconstructive strategy.

So, what actually anchors, weaves and stabilises a movement? To answer this question, let us think of the wood as the identity and ideology, stones as the principles and values, straw as the collective experiences of injustice, and mud as the relationships between activists themselves and the cause (Jasper 2011, 287). Neither of the listed entities can build, sustain, and anchor movements independently and/or for long. For example, while identity, ideology and lived experiences of injustice have generated sufficient discourse and served as powerful mobilising tools (Tamale 2020, 88; McFadden 2001, 14; Mama 1995, 42), to effectively realise societal transformation through collective action, emotional connections are thus needed between activists themselves, their collective identity, and the cause to cultivate cohesion and solidarity. According to Ahmed (2004, 26; 2010, 45), emotions and feelings create the necessary "stickiness" between people, and ideas. Thus, the "stickiness" drives political action and makes transformation possible.

However, still building on Ahmed's (2004; 2010) position, Roseneil (2011, 324) asserts that, for these attachments to last, they must be deliberate and chosen. That is because intentionality forges solidarity and cohesion by reifying the pathways of choice and familiarity of friendship and sxsterhood. Moreover, familial-like bonds in feminist movement building create mutual responsibility that reinforces cohesion even without physical connection (ibid, 326-327). Therefore, to create a durable, sustainable, and resilient structure like the Mosque, the wood panels need to support the *banco*, which is a specialised brick made of a grass straw and rocks/pebbles reinforced adobe (Xtreme Collections, YouTube, 2019). According to Pradines (2022, 7), this infusion of what could usually be discarded as debris, coupled with the prolonged exposure to the scorching Sahel sun during the drying process, ensured durability. Thus, the stability and sustainability of a movement like this structure depends on the unison work of these elements; interestingly, and as implied, in the right and balanced doses, harsh conditions like the sun for the Mosque and the pandemic for the BWC, should strengthen the bonds and the structure/movement.

Although Roseneil (2011) and Ahmed (2004; 2010) legitimise my argument that deep emotional bonds fortify movements, since time immemorial, misogyny has accused womxn of being incapable of forming and sustaining true relationships. This harmful yet resilient rhetoric can be traced back to scholars and public intellectuals peddling sexism as *profound* thoughts and ideas. For example, deeply flawed Psychologist Sigmund Freud (1933; 1923) and Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) framed womxn's relationships as those having no virtue nor intellectual depth like those of *men*. Therefore, to them, womxn's relationships could not exist beyond envy and competition for male attention and validation. While known racist crime Anthropologist, Cesare Lombroso ([1893] 2004) propagated the bigoted beliefs that womxn were inherently deceitful and manipulative, making any solidarity among them abnormal, suspicious, and even criminal. By his logic, this paper itself would be a manifesto of criminal ideology by, and for, bottom-tier, primitive creatures with an appetite for chaos and deviance by virtue of being Black, African, and womxn (ibid,17-18).

Nonetheless, while we cannot deny that in some instances, especially within African societies, womxn can champion and perpetuate patriarchal norms and misogynistic ideals that complicate their relationships and existence (Fawole 2018; Mtintso 2003, 573), it would be a gross injustice to end our considerations at these complications. That is because womxn's relationships, especially of Black African womxn, have proved time and time again their importance and value especially beyond such complexities. That is to say, contrary to the stereotypes, these friendships and solidarity have nurtured communities, advanced justice, and propelled social evolution especially through co -learning, and -unlearning the patriarchal imposed expectations and roles (Okpokwasili 2023, 173; Belaineh, Medium, 2016; hooks 2000, 112). So, as Nnameaka (2005, 64) argues, working with difference and acknowledging complexity (as womxn's relationships do), "compels us to retool ourselves through knowledge." Thus, differences and plurality become "modes of production that bring about personal and societal transformation by cultivating connections via knowledge exchange."

All in all, this theoretical unpacking has demonstrated that various scholars have also grappled with the ideas around emotional investments in making resilient movements. So, to argue that the BWC is one movement that has centred affect in its organising to survive a pandemic is not phantastic or new. Without offering any more theoretical meanderings, I will allow the data to breathe life into this chapter by expounding on the how.

2.2 Born from Other Movements: On Attachments & Transference

As tea break approached, the presentations' pace slowed, and I, too, paused my notetaking. While my eyes lifted from my lap and began to dart about the room, curiously mapping familiar faces and re-absorbing the energy, I noticed Keitumetse* —the founder of BWC— sitting three rows from the front on the left. On this day, her signature bold, matte, red lip and infectious smile were accompanied by fresh, black, medium-length box braids pulled into a ponytail with the rest of the length cascading down her back along the contours of her spine. Excited, I frantically grabbed a sticky note to log an interview request reminder, and once done with the erratic scribbling, like the rest, I pasted it on the cover of the distressed notepad I had callously placed on the floor.

Unfortunately, in the words of hooks and West (2016), Keitumetse and I never got to "break bread." Although I sent out three more invites after this event, our schedules never aligned. Therefore, a conversation never sufficed. I often wondered whether such was good or bad for the study because *how could I write about a movement without the founder's 'direct' contributions?* Nonetheless, to compensate, I turned to the BWC's digital archives to trace the "official" genesis story of this movement. I began this expedition by rummaging through the Caucus's YouTube. There, I stumbled upon some of Keitumetse's astute media interviews. These became an important element to the study, giving her indirect contributions while offering significant insight. For example, in conversation with The Share Button, Keitumetse introduced the BWC as a movement that,

> "…was founded on 18 May 2017 in response to the ongoing femicide reporting sparked by the #KaraboMokoena case. Post this period […] there was a need for us to organise as Black womxn because we were tired of being scared and afraid. We needed to find space that affirms our identities. So, the BWC is a student-led but not student-exclusive activist space that understands the many realities of Black womxn forced to live in very trying conditions, and I mean, facing capitalism, patriarchy, sexism, ableism that all contribute to the dire conditions that we are subjected to…" (Masemola, The Share Button, 2018).

From this rallying introduction, we learn that the BWC is a product of affective attachments whose pathways, in this case, were three, but for this section, I focus only on two and reserve the third for the next section. The first was the attachment the members have towards one another. Throughout this interview, Keitumetse always framed the BWC as a "we" project. Her mention of the collective "tiredness and fear" as key motivations for the movement's formation reflected a connection between the activists and defenders of the Caucus. While these feelings

can be personal and individualised, through Brown (1993, 391), Keitumetse demonstrated how the "I" feelings and experiences gained political meaning through the collective "we." Moreover, recognising the self within the collective demonstrated how these affective attachments truly "align individuals to others" (Ahmed 2004, 119).

Piggybacking off the "I" and "we" paradox, the second pathway was between the activists' and the organising agenda. Similar to the previous pathway, recognising violence as multi-sourced requires deep attachments to anti-violence agendas (Ahmed 2004, 26; 2010, 45). That is because an emotional investment in a political issue motivates the consistent problematisation of society as the intention is always to draw linkages to the primary issue of interest, such as gendered violence and oppression (Mama 1995; Tamale 2020). Hence, Keitumetse's acknowledgement of the existence of multi-sourced realities demonstrates the latter. With a vision to "create agency through feminism for a violence-free society" (FRIDA 2020), the BWC can retain relevance and relatability because of their collective prioritisation of GBVF in whatever issue they engage in, and conditions emerge.

At this point, we understand how the affective relationships activists have to each other, and the collective agendas contribute to the weaving of a movement, *but is this the only way movements are born?* The answer to this question is a simple no. That is because through affect transference movements birth other movements. By this, I mean the realisation of one movement visibilises the availability of other political opportunities for other movements (Sen and Avci 2016, 127). While it can be argued that the #KaraboMokoena case was more of a campaign than a movement, it is important that we recognise that the Caucus was founded fresh off the heels of the Fees Must Fall (#FMF) protests. Hence, the impact of #FMF set the stage and tone for youth-led political action. Speaking to the influencing relationship between #FMF and the Caucus, Rudo, a *Witsie*[18] portfolio holder I found during tea break resting on the facility lawns after a long morning of curating the Caucus's social media content, shared,

> "*Asiyiqale phansi lendaba*, the BWC was inspired by many things, the rise of GBVF especially during that #KaraboMokoena era being one, but the other was #FMF which I feel we don't talk enough about. Like, hear me out, #FMF showed us how much black students in universities especially the *gworls*[19] are violated systemically, structurally and socially [and] lit that protest spark, *you know?* Although I was not a BWC member then, as Witsies *bo*Keitumetse and I were

[18] A student or alums of the University of the Witwatersrand.
[19] Slang for "girl" that often refers to young womxn, and queer mxn with loyalties to womxn-identifying people.

> however part of #FMF and what I can say we took away from that experience was the lessons of speaking up and literally fighting against injustice to get something to change. I will even be brave enough to say Fees paved way for all these youth movements you see today, it was our June 16. You saw it, something changed with #FMF, so the #SandtonShutDown which the BWC played a key role in, was a semi-iteration of #FMF strategies […] for me, *Fees* really influenced other movements that came after like the BWC, because it lit that protest spark, that fire to act and push and to take a solid stance against issues, *you know*, it was far from perfect but Fees gave people that needed confidence to say, hey actually let's do something about this GBVF issue or climate or whatever especially in Wits…*you get*?" (Interview with Rudo, August 12, 2023).

The irony in Rudo's sentiments was that #FMF was also a product of other movements. That was because #FMF was also "building on the works of #RhodesMustFall and other nationwide student protests of 2015," (Godsell and Chikane 2016, 54; Cherry, Waging Nonviolence, 2017). However, #FMF advocated for the cessation of the exorbitant increase of student fees that already racially- and class-disenfranchised students' access to tertiary education (Booysen 2016, 1); its acknowledgement of patriarchy as an underlying factor to the manifestation of problematic structures in SA universities opened discussions around gendered violence. For example, # FMF's radical Black feminist response wing, #Mbokodo-Lead, surfaced the intra-FMF patriarchal blind spots that were facilitating the erasure of the womxn and queer student activists (Chinguno et al. 2017, 25). Hence, this emergent dialogue visibilised the opportunity for feminist movements like the BWC to emerge.

Although this may sound contradictory, while movements do not exist in silos, they can, however, be siloing if the activists and the collective as a whole limit their understanding of injustice to their attachments to personal interests and experiences. Drawing from Rudo's offerings, the "spark" ignited for BWC through #FMF, which influenced its first major activity: the #SandtonShutdown that drew from #FMF strategies. That is called transference; however, I propose an adapted version of the concept for this paper, which I frame—for now— as 'spark transference.' According to psychoanalysis, transference is the "unconscious redirection of feelings, desires, and expectations from one person/ or circumstance to another" (Hall 2018, 1020; Freud 1912, 313). Borrowed and tweaked from the latter, spark transference means a positive and intentions-driven act of projecting the desire for justice from one movement onto another. According to Ahmed (2004, 27), the emotional investment of actors in a presenting

issue, its resolution and the realisation of justice allows for the constant sharing of feelings and emotions. Hence, friendships and sxsterhood become vehicles of spark transference.

In processing Rudo's take and conceptualising spark transference, I wondered how far these sparks can actually fly. Interestingly, the answer would come from an earlier conversation with *Mam'* Lore about her activism journey. Expounding on this, *Mam'* Lore shared,

> "I started my activism when I was still studying at the University of Namibia in the 90's during the anti-apartheid struggles. My mission though was and is always womxn. Womxn and GBV have been my focus because *ngwanaka kgang e ya go kgokgontshiwa le go gatelelwa ke borre e tswa kgakala*[20] and there is no issue that does not touch on the violation of womxn in one way or the other. I mean, even in the middle of liberation struggles *men* never forgot to violate us. From rape, financial exploitation, domestic abuse, you name it, it happened all the while we were all also fighting the *white man*. So, from my introduction to this world, taught me that when you say you are feminist and want to end GBV, it means you have a duty to always be active because all violences are connected. So, you're always in fashion [relevant]. This is also why here at BWC, we don't limit ourselves; we look at GBV as a whole which is linked to so many different injustice conversations. For example, I went from apartheid struggles to HIV to COVID because my desire to end violence against womxn always forced me to move with most injustice issues. Same applies for BWC we give our voices to numerous issues e.g. domestic workers, prisons and education because for as long as there is unfairness, it will be linked to patriarchy and GBVF which is our enemy…" (MTS Interview with *Mam* Lore, July 24, 2023).

Mam' Lore's narration demonstrated that sparks can fly very far across timelines and varied moments of crises. That is because any political action has "shared emotions as a basis for coalition," (Whittier 2021, 375). Moreover, her experiences further confirmed that strong attachments to the agenda facilitate transference. Understanding that "emotions are relational and therefore, involve (re)actions or relations of 'towardness' or 'awayness' in relation to other objects" (Ahmed 2004, 8; Hemmings 2012, 151), we see how the attachment pathway to an agenda creates a subject/object dynamic between activists and the "object" sources of injustice. Thus, this antagonistic relationship allows the unjust object to elicit emotions and feelings in

[20] Translation from Setswana: My child, this issue of male dominance and abuse is longstanding.

the subject, which are then refracted back to the object due to the subject's investment in its resolution (ibid, 105). Therefore, the interconnectedness of gendered injustice enabled *Mam'* Lore to easily join and move with various movements as they all engaged in issues of GBVF in some capacity.

Reflecting on the discussion so far, *Mam'* Lore's journey and Rudo's experiences illustrated how attachments and transference generate discourse and mobilise individuals to form movements. Furthermore, they demonstrated that it is by understanding nuance and operating in the interconnectedness of injustice that feminism continues to grant activists relevance in any presenting social condition (Hoskin et al, 2017; Gouws 2017; Dlakavu 2021; Mama 1995). Therefore, a movement built on such understanding and emotional investment is more resilient. Hence, it was unsurprising that at the height of the pandemic, the BWC could continue organising, unlike FiB, whose attachment pathways, and by extension, its foundations, were weak in comparison. For context, FiB began operations within four months of its founding, at the height of the pandemic, and as a response to regionally escalating GBVF rates. So, its foundation rested significantly on our segmented attachments to the agenda and even less on our intra-collective bonds.

Apart from Lame's and my friendship, the emotional bonds between the four other members were new and brittle. According to Whittier (2021, 370), these affective bonds at the core of feminist movements require time to form, and this process often includes navigating through emotional, cultural and ideological clashes that also require time to heal. With the mobility regimes alienating people (Hwang et al. 2020, 1217), the opportunities for us to nurture and deepen our connections, attachments and bonds through physical convenings died prematurely. Hence, like many other feminist and AWHR movements and organisations (Zaaroura and Fox 2021, 8), FiB could not withstand the pressures of the pandemic as influenced by the isolating regimes.

Ke sare go e latswa bobe[21]; I will park this discussion here to usher an unpacking of the third attachment pathway, which is that of activists to identity(-ies). I inculcate the latter in discussing the group's guiding ideology to achieve this.

2.3 Rooted in (Black) African Feminist Thought: On Identity and Ideology

So, why Black?

[21] A Setswana proverb-based idiom: "Without dragging the discussion for too long [that it ends up losing its premise]."

> "Black because our priority is Black womxn who are disproportionally affected by GBV and femicides in SA. Also, I am not South African, but the BWC's Black includes me and others of different nationalities because what connects us, unfortunately, is that, by being Black womxn, we are at the bottom of the hierarchies no matter where in the world we originate. So, we [BWC] believe that the freedom for all womxn begins with that of the Black Womxn…" (Interview with Mudiwa, August 12, 2023).

…not African?

> "*sisi*[22] we're definitely an African [feminist] movement because charity begins at home. However, beyond home [SA] being our starting point, our sxsters stretch past the SA borders, I mean if we can receive support from as far as Kenya, how could we then limit ourselves to just operate *eMzansi* or not even identify with the continent?" (MTS/Z Interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe, August 12, 2023).

Although I assumed it before, hearing Mudiwa and *Mam'* Keneilwe confirm my internal monologue was exciting. Like the Combahee River Collective (1974), it was clear that the BWC has firm allegiances to those who embody the identity of the "Black African womxn." To reiterate, this is because Black African womxn are the most disenfranchised within the greater GBVF discourse, which was especially evident during the pandemic (Mulaudzi 2022, 1; Sakaria 2022, 25). With their offerings, Mudiwa and *Mam'* Keneilwe introduced us to the third and final attachment pathway I drew from Keitumetse's introduction: the attachments to identity(-ies).

So, how do attachments to identity influence ideology and vice versa?

Ideology and identity have a symbiotic relationship, especially in building feminist movements. That is because while ideology validates a movement's identity, identity enlivens ideology (Collins 2000, 26); moreover, for a movement such as the BWC to adopt an ideology, the activists' attachments to the identities that informed the conditions that birthed that ideology need to be substantial. Similar to the Mosque of Agadez, the protruding wood panels known as *toron*, which we understand as ideology and identity, carry a doubled responsibility: 1. to give the monument its unique and interesting look and 2. hold in place the hidden brick network of the foundation and entire structure (Pradines 2022, 8). Hence, these *torons* cannot perform

[22] Translation from IsiZulu: sxster

either of these duties without fulfilling the other. Therefore, ideology and identity play an important role in forming an intact foundation that helps a movement overcome crises that threaten its survival (Gouws 2017, 26).

Delving deeper into the role of identity, Brown (1993, 393) states that naming elicits a political identity, for it confronts systems of power, subjectification and control. For example, due to SA's racially complex history, the *appropriate* usage of the labels "Black" and/or "African," has been the subject of extensive academic debates on the relevance of racialised identities in self and collective determination. Animating the latter, scholars like Lewis and Baderoon (2021) and Gqola (2017) unapologetically mobilise racialised identities to enunciate the nuances in the manifestation of gendered violence and oppression, while Magubane (2001) pushes us to critically think about the cultural contexts when using these racial labels. On the other hand, Erasmus (2018) gently calls us to reimagine identities beyond race, while Suttner's (Rhodes University, 2014; 2010) questioning of racial labels pushes the argument for their complete disregard due to raising conflicts around authenticity and genuine belonging. Nonetheless, "naming extends beyond the individual and into a historical and collective project," (de la Rey 1997, 8). Therefore, to understand who/what the BWC is and how they think and operate, we ought to consider the intentionality behind their identity as carried by their name.

Returning to Keitumetse's (2018) earlier sentiments, we must remember that the BWC reportedly came about as a realisation of the collective desire for spaces that "affirm Black womxn's identities." Hence, its expansion beyond the university walls to become a "student-led but not student exclusive" space is a celebrated consequence of the unapologetic prioritisation of Black womxn in their anti-GBVF advocacy agendas. Butler (1990, 16; Mohanty 2003, 106; hooks 2000), thus argue that we must recognise that feminist movements expose how identity—shaped by race, class, and colonial histories—impacts political consciousness and action. Therefore, as BWC has evidenced, effective movement building is more about mobilising and *revolutionising* these identities to advance collective transformative agendas (Collins 2000, 26; Whittier 2021,372; Hemmings 2012, 157). Demonstrating this, with her left fist raised to the heavens like the Christian preacher she is, *Mam'* Lore would conclude the proceeding of the Womxn's Day celebrations with a monologue that began with an,

> "*...Amandla!*[23] To those who joined us today for the first time and without knowing what the Black Womxn Caucus does or who we are beyond the name… while there are many things to take away, what I need you to hold on to the most is that, BWC is a group that works to end GBV and femicides in our communities and homes; particularly against *thina, abafazi abamnyama*[24] despite our nationalities, religion, or sexualities, *ngoba izimiso nezisekelo zethu ziyabumbanisa kunokuba zisehlukanise naphezu kokungafani kwethu.*[25] So, if you are still in the room at this hour, congratulations comrade on your honorary membership because I can only assume that you share the same desires as us and that's why you stuck around […] with all that said, *Amandla!* and lunch is served! (MTS/Z *Mam'* Lore, speech extract at Womxn's Day Celebrations, August 12, 2023).

