

GENDER MATTERS!

STAND UP FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS!

Newsletter on gender activities by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung – No. 7

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FOCUS

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EDITORIAL

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GENDER MATTERS! looks closely at these movements and puts the spotlight on those who are organising resistance and campaigning for women's rights. Luckily, they are everywhere.

PAGE 7

A Women's March in Germany? German feminism in 2017

Suddenly, they were all there. White women and women of colour, queer women, religious women and atheists, disabled women, masculine women, old women, young women and anyone else who wanted ...

PAGE 11

Tunisia: the struggle over public spaces

In 2011, Tunisia became the birthplace of the Arab Spring. It is the only country in the region where the political uprisings have actually brought about nascent democratic reforms. There has also been progress in the area of ...

PAGE 25

The Black Protests have changed Poland

Since sweeping to victory in Poland's 2015 general election, the archconservative Law and Justice party has been systematically transforming the country. Democratic rule of law has come under fire, and so too ...

PAGE 37

"Being able to not be engaged is a luxury of the few of us"

Shocked, stunned, devastated – this is how large parts of the US population reacted to Donald Trump's election victory. Instead of Hillary Clinton, the country opted for the candidate who continued to spread ...

PAGE 51

REVIEW

Think beyond the mainstream!

In September 2015, the member states of the United Nations unanimously adopted seventeen ...

State of emergency in the care industry: A "women's" problem?

No, a social problem!

There is a shortage of skilled workers in Germany, and not only in technical professions ...

Women as experts: turning the tables for a change

Business events in addition to their specific content, are often dominated by male participants ...

Women in Southeast Asia: the forgotten migrant workers

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2017. ...

Women in politics: setbacks and new challenges

These are exciting yet terrifying times for women involved in politics and for all those committed ...

A feminist perspective on the topic of childbirth

Feminism has a rather problematic relationship with the role of motherhood. It is usually seen as ...

PAGE 63

PUBLICATIONS

PAGE 97

WE DO GENDER!

Introducing the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Bangladesh office

Gender-related PhD projects with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

PAGE 107

IMPRINT / CONTACTDETAILS

PAGE 120

FOCUS

- 7** Editorial
- 11** **A Women's March in Germany?**
German feminism in 2017
- 25** **Tunisia: the struggle over public spaces**
- 37** **The Black Protests have changed Poland**
- 51** **"Being able to not be engaged is a luxury of the few of us"**

EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

Since our last issue of Gender matters! in autumn 2016, the topic of anti-feminism seems to have mobilised much greater public support, this time in the form of organised movements. GENDER MATTERS! looks closely at these movements and puts the spotlight on those who are organising resistance and campaigning for women's rights. Luckily, they are everywhere.

At the end of October 2016, Polish women and their supporters vehemently protested against planned measures that would tighten the already extremely restrictive abortion laws in Poland. The "Black Protests", as they became known due to the bad weather and the large number of black umbrellas among the participants, publicly demonstrated that many citizens see the incumbent arch-conservative government's policies for what they are: the attempt to curtail women's rights – including reproductive rights. Agnieszka WiDniewska, chief editor of the website KrytykaPolityczna.pl, looks back at the protests and analyses their consequences.

In November 2016, shockwaves were sent around the world when Donald Trump was elected, and Hillary Clinton had to lay to rest her dream of becoming the first female president of the United States. What the election outcome means for women and how they have responded are the subject of an interview with the US political scientist Kelly Dittmar. She makes it clear that, in the current situation in the US, there is no alternative to political campaigning for both women's rights and those of other "minorities".

After the shock in January 2017, there came a glimmer of hope: the Women's March brought hundreds of thousands of women and allies onto the streets in Washington and many other places around the world. In her article "A Women's March in Germany? German feminisms in 2017", journalist Heide Oestreich asks whether such an event would be conceivable in this country and what it might take to prompt such a march.

Developments in Tunisia also leave us feeling hopeful. In a region where women's rights partially still need to be fought for, there has been concrete progress. In summer 2017, a law was passed that criminalises rape within marriage. In Germany, this has only been a criminal offence since 1997 and took 25 years of political discussion.

The German political situation after the general election in September 2017, on the other hand, does not inspire optimism. The topics of "women's rights" and "gender justice" only played a minor role during the elections. And the proportion of female MPs in Germany – just 31 percent – is at a historic low. What's more, the AfD is now represented in the German Bundestag: a political party that stands for highly problematic positions on gender and family policy. A majority of the AfD's voters were men.

The type of government we will soon have in Germany, or whether there will be new elections, is currently (as of December 2017) not known. Let's hope that, in political terms, women can contribute more than before and that a new gender gap does not open up, namely a gap in the participation of women (see: "Und noch ein Gender-Gap! Junge Frauen engagieren sich anders!" ("Another gender gap! Young women participate differently!") in Elies and Lehmann (eds) *Eine Ode an die Methode* (An Ode to Method)). Political parties have a role to play in providing better opportunities for political involvement, including for younger women. Because only with women's involvement will there be a regeneration of political culture in Germany, one that openly and courageously confronts anti-feminism and at the same time brings about the necessary reforms for gender justice.

Finally, on a personal note: the plentiful feedback from our brief survey on the future of **GENDER MATTERS!** expressed our readers' desire for more communication and information, even between our publication dates. We promise to take the first online steps in this matter in 2018! And there are more changes afoot because our long-time editor Susan Javad is taking up a different position at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. We would like to thank her wholeheartedly for her work on five of the seven issues of **GENDER MATTERS!** and give her every support for her new position! Farewell, dear Susan!

Dr. Stefanie Elies

Key responsibility for gender coordination
in the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



No, these men and women holding umbrellas aren't demonstrating for women's rights like the women on the Black Protests in Poland. They're simply out and about in the Munich rain. But if push came to shove, there would be potential for resistance in Germany too. Photograph: picture alliance

A WOMEN'S MARCH IN GERMANY?

German feminism in 2017

Suddenly, they were all there. White women and women of colour, queer women, religious women and atheists, disabled women, masculine women, old women, young women and anyone else who wanted to show solidarity. The Women's March in Washington in January 2017 was a heartening development in the wake of Trump's shock election victory. It showed that when it really counts, everyone will turn out. The women's movement has been declared dead a thousand times and feminism labelled "obsolete" or "too extreme". And on top of these constant attacks from the outside, the movement was riven by internal conflicts and divisions too. But when it mattered, everyone turned out. How does the situation for women look in Germany? And are women and feminists here willing and able to march in defence of their rights? Heide Oestreich investigates the state of feminism in Germany.

Compared with the USA, at first glance the situation for women* in Germany seems pretty cushy. In America, *de facto* restrictions on abortion are tightening on a daily basis as the number of providers continues to fall, and Trump has helped to make this effect a global one by barring aid to family planning organisations. He is also considering abolishing affirmative action programmes that have helped promote opportunities for women and people of colour. His attempts to repeal Obamacare will have a massive impact on women. And he is propagating a racist, nationalist and sexist discourse.

In comparison, the situation in Germany seems downright idyllic. The country is governed by a female chancellor who (under pressure from her women's and family ministers, most of them from the social democratic SPD) has introduced several policies that improve the situation for women: a modest gender quota for company boardrooms, expanded nursery provision and anti-discrimination measures. Furthermore, in Germany calls for more restrictive abortion laws are confined to fringe groups.

But the problem is, the situation seemed similarly unthreatening in the USA under Obama. One election changed everything. And things used to seem unthreatening in Eastern European countries too, back when people still believed that their democracies would eventually stabilise. But then they didn't.



As a minister in the federal government, Manuela Schwesig was able to achieve some significant progress for women. Photograph: picture alliance

Across the globe, there's been a clear decline in democratic structures. With wages and living standards stagnating, large sections of the population feel they have been ignored and left to shoulder the social consequences of a globalised economy by themselves. Many do not believe these challenges can be overcome through democratic principles, and are advocating full-scale retreat: nationalism first! And nationalism goes hand in hand with racism and sexism; as nationalist ideals gain in strength, so too do calls for "a strong man" who can put things right. Right-wingers across the world are demanding an immediate halt to experiments in social measures. And one of the things that they still categorise as a dangerous experiment? Feminist politics.

Do we still have our own "post-Obama" era to look forward to?

Following the 2017 federal elections, the German public now need to pay more attention to this nationalist discourse. It's no longer confined to the far right's online filter bubbles and echo chambers, nor to demonstrations by the anti-Islam movement Pegida. Courtesy of the AfD (the political party 'Alternative for Germany'), this discourse has now made its way onto talk shows and televised debates. And it's also influencing the thinking of "established" parties to an alarming degree. Mainstream politicians now speak of "taking ordinary people's fears and concerns seriously".

They deliberately overlook the fact that fears of “being swamped by immigrants” or concerns about feminist “re-education programmes” are largely irrational and merely symptoms of a deeper unrest. Rhetorical pledges to restrict immigration will not curb this unrest and make the AfD disappear. Rather, they reinforce the racist discourse and help to undermine democratic rule of law.

In other words, feminism may only be enjoying a temporary respite before a full-scale upsurge of nationalism and its attendant cult of masculinity. You can already sense it coming; for example, when journalists ask where “our” men were when “our” women needed protecting in Cologne on New Year’s Eve 2015/16. There are signs that this is just the calm before the storm, and that we’re simply deluding ourselves with the idea of everything being rosy. In the same way, many Americans thought that after the first black president, a woman would come to power and the wheel of historical progress would continue to roll forward. And just look how that turned out.

Nobody knows today whether such a dramatic upheaval will occur in Germany too; whether our opinion leaders will be able to let the air out of the inflated fears in time; whether honestly addressing people’s actual problems will be enough to assuage their anxieties. Many observers believe that Germany’s welfare state and democracy have such strong foundations that the majority will not succumb to a state of panic in which everything boils down to “us” against “them”. There are even those who think that AfD supporters’ fears “make a contribution to democratic development”, as the political scientist Wolfgang Schröder recently put it, because it will force out-of-touch politicians to analyse the causes behind these protest votes and take steps to address them.

However, at the moment, confronting and assuaging voters’ fears appears to be precisely what Germany’s largest party, the conservative CDU, is determined not to do. Quite the opposite – it is simply pandering to their fears, saying “Come on, let’s wall ourselves in.”