Like every researcher in the field, after lunch, I quickly scrolled through the photos I captured, while rush-listening to some of the audio clips I recorded to confirm the data quality before I left the space. However, I would be stuck on the 30 second audio clip of *Mam'* Lore's closing. The repetition of the "*thina [...] abamnyama"* reminded me that the "Black" in BWC is emphatic and deliberate. Perhaps this was why, in her essay, *Why I no longer speak to Nigerians about Race*, Panashe Chigumadzi (Africa Is A Country, 2019), drove us to recognise the centrality of racial disparities in feminist thought and ideology realising in SA. That is because racialised identities are inescapable because of the deeply entrenched histories of apartheid. Even if one tries to avoid them, the reality is that the entanglements and attachments to intersectional ideologies, like the BWC, "identities get politicised through communities" (Hemmings 2012, 157; Collins 2000).

Surfacing the Mosque of Agadez once more, it is important to recognise that mapping the BWC's ideological lineage is like the dating process of this monument. While not unique to the Agadez, the process did not solely depend on carbon dating. Instead, it involved tracing the monument's histories through local stories and narratives (Pradines 2022; Werner 2003). Thus, the BWC's ideological lineage is traceable through its shared narrative framing and language. For example, the BWC is officially described as a "broad-based, cross-sectional feminist social movement fighting against GBVF" (BWC, LinkedIn, 2017). At the same time, FEDSWA is also described as a "broad-based *women's* organisation fighting for national liberation by

[23] IsiXhosa/IsiZulu slogan meaning: "power."
[24] Translation from IsiZulu: us Black womxn.
[25] Translated from IsiZulu: "because our ideologies and foundations unite rather than divide us on the basis of our differences."

addressing issues of state-driven gender inequality against *women* of colour" (SAHO 2011; ANCWL 2024). Moreover, the BWC consistently nods to movements and organisations like the Bantu Women's League, Alexander Women's Council and even the Black Sash, which also have a similar narrative and agenda (Moutloatse, Daily Maverick, 2020). The similarities and linkages to one another thus reflect how these movements all belong to African feminism(s).

According to Goredema (2010, 34), African feminism(s) is an epistemic and political ideology committed to raising global awareness about gendered injustice against *women* in Africa and/or African descent. It aims to do so through approaches that prioritise, validate, and sympathise with the experiences and histories of *women* in Africa and of African descent. While Gqola (African Feminist Forum, 2016) expands on African feminism(s) to define it as,

> "a way of thinking and being that aims to dismantle patriarchy through an approach that centres the freedoms of all African *women*; and it is in its nature to be queer, historical and of the orientation that sees diversity as unifying."

With these definitions in mind, we can concretely say that the BWC belongs to the African feminism(s) category as it fits the criteria of these scholastic offerings. However, while we acknowledge the categorisation, we cannot stop there. That is because, as Mudiwa, *Mam'* Keneilwe, and *Mam'* Lore's sentiments explained, whatever feminist ideology the BWC is linked to, there is a need for it to have an element of intersectionality that sees the need to elevate Black African womxn. Instead, we should push the idea that the BWC ascribes to a more niche ilk of African feminism, which we would call (Black) African Feminism. Inspired by Salami (2021) and leaning towards Lewis and Baderoon (2021, 5) and Stuhlhofer (1999, 2), (Black) African Feminism can, thus, be defined as the inclusion, embrace and prioritisation of political blackness in feminist discourse and, in this case, discourse realising in Africa specifically. In short, it is all that African feminism(s) is but with the unapologetic stance of elevating Black voices and blackness as a lived experience from the positions of a Black African womxn (Batliwala 2012; Wilson 2011). Therefore, it is fair to say that the BWC is oriented and grounded in (Black) African feminist thought, which generates particular and shared affects and loyalties.

Although my earlier framing may, at first glance, appear to unintentionally undermine the labour of many African feminists who have pioneered the elaboration and adaptation of Crenshaw's concept of intersectionality within African feminist discourse, it is important that I offer some clarifications. For starters, there is no singular African feminism as Africa itself is

no monolith (Akinbobola, 2020, 70), rather there are many African feminism(s) and my discussions are not the only that engage racial discourse. For instance, Ogundipe-Leslie (2007) theorised around STIWANISM, Acholonu (1995) on Motherism, and Walker (1983) on Womanism. Furthermore, scholars like Tamale (2020), Dosekun (2021), Goredema (2010), as well as Salo and Mama (2001), theorized around the multiplicity of African feminism(s) with a nuanced take on decolonialization, decoloniality, and identity, and offering critical insights and inspiration to this discussion and reflections here.

Returning to the subject matter, and before it is assumed that the BWC is pushing a prejudicial racialised agenda, I must make it categorically clear that it is, in fact, not. However, that is not to deny that their membership consists of Black [South African] womxn in the majority. Perhaps it would be worth exploring how prioritising some populations gives rise to inclusivity politics in the future. For now, let us understand that,

> "…everyone is welcome to join BWC, not just Black womxn, as long as you are about ending GBVF. We just must have the understanding that Black Womxn are the most affected, and without our liberation, there is no freedom for anyone" (Keitumetse, Womxn's month celebrations speech extract, August, 12, 2023).

Remembering that this paper aims to collate lessons from BWC's survival story to help other feminist and AWHR movements like FiB rebuild, we must envision ourselves in the post-pandemic as constructing the Hikma Complex. That is because this award-winning building, designed by the brilliant Mariam Issoufou, was inspired by the Great Mosque of Agadez and stands today as both a homage to the past and a symbol of restoration (Holcim Foundation 2024). Like the Mosque, the BWC stands unshaken and is an inspiration to others because of its strong foundations. Thus, to create Hikma-like movements that have risen as a result of learning from the BWC, our first lesson to take away is that affective bonds are key to solidifying and anchoring feminist movements.

2.4 Chapter Conclusion

So, who are the Black Womxn Caucus? They are a movement grounded and anchored by affective bonds cultivated, sustained and strengthened by attachment pathways and transference. Thus, the idea that to survive the pandemic and its mobility regimes requires the centring and true valuing of emotions, feelings and embodied experiences, came naturally to them as a group for they are familiar with operating with an affective core.

For the attachment's pathways, the group's genesis story revealed three and these were: the attachments to each other, the anti-GBVF organising agendas, and their (Black) African feminist identity as informed by ideology. The attachments to each other revealed friendship and sxsterhood as entities residing the movement's core. While those to the organising agenda and identity, demonstrated how commitment affects are easily generated and exchanged in environments where friendship and sxsterhood exist. Moreover, ideas, desires, and motivation for justice as sparks do not die because of immobility nor exist in isolation, rather they fly, duplicate and move with different circumstances through spark transference.

To close, the first lesson to take away from the BWC is that resilient movements are built from an affective core that can therefore use affects to outmanoeuvre imposed immobility-related challenges, by transcending physical space.

Chapter 3:
***Imbokodo* Build Motion with Emotion**

Date: *July 18, 2023*
Time: *15h43 SAST*
Event: *67 Minutes for Mandela Day Outreach*
Diary entry 7: *Feeling…processing… emoting… for motion?*

> *After a decade of organising for feminist and AWHR agendas, I thought I mastered the art of separating my feelings and emotions from the work, but today, I failed! I mean, expressing any ounce of emotion always gives patriarchy room to reduce us to the 'angry black womxn' trope, so it has always been imperative that we do not emphasise feeling as the reason for organising…but seeing Mam' Keneilwe and Mam' Lore and all these womxn emote so openly, somehow permitted me to feel too. The domestic violence stories from the womxn residents were not only heartbreaking but also anger-inducing, and weirdly, were energising the outreach too. How do I even explain this? It was like we were collectively being moved to action by a shared sadness, compassion, anger, empathy and frustration; no grand reasoning or deep philosophical questions, just emotion. It was and still is quite confusing… ke gore batho ba tlaa reng*[26] *if I reported that my activism, my feminism even, was being driven by mere feelings? Somehow, its like these feelings presented as a good enough reason to organise…but were they not derailing objectivity? Aren't we supposed to separate reason and emotion for our movements to work and be legitimised? Have I been doing this work all wrong?*

Before the COVID-19 pandemic, I had never critically acknowledged the depths to which emotions and feelings are political. Consequently, I often downplayed their role in my activism and the larger conversation of collective feminist movement building. Of course, I recognised that injustice induces anger and outrage while evoking compassion and empathy; however, I struggled to acknowledge these emotions as significant contributors to movement building. That was because, to me, objectivity required the separation of reason from emotions, and so, movements were built on grand *intellectual* debates, *not* emotions or feelings.

This kind of thinking and practice can be traced back to philosopher René Descartes' (1996 [1641]) "Cartesian dualism" theory, which, posits that there is a separation between the mind and body therefore and by extension between logic and emotion. Čufar (2023) and James

[26] Translation from Setswana: "what will people say/think?" This phrase is usually used to shame someone into conforming.

(1997, 129-130), further connect this dichotomy of reason and emotion to patriarchy's conceptualisation of affect as a marker of masculinity and femininity. That is to say, emotions in [cis-hetero] male-centred agendas tend to be valorised as commendable extensions of bravery (ibid, 141). While womxn's emotions are often acknowledged to delegitimize their efforts and contributions to struggles against oppressive social orders (James 1997, 141).

Further exposing the roots of this separatist thinking and surfacing the African perspective, Oyewumi (2002) spotlights how this gendered dichotomy in Africa specifically can also be traced back to the colonial imposition of Eurocentric nuclear family arrangements and subsequent gender roles. These roles worked to disenfranchise and disempower womxn, in contrast to many traditional African family systems where roles were organised, and held power differently (Oyewumi 2002, 3-4). Hence, it is unsurprising that some feminist movements and activists like myself—individuals whose realities and to some great degree politics, are unconsciously but heavily so, influenced by eurocentricism due to colonial histories of erasure— tend to desire distance between their organising and emotion.

Although my journey of unlearning the habit of devaluing embodied experiences, feelings and emotions *officially* began with the collapse of FiB, it was only after the Dikarabo Care Facility outreach with the BWC that I came to truly appreciate feeling and emoting as African feminist practices that power resistance and sustain movements (Tamale 2020; Mama 1995). Similar to Collins (2003, 66) who argues that Afrocentric feminist epistemologies have a more holistic view of mind, body, spirit and community, I found my reorientation challenging initial thoughts and approach to affect in organising. Reifying my unlearning, Collins (2003, 59) explains that holism and harmony are inherent in the African worldview therefore neither emotion nor ethics is subordinated to reason; Instead, emotion, ethics, and reason are interconnected, interdependent and central in African feminist epistemology.

It is through these realisations that, in this chapter, I argue that the same emotions and feelings that can build and sustain feminist movements, can facilitate their collapse as a result of the environment in which these affects are generated. According to Nkealah (2022), African feminism(s) operating in crisis are practicalised by emotions and feelings; and optimisation is influenced by the negative or positive power of the generated affects (Åhäll 2018). Hence, I advance the idea that, to harness the power of these solidarity galvanising affects especially during crisis, there is a need to "revolutionise" them by repurposing their intent and rearticulating their attached social meaning. For example, converting COVID-induced fear and

anger into solidarity strengthening actants (Gqola 2021, 18; Mama 1995), rearticulating love as political (hooks 2000), and care as radical (Lorde 2017 [1988]).

Before delving deeper into this argument, it is important to first unpack the idea of "revolutionising affects through repurposing and rearticulation." Therefore, the following sub-section of this opening discussion *Adapting or Revolutionising?: On Repurposing and Rearticulating Affects* offers this theoretical grounding thereby laying the foundation for the discussions to follow.

3.1.1 Adapting or Revolutionising?: On Repurposing and Rearticulating Affect

At this point in the paper, it is almost trite to mention that emotions, feelings and embodied experiences (i.e. affect) build feminist movements (Nkealah 2022; Whittier 2021; Hemmings 2012). However, it is almost a mandated need for us to remember at this very point in the thesis that these same affects are responsible for sustaining and maintaining these movements (Åhäll 2018). That is because I argue that in the same way, emotions and feelings can build and sustain, they also carry the capacity to collapse a feminist movement, especially one navigating a crisis. However, the latter depends on the conditions in which these emotions and feelings are generated and the environment movements are realised within.

According to Nkealah (2022), African feminism(s) and, by extension, movements are practicalised by emotions and feelings. Therefore, their optimisation is influenced by the negative or positive power of these affects. Hence, the process of practicalisation requires the implementors to recognise the humanity in the process (Nkealah (2022, 3) . As with everything produced by the human mind, every thought, feeling and emotion thus must be context-intelligent and adept to elicit the desired action. Therefore, to achieve the latter particularly for social movements by balancing and/or redistributing either the positive or negative pull of natuarally occuring feelings and emotions towards a circumstance, these influencing and solidarity galvaising affects need to be revolutionised.

To understand what the process of revolutionising entails, we must first unpack what adaptation is. Originally a scientific term, adaptation has evolved beyond the natural sciences and has been adopted by various disciplines. Taking us back to the natural sciences, Orlove (2022, 535) defines adaptation as "actions that reduce the harm caused by climate change." While, Littlejohn (2018, 9) defines adaptation for the social sciences and humanities discipline as "the process of applying one thing to another or bringing two things together to make it suit specific conditions, especially a new or changed environment." Both authors raise important aspects of

the process of adaptation that need to be considered to understand the process of revolutionising affects. For Orlove (2022), it is the reduction of harm; for Littlejohn (2018), it is the suiting of the elements to a changing or new environment.

The etymology of the word revolutionising is revolution, which is understood as the "action of removing a government or social order in favour of a new system" (Chengte 2016, 36). Yeniçırak (2021, 332) also defines revolution as responses to various forms of political violence, but those "characterised by rapid and fundamental transformations in a society." Drawing from the latter, "revolutionising," therefore, refers to infusing naturally occurring feelings, emotions and reactions to a presenting issue with politicised agendas. In this case, continued feminist movement building for the realisation of GBVF-free futures.

Hence, the "revolutionising of affect" is a process that amalgamates all the above offerings. Thus, this paper defines it as the process of adapting emergent emotions and feelings to the environment in which a movement operates. Like political revolutions, this process is a rapid response to the challenges emerging in an evolving context. Thus, it is done for the sole purpose of ensuring the purposeful survival of a movement. This process however involves repurposing the natural intent of affects and rearticulating the attached social meaning to these emotions and feelings in benefit of the movement.

For this paper, I look only at four emotions: fear, anger, love and care as solidarity galvanising emotions, feelings and embodied experiences that helped the BWC survive the pandemic and the effects of the mobility regimes. Therefore this chapter is divided into three subchapters to unpack the role of these emotions in organising and as they align with the main argument. The first subchapter, *Anisabi yini?,*[27] discusses how fear and anger can be repurposed to build solidarity. The second, *Ngothando nozwelo,*[28] unpacks how rearticulated love as a form and source of resistance sustained the BWC's organising at the height of the pandemic. Then in the last subsection, *Sxstering* Against *Mbokodification*, I discuss how radical self, and collective care helped inform the Caucus' operations and elevate its regeneration.

3.2 *Anisabi yini?*

My dear reader, while we started this thesis in Soweto then moved to Newlands, it is important that I mention that my first *official* field site visit was the Dikarabo Care Facility outreach in Westbury, Johannesburg. The event was for Mandela Day, and we planned to volunteer our 67

[27] Translation from IsiZulu: "Are you not afraid?"
[28] Translation from IsiZulu: "With love and empathy."

minutes at the facility “bringing joy through fun games," as per Sebaga’s WhatsApp text. However, an unexpected event would lead us to an agenda pivot. So, instead of 67 minutes of joy, we ended up igniting six-to-seven intense conversations on gendered elder abuse, which were a far cry from being joyous. Nonetheless, it was chaos I was glad to have witnessed as it yielded invaluable lessons. So, to arrive at the venue, instead of my usual Uber, I used a Bolt—brave, *I know!* Nonetheless, within eight minutes of leaving my house in Brixton, I arrived in Westbury. While offloading my bags, the driver would ask me a question that left me discombobulated that I had to log my thoughts in the fieldwork diary instead of offering a verbal response. The question:

> *“nizo’enzani la? indawo le iyathusa yaz’futhi uyi’ntombazana, anisabi yini?”*[29]

and the response that never left my lips to land on Mzoxolo’s ears:

> *Uma ngam’phendula lobaba, ngabe ngay’qala’phi indaba engaka?*[30] *I mean, the answer to the question was obvious, moes? how could it not be, for a Bolt driver? As ‘intombazana’ I’m ALWAYS scared to leave the house! Respectfully, how was I supposed to respond to him without being dismissive, sounding annoyed, and even condescending? Is this what Sarafina meant when she was talking about how being a perpetual subject of violence fills you up with anger and frustration to points of uncalculated (re)actions…? Oh Nelson!? make me numb Nelson, make me numb*[31] *(**Diary Entry 6:** Dikarabo Care Facility; July 18, 2023).*

While waiting for Sebaga and the Bereka Mosadi brigade to arrive, I would find myself reflecting deeply about Mzoxolo’s question. I then realised that, although, I would have loved to easily dismiss him, his inquiry was valid. To idle aimlessly in the streets of Westbury can be dangerous. Not to peddle stereotypes, but Westbury is one of Joburg’s crime hotspots (Mbokotho, Wits Vuvuzela, 2023). Moreover, the last three years have seen the Bolt company in SA be at the centre of backlash because of mounting accusations against its drivers for violating womxn passengers. These accusations go from stabbings, robbery and even, rape (Chabalala, Sowetan Live, 2024; Mjonondwane, NPA, 2024). The frequency of these incidents thus saw in 2024, the company permanently blocking and terminating a total of 6000 drivers globally after an incident in Cape Town triggered an investigation (Tshwete, IOL News, 2024),

[29] Translation from IsiZulu: “What are you coming to do here? This place is scary, and you’re a girl…aren’t you all afraid?”
[30] Translation from IsiZulu: “Had I respond to this mxn, where would I have started with such a big issue??”
[31] Quote from the movie Sarafina! Recited by film lead Leleti Khumalo to communicate resisting emotion-driven action particulalrly anger and to demonstarte how victims of systemic abuse have to suspend feeling inorder to power through distress.

Therefore, using such a service to visit an apparent crime hotspot amplifies anyone's vulnerabilities, especially those gendered. So, he may have had a valid point.

Nonetheless, the sight of the Dikarabo Care facility was not comforting either. Through the gate gaps, all we could see were cracked pavements and overgrown gardens with weeds overtaking flowerbeds and wild ivy creeping up the side of the buildings. To be fair, the inside was more sorrowful than scary, but as always, from the minute they arrived, the Bereka Mosadi brigade sang us through the discomfort and anxieties of waiting in the streets; It was Mandela Day, after all! However, our joy would be short lived as gates opened and a half smiling, low energy staff member ushered us in. As we walked in, we were informed that one of the residents had passed a few minutes before our arrival. So, our mood and energy also plummeted instantly. In that moment, the discoloured and cracked walls of the building seemed to represent more than the scars of weather and time. While the long paint peel strips that revealed the bare, worn-out surface underneath resembled streaks of tears outlined by misery and unanswered prayers. *How do people even end up here?*

> "…some, if not most, of these residents are here because of abuse and neglect. And they often stay with us 'til the very end. For the womxn, a good number of them are here to escape domestic violence at home and overall GBV" (PTZ staff member ward tour commentary, July 18, 2023).

With every word uttered by the staff member, the anger, sadness and fear that overcame us became even more palpable at the realisation that there is no cubic centimetre of this world that has not been tainted by GBVF and the COVID-19 mobility regimes—feminist or not. The more the staff narrated the disheartening challenges they faced and are still facing due to being severely under-resourced and COVID; the more tangible the reality that,

> "…in addition to the grave and prison, GBVF could also lead any of us to such a place. And if you really think about it *mntanami,* there is no scary place *kulo mhlaba*[32] that you won't find a womxn there because of GBVF. Those womxn were just like us, and it broke my heart to see them there because I am them, and they are us." (MTZ interview with *Mam'*Keneilwe July 24, 2023).

Moved by these collective feelings of frustration, fear and anger, we decided to pivot the agenda to facilitate an impromptu anti-GBV advocacy and resource mobilisation capacity-building session. This was because the presenting circumstances called for the latter as the most

[32] Translation from IsiZulu: "on this earth/in this world"

appropriate to meet the centre's pressing needs. This decision made me realise that we were experiencing a "feminist snap" of sorts. Ahmed (2017, 187-188) describes a feminist snap as a catalytic moment of realisation where one can no longer tolerate injustice. Because we related and understood the challenges the staff discussed, our pivot was an animation of the latter. Moreover, according to Nkealah (2022; 6), relatability and recognition of others within the discourse allow affects to absorb agendas and motivate action easily. So, this experience would be my introduction to the malleability of purpose when it comes to emotions and feelings as tools for movement building (Åhäll 2018, 38).

3.2.1 Repurposing Fear and Anger

Although this is an issue that affects about 736 million *women* globally (UN Women 2023), Black and African womxn are affected the most because of their many intersecting identities that engage various power structures (Mkwananzi and Nathane-Taulela 2024, 07). For example, Dadi et al. (2022, e1785) report that in Sub-Saharan Africa, about 45-6% of *women* have and will experience violence at least once in their lifetime—a rate higher than the global average of 26%. Meanwhile, IPV rates in SA are reportedly five times higher than the global average (Mabena et al. 2025, 2; Govender 2023, 1; Oosthuizen et al. 2014, 13).

As a starting point in our conversation, I asked *Mam'* Keneilwe how she was making sense of these statistics in relation to the pandemic and her community, to which she responded,

> *"Ngani yami, siphila impilo ethusayo, esabekayo, mpilo ebuhlungu*[33] as womxn in SA. These numbers you are mentioning, I don't even think they truly reflect the severity of our situation. During the lockdowns, GBV increased to levels you will not believe! It was everywhere. One minute, it's your neighbour being beaten by her husband because of whatever and she can't leave because we can't move, the next minute it's the community grandmother getting shot by her *nyaope* grandson because he now has nowhere to go, and ways of sustaining his drug addiction, so he must fight his grandmother for her grant. Somehow, the government was blind and never cared to know what these lockdown laws were doing to us… *You know,* my fear of lockdowns became greater than that of getting infected by the virus…" (MTZ interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe July 24, 2023).

Pre-pandemic GBVF statistics in South Africa were always concerning. However, the implementation of the lockdowns and other mobility-restricting regimes bolstered these

[33] Translated from IsiZulu: "my child, we live a scary, scary life, a painful life."

numbers to terrifying heights. Echoing *Mam'* Keneilwe's "GBV was everywhere" statement, the first lockdowns saw 1. the SA GBV Command Centre record over 100,000 cases within three weeks (SA News 2021), and 2. Lifeline SA log a flabbergasting 500% increase in the GBV calls received by the centre (John et al. 2023). Thus, to say womxn in SA lead precarious lives because of violence is an understatement. The latter was especially true because measures intended to protect people from a deadly virus transformed homes into "cages of violence" (MadigeleIe and Baloyi 2022, 2). So, when *Mam'* Keneilwe mentioned that she had developed a fear of lockdowns, I could relate.

Before my conversation with *Mam'* Keneilwe, I never critically considered fear and anger beyond their disruptive capacities. That was because these emotions naturally create distance between the person and the threat (Blais 2023, 113). So, considering them as solidarity catalysts was an intriguing and refreshing shift. Anchoring *Mam'* Keneilwe's take, Whittier (2021, 370) states that misery, fear, and outrage can inspire collective feminist action and movements. That is because emotions are not merely destructive but can serve as powerful mobilising forces. Hence, dismissing these emotions as purely negative, undermines their potential to strengthen collective action (Åhäll 2018, 47-49). Moreover, Nkealah (2022, 4-6) describes this perspective and approach to recognising emotion in organsing work as a practice of feminist humanness which has been reported to be key in the sustenance of movements operating in crisis. So, using this logic, and *Mam'* Keneilwe's sharings we can attempt to draw these parallels: had the BWC disregarded the emotional toll of the pandemic and its restrictions as FiB did, their movement might have crumbled.

Drawing from the latter to land this discussion, perhaps we needed to occupy ourselves with the question: how do we work with these emotions to navigate crises? Exploring this idea of working with emotions, we circled back to her comments about fear and anger brought on by the pandemic to answer the question of how the fear-inducing events in her community did not paralyse her as an activist and the collective as a whole, by extension. To answer this question, *Mam'* Keneilwe shared,

> "…. see, *mntwanami* there's two ways fear works. Its either you get so scared that you freeze or are pushed to do any and everything to survive in a way *engathi uyahlanya kancane.*[34] As a womxn what option do I have if it is not living with this fear because its not like the men threatening me will disappear tomorrow or

[34] Translation from IsiZulu: "it's like you are crazy a little bit"

> COVID. As an activist, we are always scared but *sizo sebenza noma kanjani*[35] because this fear is what also brings us together in the first place because it allows us to see ourselves in others*, you know?* our work forces us to befriend our fears, and anger and frustrations… we work with them, and that's really how we do things in BWC" (MTZ Interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe, July 24, 2023).

At this point in our conversation, *Mam'* Keneilwe was fired up, and in true Keneilwe fashion, she had managed to hold my attention so firmly that I had not even noticed that 20 minutes had elapsed. However, before I could chime in on the above sentiments, I interrupted her to get clarity on whether she was saying fear, anger, and grief were solidarity-galvanising emotions to which she shared:

> "Yes, fear and anger bring us together. This is why I am saying COVID was scary because it was pushing us away from each other. You see anger, frustration, fear and grief; they are great in bringing us together but can push us further apart if paired with isolation. You see, during the times of HIV and apartheid we were together in the struggle you know. But with COVID? There was no community which meant that whatever overthinking you are doing and the fear and the anger. With HIV and apartheid, we could run to each other whether for good reasons or bad but because that fear brings people together. As for apartheid, you knew you had no choice but to find refuge in community… but COVID *mntanami* there was actual effort pushing against us coming together…that was the scary bit because that's how movements die" (MTZ Interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe, July 24, 2023).

Unlike Gqola's (2021) propositions that to combat gendered violence, we must "overcome and undo fear," *Mam'* Keneilwe's perspective offered a more contextually grounded alternative. At the risk of sounding like a pessimist—undermined by rising violence rates that stifle progress (Bennett 2017, 233)— violence in (Black) African womxn's realities is inevitable—indirectly or directly. So, in a world where the incidence rates of violence are five times higher than the global rates, the emotions of fear and anger are more malleable than easily surmountable. Moreover, with UN Women estimating that it will take 286 years for the "legal protection of *women* and *girls* against violence" to actualise and an additional 21 years for its global implementation (Azcona et al. 2022, 11), these feelings and emotions are projecting permanence.

[35] Translation from IsiZulu: "we'll work nonetheless"

Therefore, it is only right that movements harvest their political power by repurposing and redirecting their intent (Åhäll 2018, 49; Hemmings, 2012). For example, *Mam'* Keneilwe's insights challenge the assumption that fear, and anger are divisive. Instead, she redefines them as solidarity-building forces by injecting them with an aligned political purpose, i.e. revolutionising. Lastly, to effectively harness their power, we must understand them from the perspectives of self, and the collective. While Gqola's (2021) work on fear remains invaluable, the survival of movements like the BWC necessitated working with, rather than against, these emotions.

In closing, Ahmed (2017) asserts that to be a feminist is to be an "angry killjoy" driven by justice. Thus, like *Mam'* Keneilwe, to be feminist is to allow frustration, anger, and fear to move us to action—and to organise, nonetheless. And, perhaps, the scariest (and bravest) thing one can ever do is to be born and occupy space as a (Black) African womxn. To reiterate, from private to public spaces, there is no cubic centimetre of this world that has not been tainted by GBVF.

3.3 *Ngothando nozwelo*

At the Dikarabo outreach I connected with *Mam'* Keneilwe and in ways I never thought possible for a first-time meet and through this bond, she agreed to an interview a few days later. With my amateur *IsiZulu* and different strain of Setswana, on the 24th of July 2023, I arrived at the BWC offices in Gandhi Square, Johannesburg. As soon as I walked out of the elevator, she spotted, and walked up to me with a big smile and open arms to offer a warm, snug, hug.

So, who actually is Mam' Keneilwe?

She is one of the leading personalities of the Bereka Mosadi brigade. Although we first met at Dikarabo, our chemistry was natural, as if we had known each other for years. Perhaps this was why her touch on that day sent me into an instant emotional spiral. That aside, this womxn, had a way with words that I had never experienced. Every time she fixed her forever-glossy lips to part with words that oozed of an unworldly richness in wisdom and wit that only a nearly 50-year-long journey on this earth could craft, I was always left in awe. What I found particularly interesting was her ability to weave a singular sentence with at least three languages to accommodate the multi-lingual audience. A polyglot marvel. From this conversation, I would soon learn that her communication style was, beyond being just *Jozi*-esque; but was one crafted and practiced as an extension of care and consideration for her audience in true language justice format.

> "*Mntanami, umsebenzi esiwenzela iBWC siwenza ngoba siyazifela ngempela ngawo*.[36] We care deeply about womxn and people, generally, like those from Dikarabo Care Facility. This place [BWC] is a place of love and care. To us, you cannot say you are feminist and want to end GBVF without caring for people…" (MTZ interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe July 24, 2023).

If *you* were eavesdropping and did not know *Mam'* Keneilwe or the context of the conversation, it would be easy to think that she was trying to sell me something considering the number oftimes the word "love" was mentioned in our conversation. hooks (2000; 2001) argues that love is political and a source of resistance. This is because love cannot exist where domination exists and requires justice (ibid). Therefore, to hear *Mam'* Keneilwe talk about how the BWC's anti- GBVF work is more than just passion but an act of love and care, I could not help but be moved. Like I previously mentioned, feminist activists often try to "justify" their activism by distancing themselves from emotion but from *Mam'* Keneilwe I learned that in the BWC, love, care, compassion and even sadness are acknowledged as entities that justify action. As this conversation matured, I was reminded of a statement she had made to me at Dikarabo a few days prior. In the speech, *Mam'* Keneilwe was explaining how love and care are tools that moves the BWC into action. To this, she said,

> *"uma unozwelo nothando, unembeza awusoze wak'vuma ukuthi uhlale ubukele inhlupheko yomunye umuntu, ngeke mntwanami, ngeke ubuke osisiwenu...abantu abafana nawe nakhona*[37] to suffer. This is why during the hard lockdowns we still went to Kathrada and Bekezela because if we don't at least try to raise awareness these *men* will kill and finish us… you know the GBVF statistics and like I said before no one cares enough. So, you could say in whatever thing we do, we put the compassion and empathy we have for other people first…also its kind of expected of us because *isintu*[38]" (MTZ interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe July 18, 2023).

According to Stocks and Lishner (2018, 2) we become empathetic and care for others if we intrinsically value the existence of such people. *Mam'* Keneilwe's take about why they were moved to work in Kathrada and Bekezela communities embodied the latter. Having met some of these sxters from these communities, I developed a newfound level of respect for this group. I found myself experiencing a heartbreak for sxsters I barely knew because I had read about

[36] Translation from IsiZulu: "My daughter, the work we do for BWC, we do it because we are really passionate about it."
[37] Translation from IsiZulu: "if you are empathetic and loving, your conscience will never allow you to sit and watch other people's suffering my daughter, you would never be able to watch your sisters, people like you even to suffer."
[38] Translation from IsiZulu: "Humanness" also spoken to express the practice of ubuntu which care and consideration.

how these communities have been the face of poverty and suffering aided by the City of Johannesburg and SA's government choice to forget them (Mutandiro, GroundUp, 2022). So, to consider and care for them in such a manner is radical and aligns with, Lorde's (1988) sentiments that self and collective care is a radical practice; and secondly, hooks (1992, 9) who makes it known that loving [and caring] is an act of resistance.

While I want to believe that love and care for the BWC is an infinite source of motivation and cohesion; no feminist movement exists without conflict. That is because feminism(s) and feminist spaces are inherently confrontational (Nkealah 2022; Engelbrecht 2021, 35-36). So, I developed a curiosity about whether this love had never been tested internally. This was because my every move and invites always felt calculated and curated because I never witnessed conflict, pushback or any mention of such, which was an experience I quietly questioned.

In an attempt to quiet down my curiosities, weeks after my interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe, I engaged Boitumelo, one of the BGC members at the Womxn's Day event. Except for exchanging pleasantries in most of the activities I participated in after the Soweto outreach, Boitumelo, and I had never really talked. So, when I saw her, I asked for an interview, and she obliged. Without meandering seeing as I had gotten familiar, I asked her why the Caucus felt guarded. Tending to my curiosities, Boitumelo stated,

> "…just before the pandemic, the group underwent a mini restructuring because of [ideological differences]. There were some divisions…but the fights were always about why this approach and why not that one. However, these fights were never personal because they were not about the person but about the issue of how to do a certain activity. So, COVID helped us a bit because people had a chance to cool down, and those who were no longer interested left peacefully…" (PTS interview with Boitumelo, August 12, 2023).

As we have learned so far, the BWC can be considered intersectional. Although admirable, it is worth understanding that intersectionality carries the capacity to create conflict in movements. That is because our identities and occupations of different social strata always shift, naturally destabilizing collectivism (Nash 2019, 22-23; 2008, 11; 2010; Msimang 2002, 5). So, I was not necessarily shocked by Boitumelo's discussion; However, I was surprised that someone had finally admitted that the Caucus had experienced some tough times, which validated my observations. With the mention of "exits and restructuring," it was clear that the

conflicts that had occurred were somewhat volatile, thus begging the question, *what are the true costs of having 'solid' foundations?*

Although I will never get answers because of Boitumelo's reluctance to unpack this issue further, I took away the understanding that intersectional movement building is not without confronting conflict. However, love and care are the key to realizing and maintaining collective harmony as they forge pathways for 'working with difference" (Nnameaka 2005, 64). by cultivating consideration, understanding and empathy that often lack in situations of conflict. Reifying the latter, Nkealah (2022, 4) states, African feminism not only seeks to change oppressive conditions for womxn, but operates as a theory of humanness, which, "is definitively a quality of showing kindness, care, consideration, affection and understanding for another human being." Hence, Boitumelo's reflections showed us that BWC's prioritisation of love and care extends beyond its outward-facing programmes and operations, they also shape its inward-facing practices as well. In this sense, we can also conclude that the BWC aligns with Tamale's (2020) thoughts on rigorous political consciousness and conscientization as a constant project.

So, perhaps the BWC's unwillingness to readily expose the discomforts and intra-movement cracks can be read not as avoidance, but as a deliberate practice of recognising the Caucus as a space for growth, rebuilding, and reconnection; And rather than dwelling on persecution and/or punishment for errors, the BWC focuses on nurturing possibilities for change and transformation all through the ethics of love and care. To close on a note of love, allow me to surface, the ending of this exchange with Boitumelo parting thoughts,

> "…no matter how much we disagreed or fight, at the end of the day, we knew we must come together against the issue [GBVF]. I think because we love so much and care so deeply, we knew never to escalate things. Our bonds also as sxsters always brings us back to our values and principles. That's why we are still standing also…because of love even when we disagree." (PTS interview with Boitumelo, August 12, 2023).

3.4 *Sxstering* Against *Mbokodification*

The COVID-19 pandemic represented a time of great distress from the personal to the social. For activists and movements like the Black Womxn Caucus, it brought distress in the form of the end to some funding streams, disruptions to strategic partnerships and relationships, disturbance to core mandate activities and the overall ability to convene and regroup. However,

sxstering with love, care and consideration would see them through this era. Speaking to the latter in what became an improvised group interview at the BWC office after my one-on-one interviews, Sebaga would share,

> "Apart from my blood family, *eqinisweni abosisi laba*[39] all I had when COVID hit. In fact, all we had was each other. We might work together, yes, but we have grown to become more than just colleagues…we have become sxsters. We look out for each other. To answer your question Tshego, that's how we have lasted for so long and survived that horror 2 years. You see, we never gave up because *si'umdeni… sibumbeni…*[40] beyond what we do here at BWC. I remember that time because I was still new and pregnant. When I was in labour during that lockdown my sxsters called me… *Mam'* Keneilwe Mam' Lore and Sarona with her daily memes. Everyone used to check up on me and that sxsterhood is what locked me in. I mean we were all under siege [GBVF and COVID], and life was difficult, but they always sxstered and they sxstered me to death these ones… And to be honest that's exactly how things have been operating…always knowing that together we could get through anything through *ubuntu,* love, care and compassion and its so funny because they are in our principles too… *ubuntu*, diversity, inclusion" (MTS/Z Interview with Sebaga, July 24, 2023).

It, thus, goes without saying that principles, values and the attachments/bonds at the core of a movement have a symbiotic relationship. This relationship has a consequence that influences how a movement like the BWC operates. From Soweto, Westbury, Newlands and now Gandhi Square, I had seen these values in full action. Resurfacing Nkealah's (2022, 4) sentiments that for African feminist movements to have survived the pandemic, they needed to return to the practise of feminist humanness which should be understood as,

> "a positive African value that cements human relationships—friendships, family bonds, marriages; and a quality of showing kindness, care, consideration, affection and understanding for another human being who is undergoing a crisis."

Remembering that indeed, the BWC is a (Black) African feminist movement, whose operationalising values and principle as told by Sebaga are, *ubuntu*, diversity, and inclusion; the groups thus can be categorised once again as one falling under Nkealah's (2022) feminist

[39] Translation from Zulu: "in realness these sisters"
[40] Translation from Zulu: "we're family… we're united"

humanness criteria. This categorisation thus provides a theoretical explanation of how this group was able to survive a global crisis. Moreover, according Okpokwasili (2023, 173) *sisterhood* in feminism "evokes a sense of solidarity, power and community based on shared experiences of oppression and discrimination." So, it was not farfetched to consider that their bonds transcend physical space and, by extension, the mobility regimes and ensured their survival.