This “walling in” is a big threat to women. The AfD’s “national population policy”, which revives the idea that women’s main role is to have children, would undermine progress for women. Restricting abortion, doing away with feminism and gender studies, privileging the heteronormative nuclear family (at the expense of single parents and LGBT people) and demonising Islam (and thereby excluding Muslim men and women from society – by



In the eyes of the AfD, Muslim women with headscarves are not part of German society. This idea is a problem for all women. Photograph: picture alliance

banning headscarves, for instance) – these are all methods for taking away women’s freedom.

Such policies would be highly compatible with many conservatives in the CDU and its sister party the CSU, who are already eagerly making plans for the “post-Merkel” era. Will “post-Merkel” be our “post-Obama”?

Three strands of German feminism

How are feminists in Germany responding to these developments? Are they ready for their own “Women’s March”? At the moment, it has to be said, the women’s movement is deeply divided, with seemingly unbridgeable rifts and very limited cooperation between different factions. Three main tendencies can be identified in German feminism today.

First, there is constitutional feminism. This strand of feminism has grown out of Article 3 of the German constitution, which grants women and men equal rights and requires the state to reduce gender discrimination.

Constitutional feminism attempts to bring about change by pursuing legislative reforms and equality policies. How ambitious these reforms and policies are depends on the strength of women in government, especially

women's and employment ministers. Examples of reforms include gender quotas for businesses, equal pay laws, expansion of childcare provision and increases to paternity leave and parental allowances. In all these cases, the state helps to create equal opportunities for participation and development. Although steady political advances have been cemented down the years, every single step forward is bitterly contested, and under conservative governments progress can be slow or non-existent.

However, the need for constitutional feminism is largely undisputed, at least among feminists. They are more likely to despair of the incremental progress it makes and the constant resistance it faces than to reject it altogether. Take Germany's "income splitting" law, for example, which discourages many women from pursuing economic independence: will we ever see it abolished or fundamentally reformed? Constitutional feminism has mainstream appeal, and many of its stances enjoy majority support, at least among women. Although it is now being attacked head-on by the far right, especially the AfD, it appears to be firmly rooted.

Its weakness lies in its limited scope. Constitutional feminism is focused on the mainstream, and tends to neglect more marginal groups. It took many years before it paid any heed to single mothers, a large and significant group. The many women who face violence from men cannot depend on the backing of parliamentary feminism, and still lack any effective support infrastructure. For queer people, it's pot luck whether the government will deign to acknowledge their rights. And there's no lobby for immigrants at all, which is why we witness things such as the right for refugees to be reunited with their families being used as a bargaining chip. Finally, the agency and rights of women of colour and women with headscarves are completely overlooked. This is partially due to the fact that international women's politics is based on gender mainstreaming: addressing "women" and "men" as homogeneous blocs and ignoring subgroups such as "women of colour", "Muslim men" and "trans people".

The second main tendency, radical feminism, is also characterised by a focus on the gender binary. Typical representatives of radical feminism in Germany include women's organisations like Terre des Femmes (TdF) and individuals like Alice Schwarzer, editor of *EMMA*, Germany's biggest feminist magazine. At first glance, it certainly doesn't seem as if TdF, which campaigns on international issues, or *EMMA*, which is extremely critical of Islam, have "forgotten" women of other ethnicities and religions.



Germany's number one radical feminist: Alice Schwarzer. Photograph: Reuters

Indeed, they are a constant topic. However, radical feminism reduces these women solely to the category of "women": women oppressed by patriarchal systems from which they need to be freed with the help of women from "liberal countries".

Radical feminism has a crucial weakness: it sees only one hierarchy – that between men and women. But women of colour, for instance, are also subject to a hierarchy between black and white. Attempts by white women to rescue these women from men of colour can be suffused with racism towards "poor" black women and "bad" black men. The conflict is illustrated by the dispute over the headscarf. For radical feminists, the headscarf is the symbol of patriarchal oppression. For many Muslim women, by contrast, it is a symbol of their faith, which faces discrimination from mainstream German society. A never-ending, irresolvable conflict.

In recent times, a third feminist tendency has emerged that attempts to acknowledge this conflict. One area where this tendency can be found is in academic debate, where queer women and women of colour have put forward perspectives that challenge traditional ideas about women's roles and identities. In sociology, this led to the development of the concept of "intersectionality". The core idea behind intersectionality is that people are situated within a wide array of power relations, in which different dimensions become particularly relevant at different times. For example,



The events in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015/16, when immigrant men sexually assaulted women, divided the women's movement. Photograph: picture alliance

we all have an ethnicity, age, gender and social and cultural position that can give us power or make us vulnerable to discrimination in particular situations.

Imagine the hypothetical case of a woman who wears a headscarf. At home, she has problems with her father. But when she enters the German labour market, on top of the problems she faces as a woman she also encounters fear of otherness because of her headscarf. The labour market has the potential to give her independence and perhaps help her to resolve her problems with her father. So the task for intersectional feminism would be to find out what a person needs at a given moment in time in order to be a subject, rather than an object, of power.

Radical feminism doesn't always take this step. Instead, it defines fixed points: that a woman without a headscarf is freer than a woman with one, for example. This makes radical feminism easier to understand and more geared towards campaigning than intersectional feminism. In Germany, this latter form of feminism has come under attack from radical feminists, spearheaded by the magazine *EMMA*.

The Cologne New Year's Eve attacks

The essence of the conflict between the two tendencies can be seen in their differing responses to the mass sexual assaults against women carried out by young immigrant men in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015/16. Following the incident, the German public finally started to pay attention to the problem of sexual violence against women – but only because the offenders were men with a Muslim background. No mention was made of the other 7,000 annual reported rapes in Germany, and most Germans remain unaware that a woman is killed by her partner or ex-partner in Germany almost every day. But these assaults by “foreigners”, only a handful of who have been successfully prosecuted, were regarded as an attack on civilised values.

Radical feminists labelled the intersectional feminists who never tired of pointing out these contradictions as traitors to women, accusing them of relativising the “foreign” men's backgrounds in patriarchal societies and of being apologists for the Islamic patriarchy. Conversely, intersectionalists claimed that Alice Schwarzer, who focused on the problems of patriarchy among “foreign” men to the exclusion of “homegrown” patriarchy, was peddling a racist discourse.

Against this background, what can we expect in future? What are the prospects for building alliances in the face of a burgeoning anti-feminism?

Problem number one: constitutional feminism can achieve a lot, but faces stiff resistance. It takes a long time for governments to overcome hostile attitudes and for feminist policies to gain acceptance. Moreover, there will always be minorities who remain entirely opposed to the direction of change. The AfD exploits this discontent and fuses it with xenophobic resentment, which can feed into mainstream attitudes. This means it is conceivable that anti-feminism could piggyback on racism and turn the public mood against feminist politics. Parties that simply want to listen to “people's fears” without questioning their causes might be tempted to quietly abandon such policies – after all, they're a source of fear and anxiety for some people.



*Gender studies and intersectional feminism are largely confined to university campuses.
Photograph: picture alliance*

Problem number two: radical feminism doesn't deliberately support nationalist anti-feminism, of course. But by practising what Sara Farris terms "femonationalism", a type of feminism motivated by a desire to protect women from "foreign men", it is unintentionally reinforcing the nationalist discourse. Sabine Hark and Paula-Irene Villa call this "toxic feminism", which is capable of being co-opted by the AfD and other conservatives (the AfD, for example, supports free self-defence classes for women). And by fuelling this resentment, radical feminists are helping to strengthen the AfD – and the unintended consequence could be a rise in anti-feminism.

Problem number three: intersectional feminism and gender studies have limited impact on public attitudes, because their arguments are too complex for many people. And when people are afraid they don't tend to think about things critically – they want quick, simple solutions.

What next?

A little humility is needed. Feminists can hardly resolve these problems on their own. In order to tackle anti-feminism, we need to inject rationality back into other discourses.

Firstly, the government must respond rationally to rampant xenophobia (something which affects women too, since anti-feminism can piggyback on racist attitudes). It needs to stand up to racism, instead of allowing it to call the shots. That includes having a more rational debate about refugee policy. We need to move away from the problematic dualism of "Let them all in" and "They're going to swamp us", and instead focus on clearly identifying problems, costs and goals. It's high time to call out fear of foreigners for what it is: fear. An emotion that, as we all know, is an unreliable guide to action. And there's a tried-and-tested way to overcome fear: exposure therapy – confronting the object of our anxieties.

Secondly, politicians and opinion leaders need to address people's feelings of social and cultural insecurity. They need to explain things in a straightforward, no-nonsense way, instead of pandering to resentment under the guise of taking concerns seriously. This is especially crucial for feminists who want to challenge dominant conceptions of identity.

Thirdly, it would be nice to have a women's movement that could make progress in all these directions. At the moment, the three most prominent feminist currents aren't capable of doing so by themselves. It's only possible if they work together. The only hope of that happening would be if the ignorance and incompetence of the anti-feminists unites the various strands. So far, the AfD has not launched an all-out attack on feminist policies (for instance, in the state parliaments where they have representatives). But if they did, they'd find a German Women's March waiting for them.

AUTHOR: Heide Oestreich

Inspirations for this article included:

- Sabine Hark und Paula-Irene Villa: Unterscheiden und Herrschen. Bielefeld 2017.
- Sara Farris: Die politische Ökonomie des Femonationalismus. Feministische Studien Heft 2, 2011.
- Anne Wizorek: Weil ein Aufschrei nicht reicht. Frankfurt am Main 2014.
- Alice Schwarzer (Hrsg.): Der Schock – die Silvesternacht in Köln. Köln 2016.
- ... and a long discussion with Ilse Lenz, emeritus professor of sociology at the University of Bochum..

Thematic links to the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung:

- Proceedings of the conference “Keimzelle der Nation?! Familien(-politik) und rechte Werte” (The nucleus of the nation? Family (politics) and right-wing values), Berlin, 31 May–1 June 2017.
- Proceedings of the conference “The Female Face of the Far Right”, Strasbourg, 9 November 2017.
- Andreas Kemper: Keimzelle der Nation? Familien- und geschlechterpolitische Positionen der AfD – eine Expertise. Berlin 2014.
- Andreas Kemper: Keimzelle der Nation – Teil 2. Wie sich in Europa Parteien und Bewegungen für konservative Familienwerte, gegen Toleranz und Vielfalt und gegen eine progressive Geschlechterpolitik radikalieren. Berlin 2014.
- http://www.zukunftsforum-familie.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/infocenter/dokumentationen/Dokumentation_Keimzelle_der_Nation_Familien_politik_und_rechte_Werte.pdf
- <https://www.fes.de/europecalling/europe-calling-strasbourg/>
- <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/10641-20140414.pdf>
- <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/11163.pdf>



Violence against women is a problem in Tunisia too. The Beity women's refuge offers shelter to abused women. Photograph: Sarah Mersch

TUNISIA: THE STRUGGLE OVER PUBLIC SPACES

In 2011, Tunisia became the birthplace of the Arab Spring. It is the only country in the region where the political uprisings have actually brought about nascent democratic reforms. There has also been progress in the area of women's rights. Since becoming independent in 1956, Tunisia has led the way on equal rights in the region. Now the country's parliament has voted overwhelmingly in favour of sweeping changes to criminal law that give women more protection from violence, and the justice minister has overturned a law dating back to the 1970s that banned Tunisian women from marrying non-Muslims. A step in the right direction, to be sure. But there are still many other discriminatory laws that need to be tackled.