Speaking of operations, it is worth understanding that all of the BWC's divisions adhere to the very same values of care, consideration, and love. As I mentioned in the methodology, the Caucus has three divisions that cater to its diverse membership, and according to Lorato,

> "The *Bereka Mosadi* division [consists of] womxn above the age of 35 who we often refer to as the 'working womxn,' and they focus on mobilising at a community level. And they are our most vibrant group. Then, we have the core group, which is the young womxn aged 23-34 mobilising in universities… and our last-born is the BGC led by *bo*Boitumelo and Sarona. These ones are high schoolers, and they are aged from 13-22. They advocate against issues affecting them as girls in high schools, *you know?* Like bullying and harassment from other students or teachers. But these clusters don't work alone. We all 'organise for survival' on different levels, but together, *you get*?" (Interview with Lorato, July 24, 2023).

As the group chat gained momentum, I was glad the usually shy and reserved Lorato offered to break down the divisions for my understanding. When I later reflected on the structure, I could not help but be in yet again awe of the intentionality. That is because to build a successful intergenerational and cross-cultural movement is an emotionally, financially and physically laborious task. That is because challenges within AWHR and feminist spaces often oscillate around issues of: limited collective care and well-being mechanisms (UAF-Africa 2022, 29); affect-premised cultural and ideological clashes (Whittier 2021, 377); hierarchies and self-limiting conditions like 'feminist elderhood,' and identity-centred respectability politics (Engelbrecht 2021, 25). So, to pull it off and to the standards we see the BWC operating today is mighty epic.

While looking around the room, my eyes and ears would catch *Mam'* Lore's zesty laugh. As always, her grace and poise drew eyes towards her naturally. *You* see, *Mam'* Lore is what I can only describe as a womxn with a presence that holds rooms in rapt attention. The stillness of

her demeanor radiates in waves of quiet authority, and when I met her for the first time, I was intimidated. Although, our encounter was courtesy of Sebaga's recommendations, the awkwardness never faded. Although we later developed a good relationship, the memories of this encounter still linger like petrichor. Nonetheless, her distance would reduce with each high five and loud laugh over pizza, and I realised that indeed this moment was peak *gxrlhood!* Circling back to Sebaga's listing of values to gain more insight about their links to the recurrent themes of the conversation. Responding to my inquiry on what exactly are the BWC's core values and principles, I remembered that Boitumelo shared that,

> "…our values are ubuntu, diversity, and inclusion. We value these things because, look around, you see how different we are? We have to always remember that we are different, so we must do things with kindness and love you know that *ubuntu* spirit, celebrate each other's diversity and empower others. And once you do things *ka botho*[41] you automatically are including everyone. Even our projects, you see them from the flyer…they are all informed by these four values and principles… we are here to empower and uplift each other *akere*[42] that's what being a sxster is? (PTS interview with Boitumelo, August 12, 2023).

Turning to the flyer referenced by Boitumelo leisurely laying on the table, I began reading about the group's projects, campaigns and running programmes. However, I would occupy myself with those that were operational during the pandemic. From the pamphlets, the COVID-19 running campaigns and projects were:

1. Operation *Letsa Phala*[43]: An awareness campaign and programme building and promoting community solidarity against GBVF in the Kathrada Park and Bekezela communities.
2. Fund the Fight: An advocacy campaign that lobbied for the private sector's financial investment in supporting anti-GBV efforts and inspired by the #SandtonShutdown protest at the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, of which BWC was a founding member (Mogoatlhe and Letsoalo, Global Citizen, 2019; Matwadia, Mail & Guardian, 2019).
3. Operation *Futhumala*[44]: A high school anti-bullying campaign rooted in feminist education and led by the BGC division.

[41] Translation from Setswana: with 'ubuntu.' Botho is the Setswana word from Ubuntu.
[42] A spoken interjection translated from Setswana: "isn't it"
[43] Translation from Setswana: "Blow the whistle"
[44] Translation from SeSotho: "Warm up"

4. Crisis of Care: A WhatsApp Helpline that provided free emotional and psychological support to those in distress during lockdowns.
5. Kathrada Food Parcel Distribution Project: In partnership with the SA government, this Bereka Mosadi-led project assisted with food parcel distribution drives to in-need families during the pandemic.

Completely pivoting the conversation, I asked how this group was prioritising rest seeing as they had a full operations agenda running at the height of the pandemic. Bubbly and always ready to contribute Sarona shared,

> "…if I am being honest, when Cupcake[45] announced that first lockdown I was lowkey happy because it was time for us to rest. Before that, I didn't know what rest was because we were always on the move. Sure, in the grand scheme of things it was the start of our many problems, but we didn't know what was coming and I just wanted to rest without the guilt. I don't know if we would have survived if there were no mandated times to not be outside, I still say, that first lockdown though was needed… and honestly all throughout COVID we rested" (Interview with Sarona, July 24, 2023.

Sarona's words would hit me like a ton of rocks. I felt seen and affirmed. This was because after having facilitated six webinars and having grown the FiB Facebook account to over 1.3k followers organically in just six months, I was burnt-out, however, because we were "online" and that labour was invisible. While to those alive to the cost, we (FiB) were celebrated as *Imbokodo*—a label I have yet to fully understand. It was, therefore, in this spontaneous group chat that I learned that for affects to galvanise solidarity optimally, the actors need to also be functioning and organising at their highest potential which meant taking rest seriously. This became a pivotal reflection because until this point, as an activist, I was accustomed to "*giving some fire to the hearth so that other women can keep receiving grain"* no matter the cost (Tushamad, Justice News, 2022).

Considering the politics that feminism(s) confronts and are built upon, movements ascribing to this ideology thus should be inherent cultivators of cultures of care (Tamale 2020; Mama 1995). However, the reality is that they are not. Some defenders and activist would even argue that they can be the most violent and toxic spaces one could ever encounter— but that is a conversation for another day, and another degree. For now, allow me to make this statement:

[45] Social media nickname for President Cyril Ramaphosa.

(Black) African feminist movements battle with mbokodification.

According to Ngcobo (2021, 17), this term refers to, the dangerous stereotyping and branding of Black African womxn as strong and resilient, almost in a non-human form. The non-human aspect comes from, the reality that the word originates from of the mantra and song, *Wathint' Abafazi, Wathint' Imbokodo.*[46] A significant part of this practice though is the relegation of emotions and feelings to indicators of weakness. With the latter in mind and my observations from the Dikarabo outreach, I can thus hypothesise that the BWC may also be battling with this condition. That was because, at the Dikarabo upon learning of the death in the home, instead of rescheduling after seeing how emotionally heavy the space was, *we* opted to sing through the triggers. While Åhäll (2018) advocates relentlessly for affects to be recognised as tools that build and sustain movements; fellow Black womxn Lorde (1988) in her cancer journey reminded us to consider that radical self, and collective, care as political and acts of resistance. While we care for the world, we ought to also recognise that we too are part of this world we think is more deserving of the care and love we readily give and fight for. While the BWC evidently survived the pandemic, from Sarona's sharings we learned that it was not by design but rather a happy accident caused by imposed immobility. It is therefore in this moment of reflection that, McFadden's (2021, 286) sentiments of stepping back and/or pausing echoed loudly as she points us to the realisation that rest is important for feminist organisers and the continuity of movements.

The idea here (and in reflection of the events at Dikarabo) is that movements cannot operate at full capacity when makers of the movement itself are pouring from an empty cup. While we can care for each other as triggers happen, the aftermath of a trigger is left to linger within and around the person. Speaking to this in more depth, was feminist health demographer, epidemiologist, and biostatistician, Dr Naledi who shared,

> "*You know,* Tshego, my dear, COVID taught me may things but one I took to heart was the importance of resting. Throughout COVID I was working and every day I was being pulled from one direction to the next… while I am grateful to have had a job that was feeding me for one because everyone was losing jobs…for second my career was UP. I grew so much professionally because I was everywhere and doing everything, but at the end of each day, I used to come back home and just cry because I was so exhausted. Not just physically hey... emotionally,

[46] Translation from IsiZulu: "you strike the *women;* you strike the rock." A protest call, mantra, and phrase meant to communicate the resilience and strength of womxn.

> psychologically and intellectually. And I will tell you why intellectually, I was seeing in real time decisions being made that did not serve womxn and I had to over exhaust and extend myself to ensure that at least as a feminist in my small sphere of influence I could do something. But here is the kicker, there were other people I could have leaned on for support and ask them to do the work I was not able to but because I'm an *Imbokodo… but did I really need to?* (Interview with Dr. Naledi July 15, 2023).

Although the conversation was about rest, a key learning I gained from *Mam'* Keneilwe, Boitumelo and Dr. Naledi's sharings was the importance of reflection. What I observed was that all these activists took time to reflect on how immobility forced them to consider rest as an important practice to carry forward and for me, a point to consider when developing the survival guide. I guess, the trick is to be reflective and teachable. Moreover, they had rearticulated love as not just a warm fuzzy feeling but like hooks (2000; 2001) infused it with purpose for it to be political. Their love was infused by the desire for justice, and navigating cohesion wounds. Additionally, from Dr. Naledi we come alive to how truly profound Lorde's (1988) considerations that self care is not just self preservation but a radical need for activists. Perhaps, like Lorde (1988), the challenges of the mobility regimes showed us that it was time to retire the strong black womxn trope. While these lessons emerged in individual-centred contributions, perhaps in the future, we can explore the importance, and benefits of collective reflection and rest in feminist movement building through the thoughts of Hersey (2022), McFadden's (2021), and Lorde (1988), for now I will pause this discussion here.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

So, do environments influence solidarity galvanising affects? From this chapter, the answer is yes, because the power of affect lies in how we work with and use it (or them). From the BWC, we learned that every emotion, feeling, and embodied experience carries has positive and negative antennas. Therefore, to harness their power to galvanise solidarity, they must be revolutionised. That is to say, their intent needs to be repurposed, and attached social meaning rearticulated. In the context of COVID-19, anger, and fear as seen as we learned from the BWC yet again, emerged as such emotions needing repurposing, while love and care, were rearticulated as sources of resistance.

As I further explored the idea of revolutionizing affect with the BWC in this chapter, what became apparent was that feminists like myself and movements like FiB still have a long way

to go in terms of learning how to effectively work with and draw strength from emotion. However, the key here for would be for African feminist movements to look a little closer to home and come alive to the holisticness of our cultures embedded in our hidden histories that could help us navigate and better ground our politics and practice in affect. More specifically, we can then say that the biggest lesson here is that the contextualization of emotions and feelings is both a movement building necessity and key to survival. This is because without being relatable to the presenting circumstances and environment, the ability for affect to act as motivation reservoir at the height of crisis cannot be unlocked. And the environment itself, carries the potential to warp emotions and feelings by killing their ability to drive cohesion and solidarity.

To conclude, another takeaway from this chapter was that much as the BWC revolutionized the COVID-induced affects, all that effort was neatly tied together by their ability to self-reflect and thereby begin to prioritise the well-being of the activists. This is because as we have come to learn, the adaptation of the emergent emotions and feelings is not limited to just the external environment. Optimal revolutionising requires actors to function at their optimal best. Hence, love, care, and rest, could not be reserved solely for the outward-facing practices but had to also be infused into internal-facing ones—a great point of reflection for FiB and possible gateway to post-*imbokodo* futures.

Chapter 4:

From *Imigwago* to *Mafaratlhatlha!: Digitally Organising for Survival*

> "*Dumelang bagaetsho!*[47] *Boa Tarde!*[48] Hello, everyone! Thank you for joining us today. We're about to start. But before we do, kindly take note of the housekeeping rules in the chat so our session today runs smoothly. My name is Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane, the co-founder of the Feminism in Botswana collective. Today's panel discussion is a collaboration between FiB, the UCT African Gender Institute (AGI), and UB Young Women's Leadership Project. The topic as the flyer states is, 'Dissecting the intersections between COVID-19 and Gender-Based Violence in Southern Africa,'…without any further ardue…" (FiB-AGI-YWLC Webinar, Facebook, 2020)

This opening was to *our* eighth and final install of the year for the 'The Conversation' webinar series. This series, aimed to give Batswana feminist activists and AWHRDs a platform to contribute to national and regional dialogue around sustaining feminist movements during the pandemic and to continue the mobilisation for anti-GBVF agendas. The labour that the FiB team had invested to the realisation of this project was incredible especially considering the time frame, limited resources, and the obvious predicament of COVID-19. However, these efforts would be clouded by the rising death toll and continued global disregard of GBV. This was because after concluding the series, it still felt like nothing was changing unlike if we took these discussions to the streets.

For context, FiB was launched in response to the surge of GBV in the southern Africa region following the implementation of lockdowns (Madigele and Baloyi 2022, 2; Amnesty International 2021, 13). Initially, it was envisioned as a movement whose gender equality and equity-seeking efforts would culminate in the physical convening of Botswana's first Feminist Festival and development of a *Womxnifesto*— a document that would articulate Batswana womxn's struggles as a means to lobby for policy reform, mobilise gender justice and motivate social transformation for GBV-free futures. However, due to the COVID-19 mobility restrictions and regimes, we launched it as a "digital platform facilitating intersectional feminist discourse that builds individual agency and collective power" (FiB Collective, Facebook, 2020).

[47] Translation from Setswana: "Greetings, my kinfolk (symbolic)." This is a greeting/ form of salutations.
[48] Translation from Portuguese: "Good Afternoon"

On impact, it is important to note that, within six months of its debut, FiB had organically amassed almost 1.3k followers on Facebook, 119 on X (formerly known as Twitter), 270 on Instagram and an average of 27 webinar attendees via Zoom. Although these numbers might look and feel very small, to put them into perspective, this eighth install panel discussion garnered 686 impressions and had a reach of 564 on Facebook alone. So, the latter, in simple terms, meant that FiB's Facebook live stream could appear in almost half of its followership's newsfeed without any type of paid promotion. *So, how were we generating that much reach?* The truth of the matter was that we launched FiB at a time when everyone was *logged* and *locked* in, all thanks to the mobility regimes (Hove 2023, 4). However, algorithms still need well-thought-out, relatable, consistent and engaging content curation to fully exploit such moments (Kavada et al., 2023, 10; Talha, LinkedIn, 2023). Thus, it was interesting to notice social media growth for the BWC while FiB was on the decline. This was interesting because the BWC was not as active on social media before the pandemic as compared to FiB.

As I previously mentioned, except for Lame and I's years-long friendship, our six-person collective's affective connections were just a few months old. So, much as we considered the space a sisterhood whose pre-launch bi-weekly plenary meetings that began in late 2019 and continued into early 2020 and were characterised by snotty laughter, warm hugs and food, lively music and impassioned conversations, with the occasional dash of tears of both sadness and joy; none of the members had strong emotional ties to FiB or each other for they came into the fold either only knowing Lame or me. So, as the pandemic worsened and GBV-femicide rates soared, the collective met less, and our collaborating partners retreated more. Seeing as our foundations were not strong enough to withstand the digital space without prolonged physical reinforcement, our immobility, in addition to other factors like the rising death tolls, risks of infections and general anxieties about the future, disrupted our affective core and facilitated our decline. By June 2021, we ceased all operations and went into an indefinite hiatus. So, *what were the BWC doing differently? And how were they doing it?*

In this chapter, I argue that social media facilitates the reimagination of mobility and feminist movement building. However, effective and impactful digital activism depends on the successful digital translation of affect and collective effervescence. That is because, the digital space can only sustain movements with digitally translatable core principles and values that then anchor the solidarity-galvanising affects that catalyze collective effervescence but require time to cement. This argument draws on Stark's (2019, 121) argument that, that digital systems

(including social media) operate as "agents intensifying already existing affect, feeling and emotion" to sustain physical relationships and collectivism digitally.

4.1 Remembering *Imigwago*

> ***Tshego**: Gworl?! I'm working with this group for my MA, and they took me to Pretoria, in a TAXI!!*
>
> ***Lame:** really? Do they want to collab? Also, a TAXI?? Tell me more!*
>
> ***Tshego:** Gworl, IDK…but do you want a TAXI Storytime?*

And this is that story…

After 11 minutes of my arrival at Bree, the BWC members began arriving, and shortly after, our taxi driver arrived, too. His name was Lawrence, and his assistant— I assumed— Mthokozisi. As a first-time passenger, I must say there is nothing like a South African taxi. For starters, within the first five minutes of meeting Lawrence, I came to understand that the mood and ambience of the taxi are always set by the driver. If *he* is a music lover like Lawrence, you will find yourself at 06h30 riding a car that is driving at a high speed on the fast lane on the highway with *Amapiano* and house music with a splash of *Maskandi* threatening to destroy your eardrums. As painful as you may think it would be, it was actually enjoyable if you are a thrill seeker. Secondly, although Google Maps said it would be a one-hour ride from Bree with a driver like Lawrence, we arrived in 49 minutes, fully pumped up by the music and his endless but weird jokes. Much as we were going to a protest to raise awareness about the disheartening realities of some of the exploited people in the labour space, our mood from Jozi to Pretoria was zealous, laced with joy and happiness. With this activity, I learned that part of the BWC mandate was also to lend voice to other WHR movements and being able to travel to these protests was what made it possible.

When we arrived at the drop-off point, Loftus Versfeld Stadium, we were greeted by joyous crowds singing liberation songs and holding up placards with messages like:

"Stop exploitation of Domestic Workers,"

"We matter! Our lives matter! Stop Domestic Worker Abuse"

"Stop Killing Us!"

As a Motswana in this space, I must admit I was unaware of the gravity of the issues that domestic workers face in SA. For example, in addition to the placards and boards speaking to abuse and killings were some that were directly calling out the Saudi Arabian diplomats who were accused of allegedly battering and murdering a South African domestic worker. The

graphic pictures used were enough to change my chirpy mood to absolute gloom. It is in these moments that you recognise that, much as we were all zealous and joyous, the ambience of the protest carried with it a heaviness rooted in the unsettling and grim realities that bring about such action. Moreover, this interplay of affect, principles, and values reflect how time also plays a significant role in cementing and solidifying the commitment of activists to collective work. This is because from how the BWC was engaging with the activists from UDWOSA it was evident activists from both movements were not just strangers brought together by an issue but had an existing relationship that amplified and anchored the camaraderie of, and comradery in the space. So, while affect plays a big role in movement building and principle-crafting, it is important to recognise that time also plays a significant role in deepening solidarity.

On the 05th of August the BWC participated in the United Domestic Workers of South Africa (UDWOSA) led protest in Pretoria. Like I said in Chapter 2, movements birth other movements and do not operate in silos if the attachments to the organising agenda are strong. So, considering that the BWC is a movement that centres community outreach and engagement, they also participate in lending voice to other movements. This was because for them,

> "Supporting other movements is part of our agenda, so when you see us involved in many things with different people, ours is to increase their numbers because whatever change they get, we benefit and vice versa" (MTS Interview with Sarona, August 05, 2023)."