On 26 July 2017, the Tunisian parliament unanimously passed a new law intended to protect women from violence. It makes significant changes to Tunisian criminal law, bringing it in line with the principles of the new constitution introduced in 2014. The move follows years of fierce debate. Mehrezia Labidi, former vice president of the Tunisian Constituent Assembly and member of parliament for Ennahdha, a conservative Islamic party, shakes her head when she thinks of the endless discussions that took place, including in her own party. "In a society like ours, people sometimes lose all restraint when the topic turns to women. Oh my, some of the conservative types we have even in our parliamentary groupings ..." she says, still sounding scarcely able to believe it. But supporters of the reform, who come from across the political spectrum, have not given up. According to Labidi, sometimes you need to set off a little earthquake in people's minds. "Of course, politicians need to listen to their core supporters, but they also need to persuade them to accept progress."

Over 60 years ago, a very similar view was taken by Tunisia's first president, Habib Bourguiba. In 1956, the year the country gained its independence and before a constitution had even been adopted, Bourguiba – unlike Labidi, a committed secularist – promulgated the Code of Personal Status (CPS), a legislative reform that was revolutionary for its time. The code established Tunisia's enduring reputation as a model for other countries in the region to follow when it comes to women's rights.

As she watched the vote from the visitors' gallery in parliament, Monia Ben Jemia felt a great load being lifted from her shoulders. Ben Jemia is the head of the Tunisian Association of Democratic Women (Association Tunisienne des Femmes Démocrates, ATFD), Tunisia's most historically significant women's rights organisation, which had been fighting for a



Sexual harassment is a common occurrence on public transport, so women avoid contact with male strangers. Photograph: picture alliance

change in the law for over a decade. It was only after the revolution of 2011 that it started to make any headway on the issue. Although further reforms are still needed, "overall it's a good law", according to Ben Jemia, who lists all the positive changes that will result when it comes into force in January 2018. One example: public harassment will become a criminal offence. A joint 2015 study by CREDIF (Centre de Recherches, d'Études, de Documentation et d'Information sur la Femme/Centre for research, studies, documentation and information on women), UN Women and the Tunisian Ministry of Family Affairs showed that over half the female population had been a victim of street harassment, and around 90% had experienced harassment on public transport.

"No harassers on board"

The new law also abolishes a provision that permitted men who raped minors to avoid punishment if they married their victim (a similar provision was repealed in Jordan at around the same time). Another change: in divorce proceedings on the grounds of domestic violence, criminal charges against the husband used to be automatically dropped if the woman withdrew her petition for divorce. This will now no longer be the case.

In addition, a new legal definition of rape has been adopted, which makes no reference to the relationship between those involved, and criminalises rape within marriage. The changes are accompanied by an extensive programme of training on gender issues for groups including family judges and lawyers. This training programme is also enshrined in law. The CREDIF research centre is working in partnership with the GAV initiative (Génération A'Venir/the future generation) and the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) to organise training events for Tunisia's security forces, who are often the first to come into contact with victims of violence. In September, the centre also launched a campaign against harassment on public transport with the slogan "No harassers on board".

However, many believe the new law does not go far enough. "We missed the perfect moment to accomplish even more," believes Sana Ben Achour, lawyer and former head of the ATFD. She would have liked to see a more comprehensive overhaul that completely eliminated gender discrimination from Tunisia's laws, since there are still many provisions that cement differences between the genders, especially in the Code of Personal Status. Back in 1956, the CPS was revolutionary: it abolished polygamy and gave women the right to vote, stand for election and file for divorce. But, according to Ben Jemia, it is now "the greatest source of discrimination against women".

Adapting laws to the reality of modern society

The law made Tunisians what they are today, she says, but it has run its course. Ben Achour agrees: the CPS is obsolete, since the reality of life in Tunisia has long since moved on from many of the code's provisions. For example, according to the CPS, the husband is still the sole head of the family, even though nowadays it is increasingly common for both parents to work and contribute to the household income. "But that also means that mothers have no right to custody of children if they are married," explains Ben Jemia. This right is normally only granted in divorce proceedings, where the courts usually deem mothers to be best able to provide for children's welfare. However, they lose custody if they remarry or move to another city. By contrast, custody will only be granted to fathers in divorce proceedings if they have a woman by their side "who is capable of raising the child". In the 1950s, men were not yet trusted to raise a child by themselves.

The situation is even more difficult for single mothers whose children were born outside marriage. "Mothers and children are excluded from society," explains Ben Achour. Often, the families cut off contact and the mothers lose their jobs. Meanwhile, for a child who doesn't have their father's name on their identity documents (as is the norm in Tunisia), every dealing with bureaucracy becomes an ordeal, and they experience exclusion from school age.

A safe space for women excluded from society

In order to provide support for these women and their children, Ben Achour co-founded the organisation Beity ("My house") in 2012. As well as offering legal advice, providing medical and psychological care, and campaigning to raise awareness, it also runs one of only three women's refuges in Tunisia. "We are there for all women who have been driven to the margins of society." It offers accommodation for single mothers, homeless women and sex workers. The refuge was set up in a converted school in Tunis a year ago. When I arrive there, a feisty woman in her late twenties opens the door: Nadia Benzarti, a psychologist and director of the refuge. Currently, she is responsible for eleven women aged between eighteen and fifty who live at the refuge, as well as the same number again of children. The late summer sun blazes down on the large interior courtyard. Most of the women have withdrawn to their rooms or one of the communal areas. Beity attempts to keep the refuge's precise location secret, in order to protect the residents.

"Most of them were referred to us by other organisations, but an increasing number hear about us via word of mouth," Benzarti tells me. She has a whole range of responsibilities: everything from liaising with governmental and non-governmental bodies and organising cultural events for the residents to finding nursery places or handling problems with the electricity company.

Once women are admitted to the Beity refuge, they receive comprehensive support. Many of them are victims of domestic violence; others are young orphans who had to leave their state orphanages when they turned eighteen and ended up on the streets. Benzarti explains that the first priority is to give the women some stability. "Things often get better once legal proceedings such as divorces are over." After that, it's easier for them to develop



"We are there for all women who have been driven to the margins of society," remarks Nadia Benzarti, director of the Beity women's refuge. Photograph: Sarah Mersch

new prospects for the future. Because that's precisely what Beity is all about: "We help them to develop a new project for their lives," says Benzarti, "so that they can get back on their own two feet within the not too distant future."

Persistent socioeconomic disadvantage

The CPS all but guarantees higher unemployment and lower rates of company and property ownership among women in Tunisia. That's because it contains inheritance rules based on Islamic law, which award women "of equal status" half the share that men receive. These inheritance rules have been a source of constant controversy for years. The country's president Mohamed Beji Caid Essebsi (a conservative secularist who founded the Nidaa Tounes party) finally announced a review of the rules on 13 August 2017 – Tunisia's Women's Day, an official holiday marking the anniversary of the promulgation of the CPS.

There was a huge outcry. But even among conservative Islamic politicians there were some who responded more positively to the announcement. Reforms are also supported by the grand mufti, Tunisia's most senior religious scholar. The general tenor is that this is an important question that at least needs to be discussed. A (majority-male) committee made up of

lawyers, sociologists and civil society representatives has now been tasked with formulating a concrete solution that everyone can live with: both those who support reform and those who do not want to interfere with the law's religious basis. But Ben Jemia believes that religion is just a pretext. "It's really about patriarchal structures that favour men's interests."

Figures from right across the political spectrum often argue that the issue of inheritance law is merely a problem for the rich, and that the priority should be dealing with the situation of women in rural regions who work in the fields as day labourers. Ben Achour is sick of hearing these arguments. "Why exactly are those women poor? Because they work on fields that used to belong to their ancestors, while earning even less than the men." She says that the current inheritance law simply cements unjust socioeconomic structures.

Women's rights as a diversionary tactic?

Discussions about reforming inheritance laws are still ongoing. But in September, the Tunisian judiciary did unexpectedly overturn a law dating back to 1973 that banned Tunisian women from marrying non-Muslims. As a result of the law, countless foreigners had been forced to convert, at least on paper, in order for their marriages to be recognised. Although this step, also instigated by President Essebsi, was widely welcomed by the Tunisian public, the timing raised some eyebrows.

The announcement came just one day after the governing coalition had pushed through a controversial law granting amnesty to officials accused of corruption during the dictatorship years. Amna Guellali, director of Human Rights Watch Tunisia, believes this is no coincidence, but a shrewd tactical move. It reminds her of the time before the revolution, when women's rights were mainly "used as diversionary tactics to cover up repressive practices". "The Tunisian government reminds us of the dissonances of the past, when women's rights were used to whitewash a system that was mired in corruption and systematic human rights violations."

So tactical considerations may have played a part in recent progress on women's rights. But that doesn't change the fact that, in future, women will be playing a bigger role in Tunisian politics. That's because a new constitutional amendment has been introduced that ensures gender parity on



*Two strong women seeking a future in politics: Halalili Halalili and Oguntayo Oguntayo.
Photograph: Sarah Mersch*

regional councils. The measure will be applied for the first time in the local elections scheduled to take place across the country in spring 2018.

In Nabeul, around an hour's drive south of Tunis, Emna Halalili and Leila Oguntayo are sitting in a café. They met each other on a course for women jobseekers organised by the FES. The main aim of the course was to teach women how to write an application letter and present themselves in interviews in order to improve their chances of getting a job, but the topics of women's and human rights and the upcoming local elections also came up repeatedly.

Bringing women into public life

"After attending the course, one evening I chanced upon a political TV talk show. In the past, I would've immediately switched channels," admits Halalili, a 27-year-old physics teacher with a young daughter. But she kept watching, and in the end, she decided to stand as an independent candidate in the local elections. Her reasoning was that there are lots of problems in her city, and everyone needs to start by dealing with the problems on their own doorstep – quite literally in her case, as the streets are filled with rubbish. The problem isn't just waste disposal; many other local

services and institutions have been dysfunctional since 2011. "Nurseries, parks, playparks ..." she starts to list them. The sports ground where she used to train as a member of the Tunisian U18 basketball team is also in a dire state.

As a child, Oguntayo spent some time in the youth wing of Tunisia's former sole ruling party. "But my family was only ever part of the decoration," according to Oguntayo, who has a Tunisian mother and a Nigerian father. "To show how open-minded they supposedly were." Because of their dark skin, she and her siblings faced discrimination on a daily basis. As a candidate on the independent list, by contrast, she feels respected and taken seriously. "I want to do something, because I'm worried about my city," she says. She's worried because the new constitution doesn't just ensure gender parity in the regional councils, but also gives the regions more financial independence. "In Tunisia, we know all too well that money and power is a dangerous combination," laughs the 34-year-old. She believes an electoral list made up of city residents without party affiliations is the best guarantee against abuses of office. Oguntayo hasn't yet found a permanent job, but she did land an internship at the FES office in Tunis. And she's learned to stand up for her rights. "And to put my foot down, if I need to," she adds with a laugh.

Sexual minorities: doubly oppressed

Chouftouhonna (meaning "You saw the women") is a queer feminist arts festival that aims to bring gender issues to the public eye. The third edition of the festival took place this year in a theatre on the outskirts of Tunis's historic centre, with women from across the world addressing a range of feminist topics: art, politics and sexuality. It is organised by the LGBT organisation Chouf. "We initially tried approaching traditional women's organisations," explains Bochra Triki, the young university lecturer who co-founded Chouf. But they weren't comfortable dealing with queer issues. Meanwhile, other organisations fighting for the rights of sexual minorities are dominated by men. So in 2013, Triki and a number of other female activists founded their own organisation.

"We're doubly oppressed, because of our gender and because of our sexual orientation," explains one young woman, who is also a member of Chouf



*Bochra Triki founded the queer organisation Chouf in 2013. Traditional women's organisations were not comfortable dealing with the issues facing the LGBTI community.
Photograph: Sarah Mersch*

but wishes to remain anonymous because she is not out to her family. In Tunisia, homosexuality is not just a social taboo, but is punishable with up to three years' imprisonment. This means it is practically impossible to report homophobic harassment and assaults, as victims risk incriminating themselves too.

The anonymous student came to Chouf after she was bullied by a stranger who saw her kissing another woman. "Before then, I didn't know a thing about the queer scene in Tunisia. Now I have a network I can count on," she says. You can still hear the relief in her voice. The network also helps make the everyday discrimination bearable. "Why do you hang around with those people? Why do they have short hair? Why do you dress like a boy? And when are you finally going to get married?" – both women report hearing such questions on a daily basis.

But Triki and her fellow activists believe there are some signs that things are moving in the right direction. Nowadays, for instance, Chouf is able to work closely with other women's organisations, LGBT issues are a topic of public debate and it's possible for a festival like Chouftouhonna to take place in the heart of the capital. According to Triki, "before 2011, that could never have happened".

AUTHOR: Sarah Mersch



This woman was one of many who took to the streets in autumn 2016 to protest plans to restrict abortion rights in Poland. Photograph: Reuters

THE BLACK PROTESTS HAVE CHANGED POLAND

Since sweeping to victory in Poland's 2015 general election, the archconservative Law and Justice party has been systematically transforming the country. Democratic rule of law has come under fire, and so too have women's rights – despite the fact that, until very recently, the country had a female prime minister, Beata Szydło. One of her first actions was an attempt to further tighten Poland's already very restrictive abortion laws. In response, hundreds of thousands of protesters took to the streets across the country on 3 October 2016. What impact did these "Black Protests" have? An analysis by Agnieszka Wiśniewska, chief editor of the website *KrytykaPolityczna.pl* ("political critique").

The Black Protest demonstrations have had a lasting impact on the debate about the situation for women in Poland. You can't talk about women's rights and feminism in Poland today without analysing what these protests were about.

They centred on Poland's abortion laws, which are already among the most restrictive in Europe. In the period leading up to the protests, the Polish parliament backed draft legislation that would further tighten abortion laws, and rejected a counter-petition by the initiative *Ratujmy kobiety* ("Let's save women") calling for a liberalisation of abortion rights. In doing so, it made crystal-clear which sections of society it was prepared to listen to and which it intended to simply ignore.

Neoliberalism and feminism

Why were the Black Protests so important? Above all, of course, because many thousands of people participated. And because they didn't just take place in big urban centres, but also in smaller towns and cities. Because the demonstrators included not just active feminists who were already regulars on women's rights marches but also very young women, celebrities and women who had never taken to the streets before. Because the protests received international support. And because they were about something that had long been labelled a "cultural" issue.

I'd like to start with the last point. In Poland, and in Central and Eastern Europe on the whole, feminist discourse has often confined itself to cultural matters rather than addressing social problems: for instance, talking about abortions rather than unequal treatment in the labour market.



These two young women in Brussels wrote "My right", "My choice" on their bellies to show solidarity with women in Poland and other countries with restrictive abortion laws. Photograph: picture-alliance

There are historical reasons for this. Following the political transformation in the wake of 1989, the feminist movement had the chance to become part of the "wave of freedom" that swept across the region, which brought with it not just discussions about human rights but also tangible opportunities to strengthen those rights. For instance, feminists could now build international networks or receive support from abroad. At the same time, this "wave of freedom" brought us neoliberalism and uncritical acceptance of capitalism and its inherent inequalities. So on the one hand, the feminist movement received concrete support for its activities – publications, conferences, campaigns – from foreign foundations and later also from the EU. But on the other, the changes sparked a host of internal disagreements between liberal and leftist feminists.

These internal tensions have been the topic of a number of conferences organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES). At the 2016 conference "Freedom, Equality, Sisterhood? Feminist Perspectives on Neoliberalism in East-Central Europe", we discussed how attitudes towards both the socio-economic transformation and previous political systems were becoming increasingly contested, constituting an important dividing line within the feminist movement. A year later, the issue was taken up again at the conference "Overcoming False Dichotomies: Neoliberal Consensus vs. Right Wing Populism – Challenges for Feminist and Leftist Movements in

East-Central Europe”. Conference attendees discussed whether, through being preoccupied with cultural issues rather than mounting critiques of economic reforms, mainstream feminism had helped to cement acceptance of neoliberalism and the inequalities it brings with it. This debate about the interrelations between neoliberalism and feminism revealed the significance of the tensions between, on the one hand, issues of economics and freedom and, on the other, women’s rights.

As we were discussing these topics, the world around us changed. The EU is grappling with internal problems and is now more preoccupied with Brexit and threats to rule of law in Poland and Hungary than with questions of human and women’s rights in our region. In the USA, the misogynist Donald Trump was elected president. For years, it seemed as though the wind blowing from the west would always bring with it not just capitalism but also civil liberties and advances in human and women’s rights. But the election of Trump provided definitive proof that this is by no means guaranteed.

Against the backdrop of a weakened EU and the Trump presidency, a “cultural” issue like the right to abortion mobilised thousands of women to take to the streets of Polish towns and cities. It is no coincidence that women have also been demonstrating in the USA, and that the Women’s March was one of the first mass responses to Trump’s election – women felt threatened by the result. In Poland too, it was women who mounted a determined response to the conservative government.

Abortion in Poland

Despite perceptions, the right to abortion is not a cultural issue. For years, feminists in Poland have been pointing out that a woman’s ability to access abortion is strongly linked to her bank account balance: you have the right to choose, but only if you can afford it. According to official figures, every year there are around 1,000 legal abortions in Poland, a country with almost 40 million inhabitants. Everyone knows this figure doesn’t represent the true number of abortions: there are also a huge number of illegal abortions, and many Polish women go abroad to terminate their pregnancies.



In July 2017, Donald Trump visited Poland and met with the Polish president Andrzej Duda. He received a warm reception from many Poles. Photograph: Reuters

For years, feminist organisations have been providing information about underground abortions, and there are ads for “gynaecology services” in every newspaper with titles such as “Retrieve your menstrual cycle”. Unfortunately, this state of affairs wasn’t enough to trigger mass protests.

When the Polish parliament rejected the petition to liberalise abortion rights, it sparked a wider debate about the issue. This debate revealed that many women in the mainstream of Polish society didn’t realise just how extreme the country’s restrictions on abortion are. Why were they unaware? Because it didn’t affect them and their friends. Although women were having abortions, it wasn’t something they used to speak about openly. When, at the height of the Black Protests, the popular singer Natalia Przybysz publicly admitted to having had an abortion – carried out in Slovakia, where many Polish women go for the procedure – she faced a barrage of criticism. But she also got a lot of support.

And this latter point is crucial. Polish women found the courage to make their voices heard – and to take to the streets. The fact that abortion was regarded as a cultural issue rather than a political one may actually have helped, which would mean that something that had long been used as an argument against talking about abortion rights suddenly proved to be

an advantage. Interviews appeared with celebrities who'd had an abortion, books were published in which women told the stories of their abortions and a literary competition linked to the Black Protests was launched. Suddenly, the shocking stories of women who'd had abortions could be read not just on feminist websites but in the mainstream media.

For example, one of the women interviewed for the book *Dziewięć rozmów o aborcji* (Nine conversations about abortion) told the following story: "My partner found the advert. We wanted to contact the doctor. My partner went into a store, bought a SIM card with a new number, called up and explained the situation." The rest of the story sounds like something from a crime thriller. "We went through an entranceway. We were there together, and I thought to myself, 'My God, he could lead us anywhere, even to the police.' A clandestine deal, like I was buying amphetamines. A dark passageway, a front door, the guy says, 'It'll all be alright.' And gives us a few tablets, no packaging, no instructions, nothing. We took them back home with us. I was shocked: 'For crying out loud, I don't even know what they are.' That's how it works in Poland: you get a new SIM card and pick up a tablet from someone's front door."

All these voices were crucial, as they were telling personal stories. But it also made a crucial difference that they weren't the first to speak out on this issue. The topic of abortion might have been uncharted territory for the mainstream, but the groundwork had been done by many years of work by feminist organisations. All the conferences, debates and books that had previously only reached a limited audience now provided the foundation on which a new narrative could be built.