Building movements is not without building relationships, alliances and thinking collectively. Hence, Sarona's words were refreshing to hear because this meant there was an opportunity for FiB and BWC to collaborate beyond this study. Moreover, they were further proving how deeply attached the BWC is to the anti-GBVF agenda. However, the energy, the singing, the vibe of Pretoria was one that could not be replicated. It was here that, that I began to grapple truly with the challenges of imposed immobility. That was because, the more I sang and walked the two kilometre-turned-five Hartfield terrain, the more I would be engulfed by the effervescence emanating from the crowd. Elevating Durkheim (1912), Shilling and Mellor (1998, 195) define collective effervescence as the intense energy and harmony people in a group generate and experience. The key trait to achieving this though is physical presence. *So, how did a movement that depends so significantly on physical activities and mobility survive an immobility era?*

Interestingly, it will be decorated feminist philanthropy funding expert Sethunya who would answer my questions. Responding to my inquiries on whether defenders and activists perceived the pandemic as a threat to the livelihoods of their feminist movements, she shared,

> "Although COVID felt like this really exceptional moment globally, to me, as an activist, it was, but it also wasn't. It was exceptional because it was a new virus and one of that magnitude, but it also wasn't because when we really think about post-independence politics in Africa, crises have not been rare, and the only difference now was that this was something happening globally and not continentally only… Sure, COVID was new to the world, but we, feminists in Africa, have been mobilising through a range of things, whether it is unconstitutional government changes, suspensions of constitutions, against extractives, climate change, responding to natural disasters and our own epidemics like Ebola or HIV/AIDS, it's been so many things. And the thing is, GBV has been one long-winded crisis that has accompanied all these other crises that have emerged over the years. So, as a movement, African feminisms have been ebbing and flowing across crises. In short, the pandemic may have been a new kind of global crisis, but crises are not new to feminist movements…we just adapt and evolve. I mean look at what happned with COVID, a lot of the movements learned how to use tech and social media to their advantage and continue the work" (Interview with Sethunya, August 10, 2023).

Kaun and Uldam (2018, 2100) define *digital activism* as engaging all digital media for socio-political mobilisation and enabling "accelerated rhythms of political shifts." Reflecting on Sethunya's take, it was true that anti-GBV feminist movements have been organising in crisis since time immemorial. For those in SA specifically, we can date them to as far back as 1905 with the beginning of the anti-passbook laws efforts—a different iteration of violence against womxn. So, the takeaway here was evolution. Recognising that the BWC's social media presence and usage was not significant before COVID, I could see how they really did evolve and grow with the use of tech and social media. Like I said, I stalked their social media, and I can attest to the talents of Rudo and her team. *But how were they doing it and not getting exhausted like us?* To answer this question, let's journey into *Mafaratlhatlha…*

4.2 Into *Mafaratlhatlha*

"My Fellow South Africans…"

Although this phrase was and could never be a neologism because of its history in anti-apartheid rhetoric that liberation leaders— but more famously Nelson Mandela— often began their speeches to plant seeds of fortitude and unity in the face of adversity; it was through President Cyril Ramaphosa in 2020 that the phrase became, in my view, an axiom of cultural resonance for it marked the beginning of an unforgettable epoch in human history. On March 23, 2020, in a sombre tone and a discernible heaviness in breath, these words would open the President's infamous 21-day lockdown announcement: An unprecedented first for democratic South Africa— a country whose liberation is rooted in mobility (Thörn 2014, 24). Each word uttered and the audible deep pauses in between sentences at the time reflected the weight of the decision to rescind people's ability and right to move freely dramatically and the palpable seriousness and projected gloom of the COVID-19 pandemic. The emphasised solemnity of the announcement was also a reflection of how this decision would alter, as we have seen and experienced, society as we know it.

For Sarona, these words also meant that the BWC needed to,

> "evolve… that opening line to me with every family meeting was a reminder that we our lives have changed, our ways have changed, so we must change. All I was hearing was evolve, grow, evolve. We need to find ways to continue and social media was that. But because back then we were barely making the cut on social media evolving and chnaging our approaches were not really a priority…" (PTS Interview with Sarona, July 24, 2023).

Stark (2019, 121) argues that, digital spaces which include social media are affective at their core. That is to say, emotions and feelings are part and parcel of these platforms because the operate as "emotive actants intensifying affect, feeling and emotion." These affects are familiar as they draw from our everyday experiences and lives (ibid). So, the love, care, ubuntu, compassion, fear and anger that the BWC has grappled with were all alive in this space during the pandemic. However, there is some skill needed and as Sarona shared the BWC was under capacitated and I believe this realisation is what would bring Rudo and Mudiwa on board. So, the first step to evolving was to:

4.2.1 Involve Experts

> "Before COVID, we were not as involved with social media. We were still figuring it out. So, when COVID came, we kind of didn't have a choice but to go into that direction a little bit more. So, at the time we were learning, we taught ourselves

how to not just tweet or share a status but how to write it in a way that could get some response. But I have to also say, we involved experts on comms during that time which helped a lot. We were at least not shy in admitting that we were ill-equipped. We got the experts and they now run the pages for us. I also think it helped in lowering burnout because at least now we don't have one person running everything" (PTS Interview with Sarona, July 24, 2023).

Like FiB, the BWC was clearly a proponent of being teachable and co-learning. It goes without saying that to synthesise and translate the collective effervescence we experience in the physical world like in Pretoria into the digital space requires some level of expertise (Kavada et al. 2023; Talha, LinkedIn, 2023). This is because experts know to teach, write and present information that emulates "insurgent intellectual work that inspired resistance" (hooks and West 2016, 162). Like Sarona stated, it was never about just writing a status, but a way of communicating that rallies people and keeps them engaged while representing the voices of the movements in their most authentic. Moreover, the act of sharing labour was reifying the care the BWC speaks about as an anchor of their organising.

After making a comment on how this march could have been a social media webinar because I was tired, Lorato would gently remind me how lending voice was important. Accepting this kindhearted and constructive feedback, I asked why the BWC seems to center a lot of their mobilising work now on social media. Her answer would take me back to my frustrations of not being able to get more information on the group, because there was none in the official archives. Lorato would inform me that they are aware of the gap and that it was part of the reason why they bolstered their use of social media. This taking up space by womxn is because social media gave and continues to give them voice (Agunwa 2024, 115), while:

4.2.2 Writing Themselves into History

"*uma singakhulumi ngomsebenzi wethu ubani ozokhuluma*[49] Although I am not on facebook too much, I too used to like and share during covid. I still do now. But I say this because Tshego, we were there during apartheid, you would see with your eye's womxn working and getting arrested for our freedom but today you will never hear anything we did. So, you see when boWarona dnRuso share in Facebook it is exciting because we see ourselves and other people and we will never be forgotten

[49] Translated from Zulu meaning, If we don't talk about our work, who will

akere Facebook if forever or what?" (MTZ Interview with *Mam'* Keneilwe July 24, 2023).

Ahead of the COVID time, Darkwah (2019) states that digital feminist activism is a powerful strategy to building movements that has shown traditional mobilisation strategies the need to evolve. While their impact is often questioned as actions driven by social media can turn negative, the digital space is one that feminists ought to be looking at for sustainability and growth (ibid). Thus, to think of social media as an archiving tool is profound. This is because feminist movements, activists and AWHRDs have been excluded from the archived (Gibb 2019, 4-6; Gqola 2004, 54) and so, *Mam'* Keneilwe's words were highlight how social media gives space and voice to those who would normally be excluded as per racialised and patriarchal systems. For example, FiB which gave regional activists space to contribute to pertinent regional discourse, and the BWC who gets to write about their work and ensure sustainability.

Lastly but showing how the group caters through tech to its age-diverse membership, Lorato would mention that they also sometimes must use older technologies because not every member is tech savvy and on social media. While the digital age is great, sometimes there is value in:

4.2.3 Going Analogue

"…but not everyone in BWC has a phone with Facebook and all these things. So, what I used to do to keep us connected, by us I mean the oldies Bereka Mosadi, I used to go to WhatsApp and just got to each number, one by one, and call them and if they don't have WhatsApp, I send an sms or make a direct call. I would call those old women every other two or three days because I knew we were all having a difficult time. People were dying also Tshego and you never knew if the last time was the last time because who knew when the lockdowns would end. So, I used to call and sms' them. Then *bo*Sarona and the young people would communicate via Facebook and WhatsApp (MTS Interview with *Mam'* Lore, July 24, 2023).

Living in the digital age, where everything is fast and bright, can sometimes make us forget that there is a great digital divide that is alive and thriving (Agunwa 2024). Not everyone indeed especially in Africa owns a smart phone and/or is tech and social media savvy. Thus, returning to old technologies or ways of mobilising is not regression but rather progression in thought. Resurfacing feminist humanness, Nkealah (2022) states that being concerned and caring for

others facing crisis is the epitome of feminist action. Thus, through *Mam'* Lore's take, we can thus see how the BWC has also evolved the practice of feminist humanness. This is evidenced by how the group conducted themselves and held each other during the pandemic.

4.3 Chapter Conclusion

It goes without saying that technology advancements through social media have helped the world stay connected. However, while we may think we are emotionally distanced from the digital world for we access it through devices; from the BWC experience we ought to recognise that we also access these spaces through emotions, feelings and embodied experiences. Hence, movements like the BWC were able to migrate their work in the physical into the digital for they centred emotion in their organising because these spaces are affective.

Therefore, survival and sustainability for the BWC was realised through social media and its ability to keep the conversations about GBVF alive by replicating the effervescence, emotions and feelings we thought we could only find in physical convenings, digitally. A take way lesson here is that, while the regimes locked us in, for the BWC unlocked a world where the mobility of agendas was possible. With that, they have and continue to grow exponentially through it.

As for FiB who started in the digital space, a lesson to learn from them is to incorporate the strengthening of relationships and bonds at the core of our movements so that movements are sustainable in the digital world. Moreover, we ought to remember that sharing of labour even in the digital space is key, thus, ask for help from experts and thrive.

Chapter 5

***Ka bokhutshwane*, We learn in Retrospect**

"Clothes? Check!" "Blankets? Check! "Shoes? Check!" "Bags? Check!"

deep sigh

"Memories & Lessons? Check!"

When reflecting on my eight-week stint with the Black Womxn Caucus, I can only describe the experience as a journey eclipsed by ethereal solstices. Think about the longevous summers as the days where conversations transformed into beautiful rays of insightful reflections layered by laughter, care and love that all culminated in Black *gworl* joy. The fleeting winters were the heart wrenching moments, frustration, and tears that come with remembering the pandemic and reflecting on the struggles of being Black and womxn in South Africa. As I finally pack my suitcases, in my preparation to leave the incredible city of gold after an *interesting* two years, I catch myself in deep reflection about my time and experiences. With every arm extension zipping up the trinket-filled pockets and fold, bringing miscellaneous items closer to my face for closer inspection, I ask myself, *what am I taking home?* Quietly singing along to Ami Faku's *Inde Lendlela* playing in the background, I sway my head from left to right with each guitar string affirming Ami's words that truly *ibe inde lendlela endiyi hambileyo*[50] with this degree and thesis particularly.

Pausing to double-check the item piles on the floor with my little sticky note checklist, under the clothes pile, I spot my satchel. *How ironic*. This was the same satchel I took to Soweto and interestingly the BWC badge I had bought and superglued to the pocket flap was still holding on. Running my fingers over the leather one last time before I tossed it into the handbag and shoes pile in the corner of the room, I caught myself reminiscing again about how long the journey was; then it clicked! What I was taking back to Botswana were lessons for Feminism in Botswana. This became a full circle moment as my realisations were answers to the research question: how did the Black Womxn Caucus survive the COVID-19 mobility regimes?

As I told Lame, I wanted FiB back; I can only imagine that other AWHRDs and feminist activists who succumbed to the pressures of the mobility regimes like FiB also share my sentiments. So, in the spirit of collectivism and sharing, in lieu of a conclusion, this chapter is dedicated to summing up the lessons I learned from the BWC about feminist movement

[50] Xhosa lyric from Inde Lendlela song meaning, "it was a long road that I had travelled."

building in times of crisis. It also outlines the recommended ways in which I believe other activists, defenders, and interested researchers can carry forward the dialogue generated in and by this paper.

5.1 A Full Suitcase: Lessons to Take Home

The overarching lesson we can all take away from the BWC is that feeling, and emoting are feminist practices. This is because this paper has been a demonstration of emotions, feelings, embodied experiences being a central aspect and resource to AWHR and feminist movement building at a time of crisis. Hence, to survive the pandemic and its mobility regimes, we can thus conclude to say, movements needed to recognise affects as key resources that they could tap into when others are affected by immobility. Thus, to craft a revival guide for FiB and other movements alike, below I offer my five takeaway lessons from the Black Womxn Caucus's survival story, I believe will be beneficial to the reviving of FiB and potentially other movements in a similar predicament.

5.1.1 Reflect, and Readjust

Although the COVID-19 pandemic and its mobility regimes were unprecedented, this study as a whole demonstrated for us that, since time immemorial, (Black) African feminist movements and activists have been organising in and through crises. While technically these movements were the ones to be better positioned by experience, the COVID-19 pandemic brought with it a need to readjust and rethink strategies which is where most fell short. This is because, unlike other crises, where picketing, and protesting were suitable strategies to keep conversations alive and relevant to the status quo; for COVID-19 using mobility was not an option. Instead, feelings, emotions and embodied experiences which are often a deprioritised aspect of feminist movement building in practice were revealed as a key resource that helped the BWC pivot, adjust and realign. With this understanding activists and movements ought to prioritise affect in their movement building for it is a resource that ensures resilience, and sustainability especially in moments of crises.

5.1.2 People ARE the Movement

As I had shared before, until my journey with the BWC, as an activist, I never prioritised self-care, love and rest. So, this kind of thinking and approach was reflected in my work for FiB. Looking back retrospectively, I see how this contributed to the collective's burnout. Perhaps, had we taken a moment like the BWC to pause, reflect and regroup, we would have come alive to the reality that movements are made and built by people. Thus, it is important to recognise

that healthy, vibrant and energetic people generate the much-needed solidarity galvanising affects far better than the exhausted and burnt out. While the label of *imbokodo* celebrates womxn's resilience, it should not be the imprisoning identity that denies activists space to rest and regroup. Moreover, while the guilt may overwhelm us, perhaps it's worth considering that the pandemic was an opportunity that went underutilised by activists to also take time to rest. To reiterate, let us remember that no good has ever come from pouring from an empty cup. Thus, for FiB, I hope Lame and I transform it into a space that prioritises self- care and love not only in its outward-facing programmes but its inward-facing practices too.

5.1.3 Rest Is Resistance

While it is admirable that the Black Womxn Caucus survived the mobility regimes, perhaps we ought to ask ourselves what the true cost of surviving was and continues to be. Comrades and sxsters reading this, be bold with me for a second and dare to think with me, pouring from an empty cup has never yielded anything positive. As we have seen with staff members in Dikarabo and the impassioned words of Sarona, rest is important because the movement is the people. To draw from strength from affects requires the sustaining of the environment they will operate in, in this case it is us—our bodies, souls and mind. Remember every emotion has a positive and negative potential, therefore, unhealthy thoughts and practices as a consequence of burn out and exhaustion trickle down to our organising capacities. And for (Black) African feminist and AWHR movements, it is time to rest the *Imbokodo* label. Rest is resistance and political just as love and care.

5.1.4 Think Mobilities not just Mobility

Closely unpacking BWC's approach to navigating the COVID-19 mobility regimes opened my eyes to the understanding that the absence of physical movement is not the absence of all mobility. That is to say, mobility is varied and physical movement, although prominent, always occurs alongside, adjacent or in juxtaposition to other mobilities. It is thus worth noting that these other *mobilities*, like digital mobility, can be exploited to overcome physical immobility. With the latter, I hope to reorient FiB's approach to organising in a manner that considers the inability to physically move not as a challenge but as an opportunity to explore other avenues. However, mobility is not without complexity. Moving in any capacity carries the potential to create, sustain and/or facilitate violence and precarity. Seeing that FiB has never operated in a world without the COVID-19 mobility regimes, I recognise that we ought to also be wary and careful of our movements, whether they be physical or digital.

5.1.5 Be Teachable

In the spirit of co-learning and co-creating knowledge, I believe FiB can contribute to these lessons on being open to learning and comfortable in vulnerability. Although movements are often viewed as the epitome of strength and bravery, vulnerabilities are still inescapable. So, by laying bare some of the challenges FiB faced and openly asking to learn from another movement i.e. the BWC, I believe FiB is teaching others how to lean on to others for insights and tips as defenders, activists and movements. By so doing, we are also fundamentally strengthening the global feminist agendas that realise gender justice, equality and equity to advance violence- and femicide- free futures. With all these lessons safely tucked away in my suitcase, I hope FiB and those in a similar predicament, recover.

5.2 Parting Gifts: Recommendations for Continued Dialogue

As we forge forward and into post-COVID-19 pandemic realities, I suggest that we consider this study, firstly, as an opening vignette to more conversations, studies and different kinds of literary work aiming to unpack, document and resurface issues around the affective political costs of global crises, particularly on AWHR and (Black) African feminist movements. I recommend this because I yearn for the redress of the preposterous gap in knowledge production as it pertains to the realities (Black) African feminisms confront.

Secondly, I encourage the acknowledgement of this body of work as a contribution to the fight against GBV and femicides in South Africa and Africa at large. I hope it sheds light on the costs of survival and, by extension, equips more defenders and activists with strategies to navigate crises and the complexities of (im)mobility.

Lastly, to the womxn of the world in constant motion, Black and African like me or otherwise, in the words of the renowned South African queer, feminist writer, poet and theatre-maker, Koleka Putuma (2024),

"Press both feet to the ground.
Place your hand on your heart.
You are brave and capable.
It will always be your time."

Bibliography

1992. *Sarafina!* Directed by Darrell Roodt. Performed by Leleti Khumalo.

1997. *Brenda Fassie: Not A Bad Girl.* Directed by Chris Austin. Performed by Brenda Fassie.

Acholonu, Catherine Obianuju. 1995. *Motherism the Afrocentric alternative to feminism.* Owerri, Nigeria: Afa Publications.

African Feminist Forum. 2016. *Kow Your African Feminists: Dr Pumla Dineo Gqola.* April. Accessed March, 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BSigIkhiCh8

Agunwa, Nkem. 2024. "Feminism and the Digital Era: Challenges and Opportunities in Africa." *Feminist Africa,* 5 (2): 113-126.

Åhäll, Linda. 2018. "Affect as Methodology: Feminism and the Politics of Emotion." *International Political Sociology* 12 (1): 36–52.

Ahmed, Sara. 2004. "Affective Economies." *Social Text* 22 (2): 117-139.

Ahmed, Sara. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion.* second edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ahmed, Sara. 2017. *Living a Feminist Life.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Akinbobola, Yemisi. 2020. "Defining African feminism(s) while #Beingfemaleinnigeria." *African Diaspora*, 12 (1-2): 64-88.

Alluring World. 2018. *Agadez Mosque.* 23 May. https://www.alluringworld.com/agadez-mosque/

Alpert, Harry. 1952. "Some Observations on the Sociology of Sampling." *Social Forces* 31 (1): 30-33.

Amnesty International. 2021. *"Treated like Furniture": Gender-based violence and COVID-19 response in Southern Africa.* Briefing, Amnesty International. Accessed April 11, 2023. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr03/3418/2021/en/

ANCWL. 2024. *ANCWL STATEMENT ON THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LAUNCH FEDSAW.* April 17. https://www.anc1912.org.za/ancwl-statement-on-the-70th-anniversary-of-the-launch-fedsaw/

Arenas, Iván. 2015. "The Mobile Politics of Emotions and Social Movement in Oaxaca, Mexico." *Antipode* 47 (5): 1121–1140.