Let me give one example from our own website. In December 2015, we published an article about the effects of the total abortion ban in El Salvador. It was read by quite a few people, and kept appearing in our "most read articles" list. But it was only when the Black Protests began a year later that the article about El Salvador went viral. At demonstrations, there were banners with the slogan "Don't let Poland become a second El Salvador". The information in our article was now being used in everyday debates about the current developments in Poland. The work we'd done at an earlier point in time now became incredibly important.



*Many of the protesters in October 2016 were young women.
Photograph: picture alliance*

"If it is not biographical, it does not exist"

Above, I discussed the personal dimension of stories about abortion, since individual experience is enormously important as a motivator of action. The Polish philosopher Stanisław Brzozowski wrote that "if it is not biographical, it does not exist". For many women, the Black Protests were an initiation experience. I'd been on countless feminist rallies before, and after a few years I noticed to my dismay that I knew half my fellow marchers. But when I took part in a demonstration in October 2016 as part of the women's strike, I saw huge numbers of young women, some who'd turned up alone, and some looking like they'd come directly from work.

I didn't meet anyone I knew at the demonstration; it was impossible to find anyone in the mass of soaking wet people carrying umbrellas. It was raining on 3 October 2016, and the umbrellas became a symbol of our protest. I saw huge crowds gathered at Castle Square in Warsaw, and via Twitter and Facebook I quickly learned that thousands of protesters had assembled on the streets and squares in other big cities too, and hundreds of people had turned out even in smaller towns and cities. The latter news was especially welcome, since it is, of course, more difficult to protest publicly in places where everyone knows each other. For some women,



Ilona Motyka and Dr. Anita Kucharska-Dziedzic from the association BABA at the Women's Barcamp organized by FES on 11 March 2017 in Berlin. Photograph: Anne Koch

taking part in the protests had consequences. There were a few cases where the police confiscated banners with supposedly objectionable messages. In other cases, disciplinary proceedings were instituted: for instance, against ten teachers from Zabrze who were accused of bringing their profession into disrepute. The women were eventually cleared of the charges and became heroines.

Women share their personal experiences on social media. This has empowered many women and given them a feeling of sisterhood. Not everyone who took part in the protests would label themselves as feminists, but for many women the protests marked their initiation into feminism and sisterhood.

You'll never walk alone

The Black Protests were widely covered in the foreign media, and also received a lot of international support. Pictures of Black Protest posters were shared on social media with the hashtags #czarnyprotest and #blackprotest, which made those of us protesting in Poland feel that we were not alone.

In March, Polish women who had taken part in the protests attended the Women's Barcamp in Berlin organised by the FES. One of these women was Ilona Motyka, who I met at an event hosted by the FES's Akademie für Soziale Demokratie (Academy for Social Democracy). Ilona works for the BABA Lubuskie Association for Women (BABA Lubuskie Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Kobiet), which supports victims of domestic and sexual violence. She experienced the Black Protests outside the big cities at first hand. At the Women's Barcamp, she explained that the success of the Law and Justice Party had a lot to do with low voter turnout and strategic blunders by progressives.

There are several reasons why the women's protests in Poland attracted a great deal of international solidarity. Firstly, because abortion is a "cultural" issue, a matter of freedom. Secondly, because the marches took place in Poland, a country with a far-right government that, since coming to power, has hamstrung key public institutions like state broadcasters and the constitutional court, or instrumentalised them for its own purposes. But thirdly, it was also due in part to the contacts and relationships that feminist movements in Poland has built up over the past decades. And the protests helped to forge new relationships too.

In the end, the government withdrew the draft proposal for restricting abortion rights. It was a victory for women in Poland. And the democratic opposition also took note that women's voices could no longer be ignored.

The Black Protests have changed the country

When Poland's new government took office in late 2015, it sparked a wave of protests in defence of democracy and democratic institutions, with thousands of people taking to the streets. Opposition politicians were quick to endorse the protests – something that did not please everybody. There was also concern that references to democracy during the protests did not always make clear what kind of democracy was being defended. In some cases, protesters with rainbow flags were excluded from demonstrations. And some opposition politicians who spoke about social justice issues were greeted with whistles and boos.



The rainbow flag is an integral part of the protest movement, as seen here on International Women's Day 2017. But when protests "in defence of democracy" first started, not everyone was happy about the presence of the flags.

Photograph: picture-alliance

But on the Black Protests, women demonstrated strength and unity that transcended party divides. They showed that they do not need politicians to organise demonstrations, but can manage just fine by themselves.

By the time the next big wave of protests drove people to the streets in July 2017 (this time to defend the independence of the courts), it had become clear that not only were rainbow flags welcome on the demonstrations (indeed, they were now a common sight), but also that homophobic and sexist remarks would no longer be silently tolerated. For instance, when Jerzy Owsiak – a popular social activist in Poland – responded to personal criticism from a Law and Justice MP by saying that she should "try having sex", there was an angry reaction from left-wing activists, with the liberal media later following suit. In the end, Owsiak was forced to apologise.

The women's protests have also left their mark on the opposition parties. Women aren't backing down. After the Polish parliament rejected the petition to relax abortion laws in 2016, the initiative "Ratujmy kobiety" drew up a new proposal and once again collected signatures. Whereas the first time round, opposition politicians did not rush to support the campaign, they are now willing to be photographed with the activists



The slogan on this poster, showing the former Polish prime minister Beata Szydło, reads "Women who hate women". This slogan could be seen everywhere at the protests.

Photograph: Reuters

supporting the initiative and to openly declare their support for the proposal. Whether this will also result in backing from their parties remains to be seen.

But one thing's for sure: politicians have realised that it is in their interests to stick with the well-organised feminists. The slogan "Unfortunately, we women can't trust the Szydło government", which first appeared at demonstrations in defence of women's rights, later spread to other protests too.

There is cause for hope

However, it would be a mistake to believe that the right to abortion will now appear in every opposition party's manifesto. That isn't going to happen – so we need to keep fighting.

But the feminist movement has won many new allies. It's also ensured that conservatives won't find it as easy as they would like to further tighten Poland's restrictive abortion laws. If necessary, women will simply take to the streets again.



Agnieszka Dziemianowicz-Bąk from the "Together" party is one of the Polish Left's great hopes for the future. Photograph: picture alliance

Several leading figures have emerged out of the protests who are determined to keep up the pressure. They include Barbara Nowacka and Agnieszka Dziemianowicz-Bąk, two women who are active in different left-wing parties but are not currently members of the Polish parliament. In 2016, the American magazine *Foreign Policy* listed them as two of the Top 100 Global Thinkers. We'll definitely be hearing more from them in future.

In addition, necessity has given rise to new forms of civil society engagement. Right after taking office, the Law and Justice party began cutting funding to women's rights organisations and services, many of which (like the Blue Line, a telephone hotline for victims of domestic violence) fell into financial difficulties as a result. In response, ordinary citizens, and sometimes even businesses, have stepped in. For example, the ten teachers from Zabrze mentioned earlier donated the proceeds from the sale of a prize statuette, which they had been awarded by the influential Polish news broadcaster Radio TOK FM for the "exceptional impact" of their role in the Black Protests.

Studies in Poland have shown that young women have more progressive attitudes than young men. These young women are no longer bogged down in debates about the systematic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe, but are coming of age at a time when Poland's economic debate is not exclusively dominated by neoliberalism. After the financial crisis of 2008,

only entrenched hardliners still believe in self-regulating markets, and nowadays young women are surrounded by numerous female role models who profess their feminism without fear.

The Black Protests have changed Poland. The bad news is that there's a growing need for vigilance and resistance in the face of attempts to curtail civil liberties and women's rights. However, there are also a growing number of Polish women, including many young women, who are ready to fight for gender justice, freedom of choice and democracy for all.

AUTHOR: Agnieszka Wiśniewska

THIS ENGLISH TRANSLATION is based on Bernhard Hartmann's German translation of the original Polish article.



*Kelly Dittmar on November 13 on the stage at the FES [Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung] panel discussion
"No false modesty!" Photo: Maren Strehlau*

**"BEING ABLE TO NOT
BE ENGAGED IS A
LUXURY OF THE FEW
OF US"**

Bildunterschriften wurden in
diesem Artikel nicht übersetzt

Shocked, stunned, devastated – this is how large parts of the US population reacted to Donald Trump’s election victory. Instead of Hillary Clinton, the country opted for the candidate who continued to spread hate against minorities and disdain for women throughout his campaign. How could this happen? Why would people choose a misogynist over their first female president? The answer is far from easy, says Kelly Dittmar, a scholar at the Center for American Women and Politics at the Eagleton Institute of Politics and an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Rutgers University-Camden. For the nonpartisan project “Presidential Gender Watch”, Dittmar analyzed and illuminated the ways gender played a role in the 2016 election. The political expert explained to us why the majority of white women didn’t vote for Clinton and where the resistance stands today.

FES: It’s almost a year since Hillary Clinton lost the election. Is it still hard to comprehend the fact that Donald Trump is the president of the United States?

KELLY DITTMAR: I think there’s still a level of trying to figure out exactly what happened in the election and to understand what really fueled the anger and unhappiness among the folks who did vote for Trump. I think a lot of us looked at the numbers and thought: That might be a percentage of the population, but it’s not enough to get him over the finish line. Well, at the end of the day it was. But we’re also looking ahead as well to figure out what that means for 2018, our next congressional election cycle, and 2020. As a professor, as a teacher of students, as a person working for a bipartisan center, I’m pushing for everyone to be more active and engaged in this next election cycle. I don’t want people to stay home and then wake up the next day and say: “Oh, I didn’t realize that was gonna happen. I stayed out of this one, because I wasn’t happy with either candidate.”

FES: A lot of people seemed very surprised that the majority of white women didn’t vote for Clinton. Not only because they missed out on the chance to see the first female president of the United States, but also since Donald Trump proved himself to be a misogynist over and over again.

KELLY DITTMAR: I think we have to be careful to always recognize that women are just as diverse in opinion and political preferences as men. We have to give women some credit on that, because we don’t expect all men to vote for male candidates, right? So we can’t expect that from



Kelly Dittmar is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at Rutgers University and a scholar at the Center for American Women and Politics. Her publications include an analysis of the role played by gender in the 2016 presidential election. Private photo

women. At least in the US context and our two-party system, we have found over and over again that gender isn’t a strong predictor of vote choice. People vote on ideology, they vote on policy, so we really shouldn’t have expected for all women to vote for Hillary Clinton. Among white women in particular, 47% identified as Republicans in 2016, compared to 38% of all women. The same Pew Research data demonstrates how education also predicts white women’s allegiance to the Republican Party; a slight majority of white women without college degrees (51%) identified as Republicans in 2016, compared to 41% of college-educated white women.

Clinton actually gained more of white women’s votes than Barack Obama did. It was Mitt Romney who won that vote in higher numbers in 2012, and Mitt Romney also won college-educated white women. In this case, Hillary Clinton won college-educated white women with 51 percent of the vote, but a lot of people expected that her support among this portion of women would be much bigger – that Republican women at large would say, “We can’t vote for this guy because he’s sexist.” And that just didn’t happen. I understand the surprise, because we all kind of hoped that people could see that this candidate would be problematic for women at large, with his treatment of women and his perspective on gender roles. But that would assume that all women think the same and they don’t.



Hillary Clinton would have like to be the first female president of the USA. Part of the reason why she didn't in the end is because of expectations to do with her role as a woman, says Dittmar. Photo: Reuters

FES: So in the end, her gender didn't play that much of a role in the election?

KELLY DITTMAR: I wouldn't make the case that Hillary Clinton lost the race because of her gender, but I definitely think that it influenced the process as well as the outcome. People didn't walk into the ballot box and all of a sudden say, "I just can't vote for a woman." Throughout the election, when questions are raised about someone's credentials for the job or, in Hillary Clinton's case, about her honesty and transparency or her stamina – voters might be more likely to accept either the negative attacks on her or be less likely to accept the things she was putting out there, because of our stereotypes or stereotypical expectations of gender. When Donald Trump calls her "crooked Hillary" throughout the campaign, you wouldn't think that this has anything to do with her gender. Candidates challenge other candidates' ethics all the time and of course there's some bad history with the Clinton's and their ethics. However, what we also know is that gender stereotypes uphold the expectation that women are more honest and ethical. That can be an asset to women in campaigns, unless somebody uses it against them.

When women are put on a value-pedestal, their fall is longer and harder if they get knocked off it. So for Hillary Clinton, why was there so much attention to her dishonesty and her e-mails than there was to Donald

Trump and his many scandals and lies? Our values expectations might help explain that disparity.

There are things that we asked of Hillary Clinton and ways in which she was covered that would have been different for her if she had been a man. Likability is an example. Hillary Clinton always had the problem that people said: "I just don't like her. She doesn't seem authentic enough." For women that's a real challenge. My colleagues at the Barbara Lee Family Foundation did some experimental studies on this and they showed that for women candidates, likability is tied to qualifications. If you think a women candidate is likable, you also think she's qualified. If you don't think she's likable, you don't think she's qualified. For men those two things aren't related, so we vote for men we don't like all the time.

FES: That's insane, isn't it?

KELLY DITTMAR: Yes! But it's helpful to see it in research, so we're not just dreaming that up. That, to me, is also tied to the question of authenticity. There is research that shows how important authenticity is for voters, that it matters that the president, in particular, feels authentic to them. That's why people like George W. Bush: He seems like the type of guy they could have a beer with. For women in politics, authenticity is a challenge because there is this expectation that you have to be "man enough" for the job. You have to be tough, you have to be strong – these are things that stereotypically aren't expected from women. To be authentically female, you also have to be passive, demure, likable. This is a double-bind that women face. Hillary Clinton has been repeatedly asked to be authentic enough but also to be masculine enough. How do women make these two things work?

We can't tell how much of the vote was determined by those perceptions of ethics, likability, or authenticity, but surely it affected how she was evaluated by voters, how she was treated along the campaign trail and how she had to campaign.

FES: Angela Merkel just got re-elected and it didn't feel like her gender played that much of a role throughout the election. Do you think that double-bind you were talking about doesn't apply anymore as soon as a woman proved that she's capable of doing the job?



Mired in far more scandals and lies, and yet he won anyway. One factor in his success may be that sympathy plays a far less important role for male politicians than for female politicians. Photo: Reuters

KELLY DITTMAR: The more we know an individual, the more they're personalized to us, the less likely we use stereotypes. I think it was the case for Hillary Clinton, that some of the gender challenges that some of the women would have faced, would they have been less known, didn't affect her as much. People didn't know Carly Fiorina, for example. She was running on the Republican side in the primaries and there was a presumption and treatment of her across the board as not a serious candidate. Whereas with Hillary Clinton, it didn't seem like people were questioning her credentials as much.

But in US context, when talking about a women president, I think we have an equally important challenge to shift the expectations of what it means and what it looks like to be presidential. We have often looked to our presidents as great man, heroes, leaders, the fathers of the nation. All of that symbolism makes it just difficult for women to break in – and for voters to look at women as appropriate and expected presidential leaders.

FES: What is the best way for women to deal with these expectations?

KELLY DITTMAR: One way to deal with that is to have women just adapt. Women have to prove that they're masculine enough. The other way though, the more lasting way that would make the presidency more friendly to diverse types of candidates, is to push the boundaries on what it looks like to be a president. I do think that Hillary Clinton has done that. One way by which she did that is by winning the popular vote. She proved that women can win this office and that the majority of Americans are willing to vote for a woman. In the end, she lost because of the oddities of our electoral college system. Also she campaigned in a way in which she was willing to talk about her gender, about being a woman as an asset to being president, not just a disadvantage or a hurdle to overcome. She mainstreamed gender in a way that other candidates have not.

FES: There were a lot of articles that made the same point. Do you think there will be more women running for office in 2020?

KELLY DITTMAR: It certainly normalizes the thought of women at that level of leadership. There's surely a pool of women who could run. The real question is: Will they run and will the party support them? The tricky part is that women's progress also causes a backlash. We know this in any feminist movement: When women reach a certain level of power, you can see people pushing back against it. It's not the majority of the population, but it's a vocal minority. A fraction of Trump supporters were those who really were pushing back against women's advancement as well as the advancement of people of color and particularly against eight years of a black president.

FES: With the women's marches, the people Trump supporters were pushing against, went to the street to make their protest visible. How important was that in your eyes?

KELLY DITTMAR: I think it was very important that there was a moment of solidarity in terms of standing up and saying: "Yes, this person got elected and there's a respect for the democratic process. But that does not mean that we condone the behavior, the rhetoric and the policy agenda that he's put forward." It showed literally on day one that women are going to pay attention and be engaged and active. It's nice to see that this energy has been sustained in many ways. That doesn't necessarily mean we will see a lot more women winning in the next election because of



Fathers of the nation: sculptures of presidents George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln on Mount Rushmore. Photo: Reuters

the way our system works, but at least we're seeing women engaged in politics – to a degree we might haven't seen them being engaged until this year.

FES: So the resistance is very much alive.

KELLY DITTMAR: Right. When Trump announced he would end DACA, a program to protect young undocumented immigrants from being deported, there were protests around the country. They aren't as huge as the women's marches, obviously, but they are still happening. People are making calls to their congress people and there is no doubt in my mind that this had an influence on what happened in the healthcare vote. We see women really looking for programmes and ways to get trained to get the tools they need to be engaged in politics and even to run for office. And I think social media is a site where you also see continued organizing and activism of women. What I'm interested in going forward though, is also how we keep women engaged across partisan identity. At some point we also have to have a dialogue about the representation and empowerment of women in the Republican party, where progress for women has been more limited than on the Democratic side.



The Women's March in January 2017 was the biggest demonstration by the women's movement for a long time. Photo: Reuters

FES: It seems so hard to stay up-to-date on everything that's happening around the Trump administration. How do you keep track of the issues that really matter?

KELLY DITTMAR: I think everybody is challenged by how to juggle the many important things that are happening simultaneously. You can't take emotion out of politics, that's why we all advocate for things that we care about. I think we have to keep active on multiple things at once. When I spend my energy on calling out a congressman who called congresswomen "eye candy," I don't think that's a distraction from the fact that I am still concerned about Puerto Rico or what's happening in terms of tax reform. If we say that the "eye candy" comment is unimportant in light of the threat of nuclear war and just let it go, we allow people to normalize this as okay. And it's not okay and it has larger ramifications than just one comment. It puts women in a place in which they're inferior to their counterparts.

We have to be willing to look at the small things and call those out, as well as continue advocacy on the things that seem to be so dire and immediately important. There are so many people whose lives and survival are affected by what's happening in government, so they have no choice but to be engaged. For those of us who are sitting in positions of privilege,



Resistance goes on! Protesters against the ending of the DACA program. The Trump administration and its policies are polarizing and politicizing many young people. Many more women than ever before now want to get involved in politics. Photo Reuters

we need to recognize that it is our responsibility to be engaged as well – even if we feel like we want to step away because it’s overwhelming. Being able to not be engaged is a luxury of the few of us, and one in which we should not indulge.

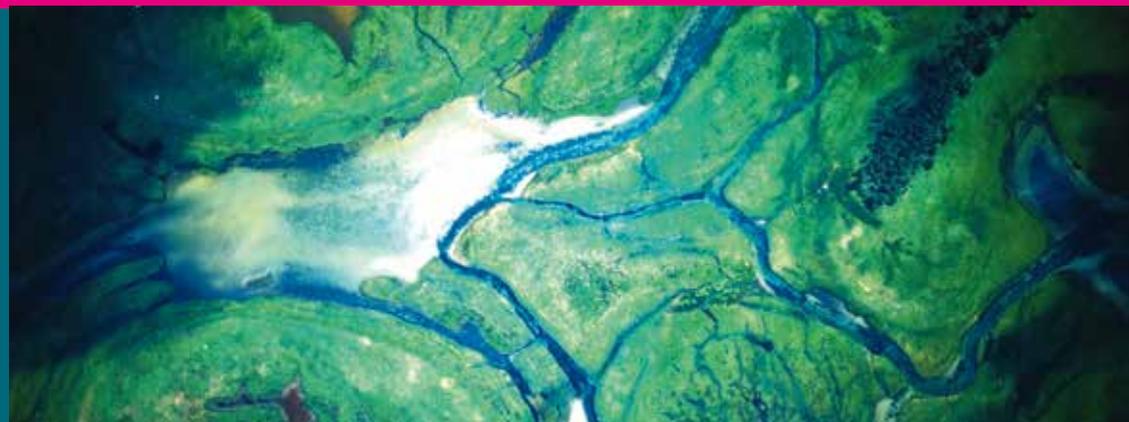
AUTHOR: Lisa Ludwig

TRANSLATED FROM THE AMERICAN BY Norbert Zänker
and colleagues

Assistant professor Kelly Dittmar was a panel discussant at the FES event „No False Modesty – Five Years of ‚Listen to me!‘“ on 13 November 2017 in Berlin. Please have a look at her video statement on the gender aspects of the US election campaign and the political developments thereafter.