Avishai, Orit, Lynne Gerber, and Jennifer Randles. 2012. “The Feminist Ethnographer’s Dilemma: Reconciling Progressive Research Agendas with Fieldwork Realities.” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (4): 394-426.

Azcona, Ginette, Antra Bhatt, Julia Brauchle, Guillem Fortuny Fillo, Yongyi Min, Heather Page, and Yuxi Zhang. 2022. *PROGRESS ON THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS THE GENDER SNAPSHOT 2022.* Annual report, United States: UN Women and UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division 2022.

Belaineh, B. 2016. *Afrocentricity, Sisterhood, and African Feminisms: An African Woman’s Standpoint in Black Feminist Thought.* 14 April. Accessed March 01, 2025. https://medium.com/black-feminist-thought-2016/afrocentricity-sisterhood-and-african-feminisms-an-african-woman-s-standpoint-in-black-feminist-2fe42cf31f62

Batliwala, Srilatha. 2012. “Changing Their World: Concepts and Practices of Women’s Movements.” *Building Feminist Movements and Organizations (BEFMO) Initiative* (Association of Women’s Rights in Development (AWID).

Beliso-De Jesús, Aisha M., Jemima Pierre, and Junaid Rana. 2023. “White Supremacy and the Making of Anthropology.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 52: 417-435.

Belenky, Mary Field, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule. 1986. *Women's Ways of Knowing.* New York: Basic Books.

Bennett, Jane. 2010. “‘Circles and circles’: Notes on African feminist debates around gender and violence in the c21." *Feminist Africa* 14: 21-47.

Bennett, Jane. 2017. “Rape: A South African Nightmare by Pumla Gqola.” *Feminist Africa* 22: 233-238.

Bernard, H. Russell. 2006. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Fourth. Lanham: ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD PUBLISHERS, INC.

Blais, Mélissa. 2023. “Fearful or fearless? The impact of fear on feminist activism.” *Social Movement Studies* (1): 113-129.

Bonotti, Matteo, and Steven T. Zech. 2021. “The Human, Economic, Social, and Political Costs of COVID-19.” In *Recovering Civility during COVID-19*, by Matteo Bonotti and Steven T. Zech, 1-36. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 2011.

Booysen, Susan. 2016. “Introduction.” In *Fees Must Fall: Student revolt, decolonisation and governance in South Africa*, edited by SUSAN BOOYSEN, 1-20. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Briggs, Charles L. 2007. Anthropology, Interviewing and Communicability in Contemporary Society.” *The University of Chicago Press*, 48 (4): 551-580.

Brown, Wendy. 1993. “Wounded Attachments.” *Political Theory* 21 (3): 90-410.

Black Womxn Caucus. 2017. *Black Womxn Caucus.* May 18. Accessed February 07, 2024. https://www.linkedin.com/company/black-womxn-caucus/

Butler, Judith. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Cheung, Nathan. 2020. “Book Review: Mobility Justice: The Politics of Movement in an Age of Extremes.” *The AAG Review of Books* 8 (3): 138–139.

Chabalala, Jeanette. 2024. *Manhunt for Bolt driver accused of stabbing two women.* 07 May. Accessed July 06, 2024. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2024-05-07-manhunt-for-bolt-driver-accused-of-stabbing-two-women/

Cherry, Janet. 2017. *The successes and failures of South Africa’s student movement.* June 29. Accessed January 2024. https://wagingnonviolence.org/2017/06/south-africa-fees-must-fall/

Chigumazi, Panashe. 2019. *Why I’m no longer talking to Nigerians about race.* Accessed December 20, 2023. https://africasacountry.com/2019/04/why-im-no-longer-talking-to-nigerians-about-race.

Chinguno, Crispen, Morwa Kgoroba, Sello Mashibini, Bafana Nicolas Masilela,, Boikhutso Maubane, Nhlanhla Moyo, Andile Mthombeni, and Hlengiwe Ndlovu. 2017. "INTRODUCTION: Reflexivity: Decolonising the process." In *Rioting and Writing: Diaries of Wits Fallists*, by Hugo Canham, Simamkele Dlakavu, C. Anzio Jacobs, , Bandile Bertrand Leopeng,, Nonkululeko Mabaso, Tebogo Molobye, Ntokozo Moloi, et al., 16-29. Johannesburg: Wits Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP)

Combahee River Collective. 1974. “The Combahee River Collective Statement.” *Yale University.* Accessed March 29, 2025. https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2000. *BLACK FEMINIST THOUGHT: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

Collins, Patricia Hill. 2003. “Toward an Afrocentric feminist epistemology.” In *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*, edited by Yvonna S. Lincoln and Norman K. Denzin, 47-72. Walnut Creek, California: AltaMira Press.

Cresswell, Tim. 2018. “Towards a politics of mobility.” *Society and Space* 28: 17-31.

Čufar, Kristina. 2023. “Prescriptive Descriptions: Reason-Emotion Binary through Feminist Critique.” In *Legal Reasoning and Cognitive Science: Topics and Perspectives,*, edited by M. Brigaglia and C. Roversi, 329-352. Diritto & Questioni pubbliche.

Dadi, Afework Fentie, Yemane Berhane, Haimanot M. Bizuayehu, Gashaw Antehunegan, Obasanjo Bolarinwa, and others. 2023. “Intimate Partner Violence and Childhood Health Outcomes in 37 Sub-Saharan African Countries: An Analysis of Demographic Health Survey Data from 2011 to 2022.” *The Lancet Global Health* 12 (11): e1500–e1512.

Darkwah, Akosua K. 2021 “Digital Feminis: Ghanaian Feminist Style.” In *Producing Inclusive Feminist Knowledge: Positionalities and Discourses in the Global South (Advances in Gender Research, Vol. 31)*, edited by Ampofo A. Adomako and J. Beoku-Betts, 147-165. Leeds: Emrald Publishing Limited.

de la Rey, Cheryl. 1997. “Introduction: South African Feminism, Race and Racism.” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 32: 6-10.

Descartes, René. 1996. “Meditations On First Philosophy.” In *The Philosophical Works of Descartes*, by Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, translated by Elizabeth S. Haldane. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Dlamini, Nobuhle Judy. 2020. “Gender-Based Violence, Twin Pandemic to COVID-19.” *Critical Sociology* 47 (4-5): 1-8.

Dlakavu, Simamkele. 2021. “PUMLA DINEO GQOLA A FIERCE AFRICAN FEMINIST ACTIVIST-SCHOLAR.” *Imbiza Journal Fo African Writing* 69-74.

Dosekun, Simidele. 2021. “African Feminisms.” In *The Palgrave Handbook of African Women's Studies*, edited by O Yacob-Haliso and T. Falola, 47-63. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dragan, Irina-Maria, and Alexandru Isaic-Maniu. 2013. “Snowball Sampling Completion.” *Journal of Studies in Social Sciences* 5 (2): 160-177.

Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 2011. *Writing Fieldnotes.* Chicago and London: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS.

Engelbrecht, Elsbeth, interview by Mase Ramaru. 2021. *Intergenerational Feminist Organising and Solidarity in South Africa* (June)

Erasmus, Zimitri. 2018. *Race Otherwise: Forging a New Humanism for South Africa.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Erasmus, Zimitri. 2017. “News: Blackness, oceans and South Africa’s colonial history are at my family’s core.” *Wits University News.* Accessed November 11, 2022. https://www.wits.ac.za/news/latest-news/in-their-own-words/2017/2017-09/blackness-oceans-and-south-africas-colonial-history-are-at-my-familys-core.html

Fawole, Adebola Abosede. 2018. “Women as champions of patriarchy : an exploration of negative female relationships in selected African women’s fictional texts.” *Ubuntu : Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation* 7 (1).

FiB Collective. 2020. *Feminism in Botswana.* Facebook. May. Accessed December 2023. https://www.facebook.com/FIBotswana

Freud, Sigmund. 1912. “The Dynamics of Transference.” In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Volume XII (1911-1913): The Case of Schreber,*, by Sigmund Freud, 312-322. London: Hogarth Press.

Freud, S. 1923. *The Ego and the Id (The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud)* . W W Norton & Co.

Freud, Sigmund. 1933. “Femininity.” *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* 112-135.

FRIDA. 2020. Grantees: Black Womxn Caucus. Accessed April 15, 2023. https://youngfeministfund.org/grantees/black-womxn-caucus/

GALA. 2024. *Home: What is GALA?* Accessed May 21, 2024. https://gala.co.za/

Glesne, Corrine. 1989. “Rapport and friendship in ethnographic research.” *Internation Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 2 (1): 45-54.

Gibb, Maxine Faron. 2019. *Constructing Silence: South Africa's Erasure of Women's Resistance in Post-Apartheid Memorialization.* Honours Rsearch Report, Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University.

Given, Lisa M. 2008. "In-depth interview." In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, edited by Lisa M. Given, 423-423. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Godsell, Gillian, and Rekgotsofetse Chikane. 2016. "Chapter 2 - The Roots of the Revolution." In *Fees Must Fall Student Revolt, Decolonisation and Governance in South Africa*, by Gillian Godsell, Rekgotsofetse Chikane, Sizwe Mpofu-Walsh, Omhle Ntshingila, Refiloe Lepere, Swankie Mofoko, Ayabonga Nase, et al., edited by Susan Booysen, 54–73. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Goredema, Ruvimbo. 2010. "African feminism: the African woman's struggle for identity." *African Yearbook of Rhetoric* 1 (1): 33-41.

Gouws, Amanda. 2017. "Feminist intersectionality and the matrix of domination in South Africa." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 31 (1): 19-27.

Gqola, Pumla. 2004. "Where have all the rainbows gone?" *Memory* (Rhodes Journalism Review) (24): 6-7.

Gqola, Pumla. 2017. *Reflecting Rogue: Inside the Mind of a Feminist.* Cape Town: Melinda Ferguson Books.

Gqola, Pumla. 2021. *Female Fear Factory.* Cape Town: Melinda Ferguson Books.

Hall, J. Camille. 2018. "Black women talk about stereotypical transference enactments in cross-cultural supervision." *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment* 28 (8): 1019-1032.

Hamal, Sanjay. 2020. "Trust in Ethnography: Narrating the Difficulties, Rewards and Dilemmas of Entry, Engagement and Exit (3Es) in the Research Field." *Dhaulagiri Journal of Sociology and Anthropology* 14: 97-105.

Hemmings, Clare. 2012. "Affective Solidarity: Feminist Reflexivity and Political Transformation." *Feminist Theory* 13 (2): 147–61.

Hesse-Biber, Sharlene Nagy. 2006. "Chapter 5: The Practice Of Feminist In-Depth Interviewing." In *Feminist Research Practice*, by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Lina Leavy, 111-147. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Hine, Christine. 2005. “Virtual Ethnography: Modes, Varieties, Affordances.” In *Virtual Methods: Issues in Social Research on the Internet*, by Christine Hine, 17-20. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Holcim Foundation. 2024. *Hikma Complex.* November. Accessed March 30, 2025. https://awards.holcimfoundation.org/past-winners/hikma-complex

hooks, bell. 1992. *Black Looks: Race and Representation.* New York: Routledge.

hooks, bell. 1994. *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations.* New York: Routledge.

hooks , bell, and Cornel West. 2016. *Breaking Bread: Insurgent Black Intellectual Life.* Boston, MA: South End Press.

hooks, bell. 2000. *All About Love: New Visions.* New York: HarperCollins.

Hoskin, Rhea Ashley, Kay E. Jenson, and Karen L. Blair. 2017. “Is our feminism bullshit? The importance of intersectionality in adopting a feminist identity.” *Cogent Social Sciences* 3 (1).

Hove, Charity. 2023. “A structured literature review of the health infodemic on social media in Africa.” *Jàmbá: Journal of Disaster* 15 (1): 1-15.

Hwang, Tzung-Jeng, Kiran Rabheru, Carmelle Peisah, William Reichman, and Manabu Ikeda. 2020. “Loneliness and social isolation during the COVID-19 pandemic.” *Int Psychogeriatr* 32 (10): 1217-1220.

James, Christine. 1997. "Feminism and masculinity: Reconceptualizing the dichotomy of reason and emotion." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 17 (1/2): 129-152.

Jasper, James M. 2011. "Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research." *ANNUAL REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY* 37: 285-303.

John, Neetu A., Paul Bukuluki, Sara E. Casey, Dhruvi B Chauhan, Moriam o Jagun, Nicoletta Mabhena, Mary Mwangi, and Terry McGovern. 2023. “Government responses to COVID-19 and impact on GBV services and programmes: comparative analysis of the situation in South Africa, Kenya, Uganda, and Nigeria.” *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters* 31 (1): 1-15.

Ka Dideka, Lukhanyo , and Verghese Ben. 2023. “Iingoma Zomzabalazo in Conversation: An Archival Engagement with Recordings of Liberation Songs.” *Kronos* 49 (1): 1-21.

Kaindl, Sophie. 2013. Bantu Stephen Biko & Black Consciousness. The Struggle for Equality in a Racist South Africa. MA thesis, Viena: University of Vienna.

Kavada, Anastasia, Tina Askanius, Anne Kaun, Alice Mattoni, and Julie Uldam. 2023. *Tying up Goliath: Activist strategies for confronting and harnessing digital power.* STATE OF POWER, Amsterdam: Transnational Institute.

Kaun, Anne, and Julie Uldam. 2018. "Digital activism: After the hype." *New Media & Society* 20 (6): 2099–2106.

Keeton, Sarah Elizabeth. 2021. *(Re)Discovering I Am Worthy: A Black Feminist Autoethnographic Confrontation Of Abuse.* MA Thesis, Idaho: Boise State University.

Kelly, Christine, Danielle Kasperavicius, Diane Duncan, Cole Etherington, Lora Giangregorio, Justin Presseau, Kathryn M. Sibley, and Sharon Straus. 2021. "'Doing' or 'using' intersectionality? Opportunities and challenges in incorporating intersectionality into knowledge translation theory and practice." *International Journal for Equity in Health volume* 20 (187): 1-7.

Kolawole, Mary Modupe. 2002. "Transcending Incongruities: Rethinking Feminisms and the Dynamics of Identity in Africa." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* (54): 92-98.

Koslowski, Rey. 2011. "Global Mobility Regimes: A Conceptual Framework." In *Global Mobility Regimes*, by Rey Koslowski, 1-25. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Koyama, Emi. 2020. "Whose feminism is it anyway? The unspoken racism of the trans inclusion debate." *The Sociological Review* 68 (4): 735-744.

Layode, Mosun, Jan Schwier, Siya Hayi-Charters, Maddie Holland, and Soa Andrian. 2021. *Disparities in Funding for African NGOs: Unlocking philanthropy for African NGOs as a pathway to greater impact.* African Philanthropy Forum, Johannesburg, South Africa: The Bridgespan Group.

Lazar, Michelle M. 2007. "Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Articulating a Feminist Discourse Praxis." *Critical discourse studies* 4 (2): 141-164.

Le Dantec, Christopher A., and Sarah Fox. 2015. "Strangers at the Gate: Gaining Access, Building Rapport, and Co-Constructing Community-Based Research." *CSCW '15: Proceedings of the 18th ACM Conference on Computer Supported Cooperative Work & Social Computing.* New York: ACM Press. 1348–1358.

Lewis, Desiree, and Gabeba Baderoon. 2021. “Being Black and Feminist.” In *Surfacing: On Being Black and Feminist in South Africa*, by Desiree Lewis and Gabeba Baderoon, 1-14. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Littlejohn, Emily. 2018. “Adaptation.” *Brock Education Journal* 27 (2): 9-12.

Lobe, Bojana, David L. Morgan, and Kim Hoffman. 2022. “A Systematic Comparison of In-Person and Video-Based Online Interviewing.” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21: 1-12.

Lohmeier, Christine. 2009. “Disclosing the Ethnographic Self.” *M/C Journal* 12 (5): 1-10.

Lokot, Michelle. 2021. “Whose Voices? Whose Knowledge? A Feminist Analysis of the Value of Key Informant Interviews.” *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 20: 1-8.

Lombroso, Cesare, and Guglielmo Ferrero. [1893] 2004. *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman.* Translated by Nicole Hahn Rafter and Mary Gibson. Durham: Duke University Press.

Löw, Martina. 2006. “The Social Construction of Space and Gender.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* (Routledge) 13 (2).

Low, Setha M. 1996. “Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica.” *American Ethnologist,* 23 (4): 861-879.

Lorde, Audre. 2008 [1984]. *SISTER OUTSIDER.* Ten Speed Press: New York.

Ma, Xiao. 2020. *Blog: Regimes of (Im)Mobility in the Time of Pandemic.* April 20. Accessed February 29, 2024. https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/article/regimes-of-immobility-in-the-time-of-pandemic

Mabena, Keatlegile, Wandile Tsabedze, and Xolisa Mazibuko . 2025. “Socio-economic determinants of intimate-partner physical violence among women in South Africa.” *Frontiers in Psychology* 16: 1-11.

MadigeleIe, Tshenolo J., and Gift T. Baloyi. 2022. “Homes as 'cages of violence' during the COVID-19 pandemic: A pastoral care approach to the case of Botswana.” *HTS Theological Studies* 78 (4): 1-7.

Mafeje, Archie. 1976. “The Problem of Anthropology in Historical Perspective: An Inquiry into the Growth of the Social Sciences.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 10 (2): 307-333.

Magubane, Zine. 2001. “Which Bodies Matter? Feminism, Poststructuralism, Race, and the Curious Theoretical Odyssey of the 'Hottentot Venus'.” *Gender and Society* 15 (6): 816-834.

Makalela, Leketi. 2013. “Translanguaging in kasi-taal: Rethinking old language boundaries.” *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 43: 111-125.

Mama, Amina. 1995. “Feminism or Femocracy? State Feminism and Democratisation in Nigeria".” *Africa Development* 20 (1): 37–58.

Mampane, Tumi. 2022. “This field I call home: black feminist (auto)ethnography in Alexandra Township, South Africa.” *African Identities* 1-14.

Masemola, Karabo. 2018. *The Share Button: Feminist Politics and the Black Womxn Caucus.* August 18. Accessed January 2024. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yH70Ip67EnY

Mathiot, Madeleine. 1982. “The Self-Disclosure Technique for Ethnographic Elicitation.” In *Semiotics 1980*, by Michael Herzfeld and Margot D. Lenhart, 339-345. New York: Springer.

Matwadia, Eyaaz. 2019. *Activists plan Sandton shutdown in protest of gender-based violence.* September 12. Accessed December 08, 2023. https://mg.co.za/article/2019-09-12-activists-plan-sandton-shutdown-in-protest-of-gender-based-violence/

Mbokotho, Aphelele. 2023. *In Westbury young people’s choices are limited to gangsterism or staying indoors.* December 21. Accessed July 17, 2024. https://witsvuvuzela.com/2023/12/21/in-westbury-young-peoples-choices-are-limited-to-gangsterism-or-staying-indoors/

M’Cormack-Hale, Fredline, Jaynisha Patel, and Nafissatou Ndiaye Diouf. 2023. *Combating gender-based violence tops Africa's agenda for women’s rights.* Data for Governance Alliance Policy Brief No. 20, Accra, Ghana: Data for Governance Alliance and Afrobarometer.

McFadden, Patricia. 2001. “Cultural Practice as Gendered Exclusion: Experiences from Southern Africa.” In *African Gender Scholarship: Concepts, Methodologies and Paradigms*, edited by Oyeronke Oyewumi, 11-30. Dakar: CODESRIA.

McFadden, Patricia. 2021. “Living a Radical African Feminist Life: A Journey to Sufficiency Through Contemporarity.” In *Surfacing: On being Black and Feminist in South Africa,*

edited by Desiree Lewis and Gabeba Baderoon, 284-302. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Meijl, Toon van. 2005. "The Critical Ethnographer as Trickster." *Anthropological Forum,* 15 (3): 235-245.

Mkwananzi, Sibusiso, and Motlalepule Nathane-Taulela. 2024. "Gender-based violence and femicide interventions-perspectives from community members and activists in South Africa." *Frontiers in Global Women's Health* 25 (4): 2024.

Mjaaland, Thera. 2009. "Evocative Encounters: An Exploration of Artistic Practice as a Visual Research Method." *VisualAnthropology* 22 (5): 393-411.

Mjonondwane, Phindi. 2024. *BOLT driver sentenced for multiple rapes of clients.* April 11. Accessed July 2024. https://www.npa.gov.za/media/bolt-driver-sentenced-multiple-rapes-clients

Mogoatlhe, Lerato, and Itumeleng Letsoalo . 2019. *#SandtonShutdown: Hundreds of Protesters March in Johannesburg to End Gender-Based Violence.* September 13. Accessed December 08, 2023. https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/sandton-shutdown-gender-violence-south-africa/.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity.* Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.

MoRePPaR. 2022. *Mobility Regimes of Pandemic Preparedness and Response: The Case of Covid-19 (MoRePPaR).* Accessed February 29, 2024. https://www.polsoz.fuberlin.de/en/ethnologie/forschung/arbeitsstellen/medical_anthropology/forschung/Mo bility-Regimes-of-Pandemic-Preparedness-and-Response_-The-Case-of-Covid-19-MoRePPaR_/index.html

Morrison, Alexandra. 2014. "The Politics of Feeling: the Phenomenology of Affect in Sara Ahmed and Judith Butler." *Continental Interpretations of Hellenistic Thought* 24 (2): 145-167.

Moutloatse, Keitumetse Fatimata. 2020. *In our fight against GBV, the feminists of today ride on the shoulders of giants.* August 14. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2020-08-14-in-our-fight-against-gbv-the-feminists-of-today-ride-on-the-shoulders-of-giants/

Msimang, Sisonke. 2002. “African Feminisms II: Reflections on Politics Made Personal.” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 54: 3-15.

Mtintso, Thenjiwe. 2003. “Representivity: False Sisterhood or Universal Women's Interests? The South African Experience.” *Women in Democratic South Africa* 29 (3): 569-579.

Mulaudzi, Shandukani. 2016. *Wits staff protest is crucial to the #FeesMustFall movement. Here’s why.* October 19. https://www.news24.com/citypress/news/wits-staff-protest-is-crucial-to-the-feesmustfall-movement-heres-why-20161019.

Mutandiro, Kimberly. 2022. *Hundreds of families in inner-city Johannesburg may lose the only home they have known for years.* July 08. Accessed December 2023. https://groundup.org.za/article/hundreds-of-families-in-inner-city-johannesburg-may-lose-the-only-home-they-have-known-for-years/

Nash, Jennifer C. 2008. “Re-thinking Intersectionality.” *Feminist Review* 89: 1-15.

Nash, Jennifer C. 2010. “On Difficulty: Intersectionality as Feminist Labor.” *The Scholar and Feminist Online* 8 (3)

Nash, Jennifer C. 2019. “Introduction. Feeling Black Feminism.” In *Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality*, by Jennifer C. Nash, 1-32. Bogart, Georgia: Duke University Press.

Nazneen, Sohela, and Awino Okech. 2021. “Introduction: feminist protests and politics in a world in crisis.” *Gender & Development* 29 (2-3): 231-252.

Ndawonde, Nompumelelo. 2023. “Gender-Based Violence in South Africa: The Second Pandemic?” In *Contemporary Issues on Governance, Conflict and Security in Africa* , by Adeoye O. Akinola, 287–307. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, Sabelo J. 2020. “Geopolitics of Power and Knowledge in the COVID-19 Pandemic: Decolonial Reflections on a Global Crisis.” *Journal of Developing Societies* 36 (4): 366–389.

Neves, Tiago, Chris Holligan, and Ross Deuchar. 2018. “Reflections concerning ethnographic ethical.” *Etnográfica* 22 (2): 241-258.

Ngcobo, Balindile. 2021. *The Mbokodofication of Black Women: An Autoethnographic Study of Post Dramatic Stress and the ‘Strong Black Woman' Trope.* MA Thesis, Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Niehaus, Isak. 2013. “Anthropology and Whites in South Africa: Response to an Unreasonable Critique.” *Afrika Spectrum: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Gegenwartsbezogene Afrikaforschung* 48 (1): 117-127.

Nkealah, Naomi. 2022. “Being Human in a Time of Catastrophe: African Feminism, Feminist Humaneness, and the Poetry of Joyce Ash.” *UNISA Journal of Literary Studies* 38 (1): 1-17.

Nnaemeka, O. 2005. “Bringing African women into the classroom: Rethinking pedagogy and epistemology.” In *African gender studies: A reader*, edited by Oyěwùmí, O. 51-65. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Ntombela, Sipho Albert. 2019. “Nicknaming among the Zulu: The Case of naming medicinal plants.” *Nomina Africana* 33 (1): 47-59.

Nyamnjoh, Francis. 2012. “Blinded by Sight: Divining the Future of Anthropology in Africa.” *Africa Spectrum*, 47 (2-3): 63-92.

Nyamnjoh, Francis. 2013. “Fiction and Reality of Mobility in Africa.” *Citizenship Studies*, 17 (6-7): 653-680.

Ogundipe-Leslie, Molara. 2007. “Stiwanism: Feminism in an African Context.” In *frican Literature: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory*, edited by T. Olaniyan and A. Quayson, 542-550. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Okech, Awino, Shereen Essof, and Laura Carlsen. 2022. “Movement building responses to COVID-19: lessons from the JASS mobilisation fund.” Economia Politica: Journal of Analytical and Institutional Economics, 39 (1): 249-269.

Okpokwasili, Ogochukwu Agatha. 2023. “SISTERHOOD: A FEMINIST APPROACH TO AFRICAN’S IGWEBUIKE.” *Pope John Paul II Journal of Philosophy* 2 (1): 168-189.

Oosthuizen, Morné, Lisa Martin, and David de Villiers. 2014. *Towards a Gender-Based Violence Index for South Africa: An overview and proposed way forward.* Propositional Report, Johannesburg: Commission for Gender Equality.

Orlove, Ben. 2022. “The Concept of Adaptation.” *Annual Review of Environment and Resource*, 47: 535–81.

Ortner, Sherry B. 1995. “Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37 (1): 173-193.

Oyewumi, Oyeronke. 2002. “CONCEPTUALIZING GENDER: THE EUROCENTRIC FOUNDATIONS OF FEMINIST CONCEPTS AND THE CHALLEGE OF AFRICAN EPISTEMOLOGIES.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* 2 (1).

Palmer, Tyrone S. 2017. “‘What feels More than feeling?’: Theorizing the Unthinkability of Black affect." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3 (2): 31-56.

Pels, Peter. 2000. “The trickster’s dilemma Ethics and the technologies of the anthropological self.” In *Audit Cultures*, by Peter Pels, edited by M. Strathern, 135-72. London: Routledge.

Pereira, Charmaine. 2017. “Feminists Organising — Strategy, Voice, Power.” *Feminist Africa,* (22): 16-30.

Petillo, APRIL D. J., and Heather R. Hlavaka. 2022. “Introduction: Recognition: Where Our Embodiment Entangled Us.” In *Researching Gender-Based Violence: Embodied and Intersectional Approaches*, by APRIL D. J. Petillo and Heather R. Hlavaka, 1-8. New York: NYU Press.

Pope, Elizabeth M. 2020. “From Participants to Co-Researchers: Methodological Alterations to a Qualitative Case Study.” *The Qualitative Report,* 25 (10): 3749-3761.

Pradines, Stéphane. 2022. “Chapter 1: The Mosques of the Niger Valleys.” In *Historic Mosques in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Timbuktu to Zanzibar*, by Stéphane Pradines, 7–114. Leiden: Brill.

Protevi, John. 2009. *Political Affect: Connecting the Social and the Somatic.* Vol. 7. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Putter, Anne. 2012. *Reinventing and Reimagining Johannesburg in Three Post-Apartheid South African Texts.* MA Thesis, Johannesburg: University of Johannesburg.

Putuma, Koleka. 2024. *We Have Everything We Need To Start Again: Empowering poems to bring you hope.* London: Hot Key Books.

Putuma, Koleka. 2021. *HULLO, BU-BYE, KOKO, COME IN.* Cape Town: Manyano Media.

Ramalapa, Jedi. 2012. *The Sweetness of Brenda Fassie’s Zola Budd.* November 01. Accessed December 04, 2023. https://sowhatsart.wordpress.com/2012/11/01/the-sweetness-of-brenda-fassies-zola-budd/

Riedel, Friedlind. 2019. “Atmosphere.” In *Affective Societies: Key Concepts*, by Jan Slaby and Christian von Scheve, 85-95. New York: Routledge.

Rogers, Michaela, and Claire Brown. 2023. “Critical ethical reflexivity (CER) in feminist narrative inquiry: reflections from cis researchers doing social work research with trans and non-binary people.” *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 1-15.

Roseneil, Sasha. 2011. “Foregrounding Friendship Feminist Pasts, Feminist Futures.” *Nouvelles Questions Feministes* 30 (2): 324-343.

Roy, Charlotte M., Paul Bukuluki, Sara E. Casey, Moriam O. Jagun, Neetu A. John, Nicoletta Mabhena, Mary Mwangi, and Terry McGovern. 2022. “Impact of COVID-19 on Gender-Based Violence Prevention and Response Services in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, and South Africa: A Cross-Sectional Survey.” *Front Glob Womens Health* 27 (2): 1-9.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. 1913 [1762]. *The Social Contract.* Edited by G.D. H. Cole. London & Toronto: J M Dent & Sons.

Rustin, Carmine. 2021. “What gender legislative reforms have meant for women in South Africa.” *Law, Democracy and Development* 25: 47-70.

SA Government. 2014. *Commemorative Events: Women's Day.* August 09. Accessed May 26, 2024.https://www.gov.za/news/events/commemorative-events/womens-day-0#:~:text=On%209%20August%201956%2C%20about,black%20women%20in%20urban%20areas.

SA News Agencies. 2021. *SA records over 100 000 GBV cases during lockdown.* 07 September. Accessed Decemeber 09, 2023. https://www.defenceweb.co.za/security/human-security/sa-records-over-100-000-gbv-cases-during-lockdown/.

SA News Agency. 2023. *Sign language officially the 12th official language* . June 20. https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/sign-language-officially-12th-official-language

SAHO. 2011. *The Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) is founded.* March 16. https://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/federation-south-african-women-fedsaw-founded

Salazar, Noel B., Alice Elliot, and Roger Norum. 2017. “Introduction: Studying Mobilities: Theoretical Notes and Methodological Queries.” In *Methodologies of mobility:*

ethnography and experiment, edited by Noel B. Salazar, Alice Elliot and Roger Norum, 1-24. New York: Berghahn.

Sakaria, Ndelitungapo Eunice. 2022. *Access to justice for black women in South Africa: A feminist social justice perspective.* LLM Thesis, Pretoria: University of Pretoria.

Salami, Minna. 2022. *A Historical Overview of African Feminist Strands.* August 24. Accessed February 05, 2024. https://msafropolitan.com/2022/08/a-historical-overview-of-african-feminist-strands.html.

Salo, Elaine, and Amina Mama. 2001. "Talking about Feminism in Africa." *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* (50): 58-63.

Schiller, Nina Glick, and Noel B. Salazar. 2013. "Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (2): 183-200.

Schwarz, Inga. 2020. "Migrants moving through mobility regimes: The trajectory approach as a tool to reveal migratory processes." *Geoforum* 116: 217-225.

Sen, Anindya, and Ömer Avci. 2016. "WHY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OCCUR: THEORIES OF SOCIAL."*Bilgi Ekonomisi ve Yönetimi Dergisi* 6 (1): 126-130.

Sheller, Mimi. 2020. "Mobility justice." In *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications for Mobilities*, edited by Monika Büscher, Malene Freudendal-Pedersen, Sven Kesselring and Nikolaj Grauslund Kristensen, 11-20. Cheltenham, Glos: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Shilling, Chris, and Philip A. Mellor. 1998. "Durkheim, Morality and Modernity: Collective Effervescence, Homo Duplex and the Sources of Moral Action." *The British Journal of Sociology* 49 (2): 193-209.

Slaby, Jan, and Rainer Mühlhoff. 2019. "Chapter 2: Affect." In *Affective Societies: Key Concepts*, edited by Jan Slaby and Christian von Scheve, 27-41. Oxon: Routledge.

Spradley, James P. 1979. *The Ethnographic Interview.* Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Starfield, Sue, Brian Paltridge, and Louise Ravelli. 2014. "Researching Academic Writing: What Textography Affords." In *theory and method in higher education research*, edited by J. Huisman and M. Tight, 103-120. Emerald.

Stark, Luke. 2019. “Affect and Emotion in digital STS.” In *digital STS A Field Guide for Science & Technology Studies*, edited by Janet Vertesi and David Ribes, 117-135. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Stack, Carol B. 1996. “Chapter 4: Writing Ethnography: Feminist Critical Practice.” In *Feminist Dilemmas In Fieldwork*, edited by Diane L. Wolf. New York: Routledge.

Steele, Catherine Knight. 2021. *Black Digital Feminism.* New York: New York University Press.

Stocks, Eric, and David A. Lishner. 2018. “Empathy and Altruism.” In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Psychology*, 1-21. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stuhlhofer, Eunice Wangui. 1999. “Navigating African Feminisms: Wangari Maathai as a Portrait.” *Africa Knows* 1-11.

Suttner, Raymond. 2014. *2014 Archive: Who is an African?* 04 June. Accessed March 29, 2025. https://www.ru.ac.za/perspective/2014archive/whoisanafrican.html#:~:text=We%20are%20all%20Africans%20in,African%E2%80%9D%20to%20refer%20to%20African

Suttner, Raymond. 2010. “‘Africanisation’, African identities and emancipation in contemporary South Africa.” *Social Dynamics* 36 (3): 515–530.

Talha, Muhammad. 2023. *What is Content Marketing? and reach organic traffic.* August 23. Accessed March 08, 2024. https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/what-content-marketing-how-its-help-reach-organic-traffic-talha/

Tamale, Sylvia. 2020. *Decolonization and Afro-Feminism.* Québec: Daraja Press.

Thörn, Håkan. 2014. “Nordic Support to The Liberation Struggle in Southern Africa - Between Global Solidarity and National Self-Interest.” In *Southern African Liberation Struggles Contemporaneous Documents 1960–1994*, edited by Arnold J. Temu and Joel das N. Tembe, 3-38. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.

Tongco, Ma. Dolores, C. 2007. “Purposive Sampling as a Tool for Informant Selection.” *Ethnobotany Research & Applications* 5: 147-158.

Tshwete, Mandilakhe. 2024. *Bolt drops 6000 errant drivers to up safety.* 06 June. Accessed July 03, 2024. https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/news/bolt-drops-6000-errant-drivers-to-up-safety-0b6521ad-72e7-43c6-8f3c-d2a3557935c4

Tushamad, Poonam. 2022. *'A woman and fire are as ancient as civilisation': Six Dalit-feminist poems by Poonam Tushamad.* July 25. Accessed May 29, 2023. https://www.justicenews.co.in/a-woman-and-fire-are-as-ancient-as-civilisation-six-dalit-feminist-poems-by-poonam-tushamad/

UAF-Africa. 2022. *Fire in the rain, UAF-Africa's feminist response to COVID-19.* Research Report, Nairobi: Urgent Action Fund Africa.

UNESCO. 2014. "Historic Centre of Agadez." *UNESCO Website.* 06 March. https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1268/

UN Women ESAR. 2024. *The Status of Women Movement in Africa.* Policy Brief, Nairobi: UN Women.

UN Women. 2021. *Beyond COVID-19: A feminist plan for sustainability and social justice.* Organisational Research Report, Research and Data Section, UN Women.

UN Women. 2023. *Facts and figures: Ending violence against women.* 24 November. Accessed January 23, 2025. https://www.unwomen.org/en/articles/facts-and-figures/facts-and-figures-ending-violence-against-women.

Vium, Christian. 2017. "Chapter 8: Fixating a Fluid Field: Photography as Anthropology in Migration Research." In *Methodologies of Mobility: Ethnography and Experiment*, edited by Alice Elliot, Roger Norum, Noel Salazar and Noel Salazar, 172-194. New York: Berghahn Books.

Walker, Alice. 1983. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens. Womanist Prose.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovic.

Walton, Shireen. 2017. "'Being There Where?' Designing Digital-Visual Methods for Moving With/In Iran." In *Methodologies of Mobility: Ethnography and Experiment*, edited by Alice Elliot, Roger Norum and Noel B. Salazar, 148-171. New York: Berghahn Books.

Watson, C.W. 1999. *Being There: Fieldwork in Anthropology.* London: Pluto Press.

Werner, Louis. 2003. "Agadez: Sultanate of the Sahara." *Aramco World* 54 (1).

Williams, Brackette F. 1995. "The Public I/Eye: Conducting Fieldwork to Do Homework on Homelessness and Begging." Edited by Diane L. Wolf. *Current Anthropology* (Routledge) 36 (1): 25-51.

Whittier, Nancy. 2021. “How emotions shape feminist coalitions.” European Journal of Women’s Studies 28 (3): 369–386.

Wilson, Shamillah. 2011. *Feminist & Women’s Movement Building in Southern Africa.* Johannesburg: The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA).

Xtreme Collections. 2019. “Agadez Grande Mosquee in Agadez, Nige.” YouTube, 27 November.

Yeniçırak, Hasan. 2021. “On Revolution: What is Revolution? What are the Differences that Distinguish Revolution from Other Forms of Political Violent?” *The Journal of Social Sciences Institute* (50): 329-342

Zaaroura, Mayssam, and Raina Fox. 2021. *IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON WOMEN’S RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS: A call for a global alliance to support Women’s Rights Organizations (WRO).* Advocacy/Analysis Report, Nairobi: OXFAM International.

Zemsky, Beth, and David Mann. 2011. “Building Organizations in a Movement Moment.” *Social Policy* 9-17.

Ziegler, F., and T. Schwanen. 2011. ‘“I Like to Go out to Be Energised by Different People”: An Exploratory Analysis of Mobility and Wellbeing in Later Life’, *Ageing and Society*, 31(5): 758-81.