REVIEW

- 65** Think beyond the mainstream!
- 71** State of emergency in the care industry:
A “women’s” problem? No, a social problem!
- 77** Women as experts:
turning the tables for a change
- 81** Women in Southeast Asia:
the forgotten migrant workers
- 87** Women in politics:
setbacks and new challenges
- 93** A feminist perspective on the topic of childbirth



Examples in nature: a river with many side streams and tributaries. When it comes to promote justice, focussing on the latter is good advice. Photograph: plainpicture

THINK BEYOND THE MAINSTREAM!

In September 2015, the member states of the United Nations unanimously adopted seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). One of the goals was gender equality, which stands as a goal in its own right. At the same time, the document underlined that all its objectives are closely intertwined.

This means that, in order to implement these goals, which are supposed to be achieved by 2030, it needs to be recognised that gender equality is closely correlated to sustainable economic growth, poverty reduction and tackling climate change. Common mainstream approaches to economics, which dominate most national agendas as well as that of global development, barely take this correlation into account.

Since the adoption of Agenda 2030, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) has supported the implementation process of SDGs on a global scale. Special attention is paid to the application of feminist, heterodox policies, because mainstream approaches to solving global problems have so far failed.

Debt relief: a prerequisite for development

At a FES event at the United Nations High-Level Political Forum in New York, for example, several proposals for a more equitable, gender-sensitive and participatory policy in the fields of climate change, fiscal policy, free trade and agriculture were presented and discussed. Alicia Bárcena, executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), supported the demands, and took the opportunity to point out the importance of debt relief for many developing countries: only then would these countries be able to launch policies to help overcome existing gender injustices.

The FES has cooperated with the International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE) for seven years. Their members from the fields of economics and social sciences are leaders in research into gender justice. In a joint workshop on 19 January, the intersections and potential of a combination of ecological and feminist economics were highlighted. Examples of better gender justice and sustainable economics were presented. The results of the workshop will be published in spring 2018 on the website of the Feminist Economics journal.



Alicia Bárcena, executive secretary of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), supported the demands and pointed out the importance of debt relief for many developing countries. Photograph: UN Photo

A fundamental insight of feminist analytical approaches is of central importance for the “care economy” in all forms of society. In concrete terms, this means that it is women and girls who do most of the social work necessary for all other economic activities, often without pay. Without fulfilling these “reproductive” tasks, the entire global economy would come to a standstill. But not all sociopolitical structures strengthen women’s self-determination and equality, as a study of innovative care policies by the FES in Asia, Africa and Latin America has shown. In order to empower women and achieve equal participation and opportunities, politics must help overcome conventional gender roles.

Germany can do more

Economic empowerment is an essential step on the path to more equality and gender justice for women. But it requires a change in prevailing social structures. Care for children, the sick and the elderly must be better distributed between the sexes, but also between family and state. At an FES symposium together with the Marie-Schlei-Verein on 4 July in Berlin, the issue of the structural redistribution of reproductive work took centre stage, as well as women’s access to education, employment and property

in an international context. The role of the G20 was also critically examined and there was a discussion of the contribution of German development policy, which, from a civil society perspective, is insufficient.

With a view to the current situation in Germany and the question of how refugees can best navigate German society, Elke Ferner, parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, said: "The integration of women is not only a question of equality, but, at the same time, is the key to the integration of the whole family." Access to the labour market for refugee women strengthens them on an individual level. At the same time it also facilitates the integration of the whole family into the country that is to become their new home.

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Specialised care workers are urgently needed. But above all, conditions must be improved so that more people are attracted to working in caring professions. Photograph: plainpicture

STATE OF EMERGENCY IN THE CARE INDUSTRY: A "WOMEN'S" PROBLEM? NO, A SOCIAL PROBLEM!

There is a shortage of skilled workers in Germany, and not only in technical professions and skilled manual labour. Local authorities are desperately looking for qualified personnel for children's day-care centres, and there is talk of a nationwide emergency in the elderly nursing sector. What can be done to encourage more people to enter into the caring professions?

There could be 270,000 vacancies in nursing and healthcare by the year 2035 according to estimates by the Federal Institute for Vocational Education and Training (BIBB). According to a study from 2017, there is already a nationwide deficit of 107,000 staff members in children's day-care centres where high-quality care is required.

The reasons for this trend are well established: on the one hand, it is being driven by demographic and social developments. Around three million senior citizens now require nursing support. On the other, according to the German Federal Statistical Office, around 700,000 children under the age of three are being supervised in day-care centres. Afternoon supervision in schools is now finally at the top of the political agenda. At least, it was promised by all the political parties during the 2017 elections to the German parliament.

A better image and better pay!

However, in comparison with the rising demand, there are far too few applicants for training in these sectors. The fourth Equal Society Brief from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in April 2017 summarises the reasons and need for political action: "In order to ensure the attractiveness of occupations in the social sector and to attract skilled workers in future, good working conditions are required, and therefore higher staff ratios. However, if this challenge is to be met, making occupations more attractive through better pay is essential."

This requires closer examination, of course, because not all social services jobs are equally badly paid. In a cross-national FES study, Lena Hipp and Nadiya Kelle of the Berlin Social Science Center (WZB) show that, especially in Germany, work in the low skilled professions is comparatively poorly paid. Overall, the study shows that, mainly due to poor remuneration, social services roles have historically been considered "typical women's jobs".



Tending to needs, providing warmth and attention: the word "care" includes all these things. Photograph: plainpicture

Deceptive images

How are "typical women's jobs" reflected in images over time, and how have they evolved historically? In July 2017, the "The Woman in White" issued by the Archiv der sozialen Demokratie (Archives of Social Democracy) pursued this question. Historical photographs show that nurses were usually idealised as maternal figures and had an image of being caring. And since caregiving within the family is both traditionally done by mothers or women, and not remunerated, this is also reflected in care beyond the domestic sphere. These occupations are still structured as jobs with which to earn supplementary income. It is implicitly assumed that there is another, significantly higher income in the household, because the wages offered are too low to provide for a family and to cover for a sufficiently high level of social security.

The fact that a more gender-equitable society and economic independence for women cannot be achieved without a high-quality, well-developed social infrastructure is now obvious.

To mark International Women's Day 2017, the FES put the global care crisis at the fore of its events. In Berlin, Ravensburg, Ingolstadt, Brussels, Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Yaoundé (Cameroon), the issue was discussed at public events with experts and activists who looked at different aspects of the problem. Interviews and brief analyses gave insights into the social realities of India, Bangladesh, Mozambique and Latin and Central America. Although the problems are sometimes very different, it became clear that the social value of care work is still underestimated worldwide. If we are to achieve higher gender equality, we should always keep these problems in mind.

Towards the end of the German elections in September 2017, working conditions and pay in the social service professions were widely discussed once again: all the political parties who could potentially form coalitions have promised improvements in this area. Whether this will actually take place, however, remains to be seen since it is not possible without investment and better pay for those who work in these professions. Dogmatically insisting on balanced books is unhelpful in this scenario.

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For some years now, the German Council of Economic Experts consist of four male experts and one female expert. There is still room for improvement. Photograph: picture alliance

WOMEN AS EXPERTS: TURNING THE TABLES FOR A CHANGE

Business events in addition to their specific content, are often dominated by male participants and speakers. When organisers are asked why very few or no women have been included in the programme, they often simply come up with excuses.

Much recent research has shown that a lack of female representation in various areas of society and the labour market correlates to a lack of role models: if women are not represented in certain contexts, the chances of this changing in the future are reduced.

This finding motivated a conference on economic policy held by the London office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), featuring a programme of predominantly female speakers. In an event on 4 April, jointly organised by the Fabian Women's Network – part of the progressive British think tank, the Fabian Society – around 100 participants discussed the question: how should unpaid care for children and the elderly, together with personal well-being, contribute towards a new understanding of growth and progress?

The results of this exciting event, whose set-up was initially unfamiliar to some participants, were published in a collection of essays which provide a good insight into the challenges faced by British society today.

Female experts are nothing new

In these times, it should be a matter of course to ensure that both male and female experts are represented in event programmes. The “justification” often heard in the past – that there are simply no female experts for certain topics – is fortunately no longer tenable today.

Even in the tech industry, which is most definitely still a male-dominated section of the labour market, there are now very knowledgeable female experts. The Berlin-Brandenburg FES managers' group invited one such woman – Isabelle Sonnenfeld, head of Google News Lab Germany – to a business breakfast in February. She discussed with participants what tools were necessary to ensure quality journalism in the digital age.



*Isabelle Sonnenfeld has been head of Google News Lab Germany since 2015.
Photograph: picture-alliance*

Breaking down gender stereotypes

In other regional circles of the managers' group, participants had the opportunity to talk to Sabine Grone-Weber, industrial relations director at Stuttgarter Straßenbahnen AG (Stuttgart's main public transport operator) on the topic of mobility in urban areas, as well as to Christina Kampmann, still a minister in North Rhine-Westphalia at the time, on the subject of “Women in Leadership”.

Elisabeth Wilfart, equal opportunities officer for the state capital of Düsseldorf, expanded on the same theme with the members of the North Rhine-Westphalia managers' group, this time focusing on public service. She made it clear that closing the gender gap in terms of leadership responsibility required not only a structural, but also a cultural change. This, of course, takes time. But it also requires role models: that is, men and women who help to break down gender stereotypes.

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ASSISTED BY: FES London and Martin Röw, FES Berlin



*An Indonesian migrant worker waits at the airport for her documents to be processed.
Photograph: Reuters*

WOMEN IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: THE FORGOTTEN MIGRANT WORKERS

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2017. Its members include both one of the world's poorest countries and one of the richest: Myanmar and Singapore. Since 2015, the association's ten member states have had a common internal market. This offers new opportunities, but also increases certain inequalities – especially for women.

“Through gender equality and women's empowerment, ASEAN is able to foster the overall growth of the region. This is not only right – it also makes economic sense,” says Miwa Kato, the regional director of UN Women in Asia and the Pacific.