Appendices

Appendix A

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Anthropology Ethics Committee
Constituted under the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical)

Clearance Certificate

Protocol Number: ANTH2023/04/03
Project Title: *Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa*
Investigator's Name: Ms Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane (2622007)
Department: Anthropology
Date Reviewed: 21 April 2023
Decision of Committee: Approved Unconditionally
Risk Level: Low Risk
Date of Approval: 11 May 2023
Expiry Date: 12 May 2024
Issue Date of Certificate: 26 May 2023

Chairperson: _____
Professor Julia Hornberger

CC supervisor: Julia Hornberger

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and ONE COPY returned to the Chairperson of the School/Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

Student Signature **Date** **26.05.2023**

Appendix B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Black Womxn Caucus
38, 15th Street
Newlands, Johannesburg
2092
South Africa

15 June 2023

Dear Black Womxn Caucus,

Re: Permission to conduct research with and at the Black Womxn Caucus

My name is Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am writing to seek permission to conduct research at and with your organisation, Black Womxn Caucus.

Under the supervision of Prof. Julia Hornberger, I am conducting a research study exploring the relationship between COVID-19 mobility regimes and African Womxn's Human Rights Movements. The study is titled, **Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa.** Below is a brief abstract of the study:

> The COVID-19 pandemic was a societal rupture that presented African Womxn Human Rights Defenders (AWHRDs) and feminist activists' organising efforts with monumental challenges. As we gradually transition into post-pandemic realities, it is evident that the COVID mobility regimes, i.e. lockdowns, travel bans and curfews, have had an enduring impact on various aspects of social and political life. Thus, my study intends to explore the impact of COVID mobility regimes on AWHR and feminist movements in South Africa. I plan to have conversations with activists and defenders in South Africa to explore the relationship between physical mobility and socio-political movement building.

Apart from my scholastic titles, I am an African Womxn Human Rights Defender and Feminist Activist from Botswana, closely following your esteemed organisation's work. I was

introduced to your work through UAF-Africa, and admittedly, I was and still am extremely impressed and thoroughly enjoy witnessing your growth and impact thus far.

In realising the proposed research, I wish to engage five of your members through in-person, in-depth interviews. I would like to conduct these interviews within BWC's working space for ethnographic purposes. Regarding the nature of the prospective respondents' participation, as it aligns with confidentiality, anonymity, and representation issues, I have attached a detailed Participant Information sheet and Informed Consent form.

The findings of this research will be written as a thesis report for my master's degree. The report will be publicly available through the university's library in 2024. So, as soon as it is available, I will request a copy and share it with the BWC. However, prospective participants retain the privilege to read the draft report before finalisation to ascertain that their inputs have been well represented.

During this study, the data generated and collected will be safely stored on my computer, secured by a password. I will also use a secondary storage folder on my student google drive to back up the data, which will also be secured by a password and Wits University's ICT encryption. Within one year of completing the study, I will also archive all of this study's data in my encrypted personal Google Cloud, secured by a password. Kindly note that as the researcher, I will be the sole person with access to this data. Moreover, any form of video, audio recording and photography will only aid data capturing for data analysis. None of the content captured through such means will be used in the final report.

Working with your organisation would be a great privilege and an honour. If you accept my request, I kindly ask that permission be in writing indicating your allowance for me to conduct my research at and with your esteemed organisation. The permission letter should be on your organisation's headed paper, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

In solidarity,



Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane
+27 (0) 78 081 8012 | 2622007@students.wits.ac.za

Prof. Julia Hornberger
julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za | +27 (0) 11 717 4407

Appendix C



Good day,

Kindly consider this your Participant Information Sheet (PIS).

My name is Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of the Witwatersrand. Under the supervision of Prof. Julia Hornberger, I am conducting a research study exploring the relationship between COVID-19 mobility regimes and African Womxn's Human Rights Movements. My study is titled, "Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa."

In your capacity as an activist and an affiliated member of the Black Womxn's Caucus (BWC), I am inviting you to participate in my study. I would like to engage you through an in-person, in-depth interview. The duration of the interview will be an hour and at a time and date you find most suitable.

I would like to audio and video record the interview with your permission. This data will be safely stored on my computer, secured by a password. I will also use a secondary storage folder on my student google drive to back up the data, which will be secured by a password and Wits University's ICT encryption. Within one year of completing the study, I will also archive all of this study's data in my encrypted personal Google Cloud, secured by a password. Kindly note that as the researcher, I will be the sole person with access to this data. Moreover, the content captured via video or photography will only be used for data capturing to aid data analysis and not in the final report.

During the interview, I will need to ask for some personal information about you, including:

1. Your full name
2. Professional title
3. Role within the BWC movement
4. Gender (including pronouns)
5. Contact details

Although your contact information will not be included in the study and will be kept separate, your name and BWC role title may be used in the compilation of this study's report. However,

note that concealing or the choice not to conceal your identity is yours, and you can opt out from exposing your identity at any point in the study.

If you decide to participate in the research study, it will be voluntary. No compensation or incentives will be given if you choose to participate in the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits, or rights you would normally have if you decided not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. Your participation will not be of monetary benefit, meaning that you will not be paid for being in this research study. Please note that you can withdraw consent and stop participating at any time during the study. You also do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life and your organising work. Although the risks of the study are minimal, some of the questions asked may make you reveal some privileged information and/ or cause you some discomfort. If this happens, I will stop the interview and ask for your consent to continue and whether or not to use the information shared. If you need some support or want to express discomfort regarding the overall interview process, please feel free to contact my supervisor Prof. Julia Hornberger at RS20 at Wits University East Campus or via email julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, Or you can alternatively contact the department's Postgraduate Coordinator Dr Nosipho Mngomezulu via email nosipho.mngomezulu@wits.ac.za.

The findings of this research will be written as a thesis report for my master's degree. The report will be published and publicly available through the university's library. So, if you would like to read the report, you can look it up on the library database, or you can directly request a copy of the paper from me, and I will be happy to send it to you as soon as it is possible to do so.

If you have any questions during or after this research study, feel free to contact me at the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) by telephone at +27 (0) 11 717 1408 or by email at hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,



Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane
2622007@students.wits.ac.za | +27: 0) 78 081 8012
Supervisor: Prof. Julia Hornberger, julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, +27 (0) 11 717 440

Appendix D

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Informed Consent Form

Project Title: Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa

Researcher:

Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane

MA in Anthropology

Email: 2622007@students.wits.ac.za

Tel: +27 (0) 78 081 8012

Supervisor:

Prof. Julia Hornberger

Department of Anthropology

Email: julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za

Tel: +27 (0) 11 717 4407

About this form:

- This consent form informs you about the purpose, risks, and benefits of participating in this research study.
- You have the right to refuse participation in the study or withdraw participation at any point you feel necessary to do so. Your participation is completely voluntary.
- Please review this document carefully at your own pace and ask any questions before making a decision.
- Please indicate with an **X** mark where appropriate in sections that are applicable to you.

Confidentiality And Anonymity

All the information you provide in this study will be treated with the highest level of respect and confidentiality. Only the information you consent to contribute to this study can be used. Although your contact information will not be included in the study and will be kept separate, your name and role within the Black Womxn Caucus may be used in the compilation of this study's report. However, please note that you can still choose to conceal the latter. Kindly indicate below with an **X** mark on the statement that applies to you regarding using your name and title in the study.

- I prefer to remain anonymous [ ]
- I am comfortable with my identity being known [ ]

Agreement

Please note that you are entitled to a copy of this consent form, which will be given to you upon agreement to participate in this study. If you decide to participate in the study, you are giving consent to an hour-long in-person, in-depth interview with the researcher at the BWC working space unless arranged otherwise.

With an X mark, please indicate the relevant answers to the following statements:

1. The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is all about.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

2. I agree that the interview session may be audio recorded.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

3. I agree that the interview session may be video recorded.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

4. I agree to be photographed and use the images for data analysis only.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

5. I agree that the researcher may use direct quotations from my interview in their research report.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

6. I am comfortable with my interactions within the BWC working space being observed and documented by the researcher.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

7. I agree that other researchers may use the information I provide in my interview (depending on their own ethics clearance being obtained) but my name and any personal information will not be used or passed on.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

I, _____ , agree to give consent and participation to this study conducted by Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of Witwatersrand.

Date: ___/___/____ **Participant's Signature**: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Appendix E



7 JULY 2023

From:

[Type the sender company name]

TO: UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND

Ms. Tshegofatso Realeboga Phatshwane (2622007)

RE: Permission to conduct research with Black Womxn Caucus

Dear Professor Julia Hornberger and Tshegofatso Phatshwane

Black Womxn Caucus acknowledges the letter and email received, we hereby inform you that we grant you permission to conduct the research with BWC TOPIC***: Movements without Movement: unpacking the impact of COVID-19 mobility regimes on African's Human Rights and Feminist movements in South Africa.***

It will be an honor to work with you and unpacking an interesting topic that relates with today's impact of mobility.

We are looking forward to working together and cooperation with the research and participation with different organizational members.

Yours Sincerely

BWC VP NGOBO OPERATION CONSULTANT

[Type the sender company name]

Appendix F

Interview Guide- BWC Members

Research Title: Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa

Questions:

1. **The beginning of COVID-19 was characterised by a lot of uncertainty, as an organiser and mobiliser, what was your initial reaction to the stringent mobility restrictions imposed in SA and the world over?**
   Probing [How did it make you feel from a personal level and activist perspective? Why do you say that?]
2. **South Africa has one of the most progressive human rights constitutions in the world, in your view, how did the imposition of mobility regimes and an authoritative style of governance affect people's liberties upheld by human rights?**
   Probing [Were the experiences different in accordance with gender and sexual identities? Anything else?]
3. **Comparing 2020 and 2023, how do you think restricted movements of people influenced the progress of AWHR movements and the realisation of feminist agendas?**
   Probing [Why do you think that? Anything else?
4. **Did the Black Womxn's Caucus organising and mobilising momentum increase, stagnate, or decrease with regard to the mobility restrictions in 2020?**
   Probing [What was the mutual feeling in BWC when that happened? How have those feelings and momentum changed in 2023—post mobility restrictions?]
5. **Lastly, how do you think AWHR movements are faring as the world transitions into post-pandemic realities?**
   Probing [Why do you say so? How are you transitioning as an activist? Why?]

Debrief: Thank you for your participation. If this study has caused any psychological harm or discomfort, feel free to tell me and/ or my supervisors and course lecturer for assistance

Appendix G



Participant Information Sheet (PIS)

Greetings,

My name is Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Under the supervision of Prof. Julia Hornberger, I am conducting a research study exploring the relationship between COVID-19 mobility regimes and African Womxn's Human Rights Movements. My study is titled "**Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa.**"

In your capacity as a practising African Womxn Human Rights Defender and feminist activist, I am inviting you to participate in my study. I would like to engage you through an in-depth interview, either in-person or online, which would be facilitated through the Zoom or MS Teams conferencing platforms. The duration of the interview will be an hour and at a time and date you find most suitable.

With your permission, I would also like to audio and video record the interview. This data will be safely stored on my computer, secured by a password. Within one year of completing the study, I will also archive all of this study's data in my encrypted personal Google Cloud, secured by a password. Moreover, as the researcher, I will be the sole person with access to this data.

During the interview, I may ask you for some personal information about you, including:

1. Your full name
2. Professional title
3. Affiliations to AWHR movements and organisations
4. Gender (including pronouns)
5. Contact details

Although your contact information will not be included in the study and will be kept separate, your name, professional title, and affiliations may be used in the compilation of this study's

report. However, note that throughout the study, you hold the right to conceal or expose your identity at any point.

If you decide to participate in the research study, it will be voluntary. Hence, no compensation or incentives will be given if you choose to participate in the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits, or rights you would normally have if you decided not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. Your participation will not be of monetary benefit, meaning that you will not be paid for being in this research study. Please note that you can withdraw consent and stop participating at any time during the study. You also do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life and your organising efforts. Although the risks of the study are minimal, some of the questions asked may make you reveal some privileged information and/ or cause you some discomfort. If this happens, I will stop the interview and ask for your consent to continue and whether or not to use the information shared. If you need some support or want to express discomfort regarding the overall interview process, please feel free to contact my supervisor Prof. Julia Hornberger at RS20 or via email julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, Or you can alternatively contact the department's Postgraduate Coordinator, Dr Nosipho Mngomezulu via email nosipho.mngomezulu@wits.ac.za.

This research study's findings will be written up as a thesis report for my master's degree. The report will then be publicly available through the university's library. So, if you would like to read the report, you can look it up on the WITS library database, or you can directly request a copy of the paper from me, and I will be happy to send it to you as soon as it is possible to do so.

If you have any questions during or after this research study, feel free to contact me at the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) by telephone at +27 (0) 11 717 1408 or by email at hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,



Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane

Researcher: Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, 2622007@students.wits.ac.za , +27: 0) 78 081 8012
Supervisor: Prof. Julia Hornberger, julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, +27 (0) 11 717 4407

Appendix H



Participant Information Sheet (PIS)

Greetings,

My name is Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Under the supervision of Prof. Julia Hornberger, I am conducting a research study exploring the relationship between COVID-19 mobility regimes and African Womxn's Human Rights Movements. My study is titled "**Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa.**"

In your capacity as a practising African Womxn Human Rights Defender and feminist activist, I am inviting you to participate in my study. I would like to engage you through an in-depth interview, either in-person or online, which would be facilitated through the Zoom or MS Teams conferencing platforms. The duration of the interview will be an hour and at a time and date you find most suitable.

With your permission, I would also like to audio and video record the interview. This data will be safely stored on my computer, secured by a password. Within one year of completing the study, I will also archive all of this study's data in my encrypted personal Google Cloud, secured by a password. Moreover, as the researcher, I will be the sole person with access to this data.

During the interview, I may ask you for some personal information about you, including:

6. Your full name
7. Professional title
8. Affiliations to AWHR movements and organisations
9. Gender (including pronouns)
10. Contact details

Although your contact information will not be included in the study and will be kept separate, your name, professional title, and affiliations may be used in the compilation of this study's

report. However, note that throughout the study, you hold the right to conceal or expose your identity at any point.

If you decide to participate in the research study, it will be voluntary. Hence, no compensation or incentives will be given if you choose to participate in the research study. You will not lose any services, benefits, or rights you would normally have if you decided not to join. Taking part in the research study will not cost you anything. Your participation will not be of monetary benefit, meaning that you will not be paid for being in this research study. Please note that you can withdraw consent and stop participating at any time during the study. You also do not have to answer any questions if you do not want to.

The risks for this research study are no more than what happens in everyday life and your organising efforts. Although the risks of the study are minimal, some of the questions asked may make you reveal some privileged information and/ or cause you some discomfort. If this happens, I will stop the interview and ask for your consent to continue and whether or not to use the information shared. If you need some support or want to express discomfort regarding the overall interview process, please feel free to contact my supervisor Prof. Julia Hornberger at RS20 or via email julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, Or you can alternatively contact the department's Postgraduate Coordinator, Dr Nosipho Mngomezulu via email nosipho.mngomezulu@wits.ac.za.

This research study's findings will be written up as a thesis report for my master's degree. The report will then be publicly available through the university's library. So, if you would like to read the report, you can look it up on the WITS library database, or you can directly request a copy of the paper from me, and I will be happy to send it to you as soon as it is possible to do so.

If you have any questions during or after this research study, feel free to contact me at the details listed below. If you have any concerns or complaints about the ethical procedures of this research study, you are welcome to contact the University Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) by telephone at +27 (0) 11 717 1408 or by email at hrecnon-medical@wits.ac.za

Yours sincerely,



Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane

Researcher: Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, 2622007@students.wits.ac.za , +27: 0) 78 081 8012
Supervisor: Prof. Julia Hornberger, julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za, +27 (0) 11 717 4407

Appendix I



Informed Consent Form

Project Title: Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa

Researcher:
Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane
MA in Anthropology
Email: 2622007@students.wits.ac.za
Tel: +27 (0) 78 081 8012

Supervisor:
Prof. Julia Hornberger
Department of Anthropology
Email: julia.hornberger@wits.ac.za
Tel: +27 (0) 11 717 4407

About this form:

- This consent form informs you about the purpose, risks, and benefits of participating in this research study.
- You have the right to refuse participation in the study or withdraw participation at any point you feel necessary to do so. Your participation is completely voluntary.
- Please review this document carefully at your own pace and ask any questions before making a decision.
- Please indicate with an **X** mark where appropriate in sections that are applicable to you.

Confidentiality And Anonymity

All the information you provide in this study will be treated with the highest level of respect and confidentiality. Only the information you consent to contribute to this study can be used. Although your contact information will not be included in the study and will be kept separate, your name and role within the Black Womxn Caucus may be used in the compilation of this study's report. However, please note that you can still choose to conceal the latter. Kindly indicate below with an **X** mark on the statement that applies to you regarding using your name and title in the study.

- I prefer to remain anonymous [ ]
- I am comfortable with my identity being known [ ]

Agreement

Please note that you are entitled to a copy of this consent form, which will be given to you upon agreement to participate in this study. If you decide to participate in the study, you are giving consent to an hour-long in-person, in-depth interview with the researcher at the BWC working space unless arranged otherwise.

With an X mark, please indicate the relevant answers to the following statements:

8. The research study was explained to me. I understand what this study is all about.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

9. I agree that the interview session may be audio recorded.

   YES [ ] NO [ ]

10. I agree that the interview session may be video recorded.

    YES [ ] NO [ ]

11. I agree to be photographed and use the images for data analysis only.

    YES [ ] NO [ ]

12. I agree that the researcher may use direct quotations from my interview in their research report.

    YES [ ] NO [ ]

13. I am comfortable with my interactions within the BWC working space being observed and documented by the researcher.

    YES [ ] NO [ ]

14. I agree that other researchers may use the information I provide in my interview (depending on their own ethics clearance being obtained) but my name and any personal information will not be used or passed on.

    YES [ ] NO [ ]

I, _____ , agree to give consent and participation to this study conducted by Tshegofatso R. Phatshwane, an MA in Anthropology student at the University of Witwatersrand.

Date: ___/___/____ **Participant's Signature**: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____

Appendix J

<u>Interview Guide- Independent AWHRDs</u>

Research Title: Movements without Movement: Unpacking the Impact of COVID-19 Mobility Regimes on African Womxn's Human Rights and Feminist Movements in South Africa

Questions:

1. **The beginning of COVID-19 was characterized by a lot of uncertainty, as an AWRHD and feminist activist, what was your initial reaction to the stringent mobility restrictions imposed in SA and the world over?**
   Probing [How did it make you feel from a personal level and activist perspective? Is there a distinction between the personal and the (professional) activist? Why do you say that?]
2. **South Africa has one of the most progressive human rights constitutions in the world, in your view, how did the imposition of mobility regimes and an authoritative style of governance affect people's liberties upheld by human rights?**
   Probing [Why do you say so? Were the experiences different in accordance with gender and sexual identities? Anything else?]

3. **COVID-19 brought with it a resurgence of digital activism, in your view, how did technology coupled with mobility restrictions influence the evolution of AWHR movements and the realization of feminist agendas in SA particularly?**
   Probing [Why do you think that? Would you say technology was isolating or unifying?]

4. **Do you think the political costs of COVID-19 are adequately documented?**
   Probing [Why do you think this? What does it then mean for future AWHR movements?]

5. **Lastly, how are you emerging from the pandemic as an AWHRD and feminist activist?**
   Probing [What does feminist activism now look like for you? Why?]

Debrief: Thank you for your participation. If this study has caused any psychological harm or discomfort, feel free to tell me and/ or my supervisors and course lecturer for assistance.