The ASEAN high-level policy dialogue, held in Jakarta on 7 July, was supported by the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), UN Women and the ASEAN Secretariat. Senior officials from the ASEAN member states with responsibility for labour, economic affairs, trade and women's rights attended the event.

The establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in December 2015, which has created jobs through integrating labour markets in the region, has led to an increase in migrant workers to just under 6.9 million, almost half of whom are women.

The rising number of women among migrant workers is a constant trend in the ASEAN region, highlighting women's economic importance there. However, this raises questions about gender inequality in the workplace. Women are particularly likely to suffer from poor working conditions and are commonly employed for so-called 3D jobs: dirty, dangerous and demanding.

Unlike skilled migrant workers who benefit from the right to freedom of movement in the ASEAN region, the low-paid sector is poorly regulated, partly due to the high number of undocumented workers. This leads to increased wage discrimination towards migrant workers and social dumping, and a lack of job and social security. In order to solve these problems, countries of origin and destination must agree on a legal framework on a national and regional level.



A migrant worker from Myanmar prepares food in her accommodation outside the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur. Photograph: Reuters

The “Women Migrant Workers in the ASEAN Economic Community” study, commissioned by the FES and UN Women, served as a basis for the policy dialogue. One proposed solution is to see migrant women as agents of development. In order to harness the maximum potential and economic benefits of ASEAN integration, both women's skills development and their work mobility need to be improved. To date, women have been over-represented in low-skill occupations with poor incomes and working conditions.

An important step in the right direction was taken during the ASEAN summit in the Philippines in November 2017. After a decade, ASEAN has finally made progress in ensuring the protection of migrant workers by signing the “ASEAN Consensus on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers”. The agreement includes visitation rights for family members, a prohibition on the retention of passports and protection against violence and financial exploitation.

However, the question of the legal validity of the document divided ASEAN countries during the negotiation phase: the Philippines and Indonesia, both sending countries, wanted a legally binding framework. Singapore and Malaysia, which attract large numbers of migrant workers, wanted no more than a directive.

But a legally binding ASEAN instrument for the protection of migrant workers would be an indispensable tool to ensure that the opportunities created by the common internal market actually benefit employees. The document which has been adopted is therefore nothing more than a first stage and needs to be developed further in future.

The next step is to draw up a plan of action after the ASEAN consensus has been signed by the ASEAN Committee on Migrant Workers. One can only hope that the development and implementation of the action plan will not take another decade.

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One of many hopefuls: Democrat Danica Roem won a seat in the United States House of Representatives for the state of Virginia in November 2017. She is the first openly transgender woman in Congress. Photograph: Reuters

WOMEN IN POLITICS: SETBACKS AND NEW CHALLENGES

These are exciting yet terrifying times for women involved in politics and for all those committed to a democratic, diverse and open society. A year ago, Hillary Clinton lost the battle for what is still the most important political office worldwide, the US presidency. And with Donald Trump's victory, a populist, sexist man with a partially racist agenda was elected. So, what is the situation in Germany? Here, too, there is good reason to worry – and most importantly, to get involved!

Hillary Clinton's nomination as the Democrats' candidate for the 2016 US presidential election was often described as a historic moment. This description seems appropriate as it was the first time that a female candidate had realistic chances of attaining the highest office in the US. And yet there was also criticism and scepticism, especially among feminists, regarding Clinton's candidacy.

In the "Spotlight Elections" series, in which the Washington office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) discussed the election campaign, Julia Sharpe-Levine, who among other things is the deputy director of the African American Policy Forum, summarised her criticisms of Clinton in the following way: "Based on her voting record, I am not convinced that the circumstances of most women will improve under a Clinton presidency, particularly those who are multiply disadvantaged by racism, classism, heterosexism and xenophobia."

In her opinion piece, Sharpe-Levine leaves no doubt that for her, voting for Clinton would be the lesser evil, but that it was an absolutely necessary step. Because the alternative would be Donald Trump. A further article in the series by Dorian Kantor makes it clear that Trump and his political partners are especially dangerous for lesbian, gay, bisexual, intersex and trans people.

The most votes and yet still the loser

In the end, Hillary Clinton won the highest number of votes, but lost the election due to the peculiarities of the US electoral system. Since then, the US people, as well as the rest of the world population, have lived under a Trump presidency. Nobody could have anticipated what that would mean.



At the FES event "No false modesty!": federal minister Katarina Barley (second from right) in conversation with Jessica Grounds (third from left) and Kelly Dittmar (second from left). Left and outside right: the moderators Julia Lemmler and Deborah Ruggieri. Photograph: Maren Strehlau

Trump's personal history of racism and sexism – which can be easily reconstructed from his Twitter account – is grim. The first shock after the election at the end of 2016 was followed by the Women's March event, which finally spread a sense of optimism and hope. Tabitha St. Bernard, co-organiser and youth and family coordinator for the Women's March on Washington, sums up her motivation to be involved in an opinion article for the FES Washington. Her decision was made on the day after the election: "It was the day that I decided to get out of the peanut gallery and take action concerning our political climate," she writes.

On 21 January, hundreds of thousands took to the streets in the United States, as well as in other countries worldwide, to demonstrate for an open, diverse and equal society. The Women's March was the biggest women's political event in decades and gave courage to many who had already believed that the women's movement was over.

It is not over!

Even if it took place almost a year ago, the energy and power of mobilisation that was shown at the march has not disappeared. In October 2017, around 5,000 women met in Detroit for the Women's Convention and held intensive discussions about common goals as well as differences in the various branches of the movement. Feminist civil society is alive and kicking!

There have also been some first promising signs: in November 2017, the Democrats emerged strengthened from the elections in Virginia, New Jersey and New York. And this time an especially large number of female candidates, including women of colour, participated and prevailed against Republican competitors. Danica Roem, a hitherto largely unknown trans woman, beat the much more established Republican candidate in Virginia.

At the FES event "No false modesty! Five years of 'Listen to me!'" on 13 November 2017, Jessica Grounds, who has been dedicated to bringing women into politics and positions of political responsibility for many years, said optimistically: "Rarely have so many women in the US thought about becoming politically active."

With the seminar series on public speaking entitled "Listen to me!", the FES's Berlin Politics and Society forum has been breaking new ground over the past five years. Around 700 women have now participated in the seminars and groomed their rhetorical skills for public appearances. Many of these women are volunteering in social and civic projects, some are also specifically engaged in politics.

Now it is also the responsibility of the parties to ensure that these women can actually ascend the political ladder. This is a challenge that is also faced by the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) – as federal minister Katarina Barley emphasised at the same event. In both the United States and in Germany, this means that a cultural change needs to take place; an honest analysis of what women – in all their diversity – want politically. And above all, more women leaders in politics.

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Feminism and birth – how do they go together? Photograph: plainpicture

A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE ON THE TOPIC OF CHILDBIRTH

Feminism has a rather problematic relationship with the role of motherhood. It is usually seen as conflicting with women's economic independence, autonomy and individuality. It is therefore hardly surprising that the topic of childbirth is relegated to the sidelines in feminist debates. At an event in March, the regional project "Gender equality in East-Central Europe" organised by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) shifted it to the centre of the discussion.

Hospital births have only been covered by health insurance companies in Germany since the 1960s. Previously, most births took place at home and were supervised by a midwife.

The trend towards hospital births developed in Central and Eastern European countries during the same period. It was accompanied by a rise in caesarean section births as well as an increase in the medicalisation and mechanisation of the birthing process. One consequence of this development was a shift in the focus of attention: whereas the expectant mother and her need for support and strength used to be central, the emphasis has since moved to risk avoidance.

"Who should we entrust birth to?" was an event organised by the FES together with the Hungarian "Women's Organisation for Birth Rights" in Budapest. The speakers included experts from Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. They all described a similar situation: births in existing hospital structures are experienced by women as negative or even traumatic. Meanwhile, doctors see the birthing process not as a normal physiological procedure, but as an emergency situation in which it is important to minimise risks, not least of all in order to avoid possible litigation.

Putting mothers in the focus

While there are "baby-friendly" hospitals in Slovakia, for example, where birth is supposed to be treated differently and more attention is supposed to be paid to the well-being and autonomy of mothers, studies have shown – according to a representative of a Slovak NGO – that this aim is implemented inadequately in the day-to-day running of these hospitals.



A relationship of trust with a midwife who supports them through pregnancy and childbirth is regarded by many women as particularly valuable. Photograph: plainpicture

From a feminist perspective, it would be especially desirable to strengthen the role of midwives. The personal relationship between midwife and (expectant) mother is the best guarantor that women's autonomy and needs will be respected. Midwife-led birthing centres and the integration of midwives into hospital births should therefore be developed and supported, especially due to the fact that in some countries, such as the Czech Republic, home births are banned.

A glance at the situation in Germany shows that this very valid demand, is not where the debate ends. In this country, there are increasing complaints about the insufficient number of midwives, both in hospitals and for post-natal care at home.

Therefore, a feminist perspective on the topic of childbirth also means acknowledging that more staff are needed in the field of obstetrics – and that would also require more financial investment.

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PUBLICATIONS

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Das Märchen von der Gender-Verschwörung

Progressive Gleichstellungspolitik und Geschlechterforschung werden in den letzten Jahren verstärkt von Rechtspopulist_innen, fundamentalistisch christlichen und anderen erz-konservativen Akteuren angegriffen. „Gender“ bildet dabei das zentrale Kofferwort in ihrer Rhetorik und das „Gender-Bashing“ wird auch zunehmend anschlussfähig in der gesellschaftlichen Mitte. Unterstellt wird, dass mit Hilfe der angeblichen „Gender-Ideologie“ die natürlichen Unterschiede zwischen Frauen und Männern aufgehoben werden sollen, woraus wiederum eine Gefahr für traditionelle Familienformen konstruiert wird. Eine reichlich absurde Position. Die vorliegende Publikation widmet sich häufig formulierten Unterstellungen und zeigt auf, warum das Märchen von der großen Gender-Verschwörung eben das ist: ein Märchen.

Further reading: Dorothee Beck und Barbara Stiegler: Das Märchen von der Gender-Verschwörung. Argumente für eine geschlechtergerechte und vielfältige Gesellschaft (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/13544.pdf>

Trade unions in transformation. Building trade union power with gender equality: the case of the Unified Workers' Central of Brazil

Geschlechtergerechtigkeit ist für die brasilianische Gewerkschaft CUT offizielle Politik, gelebte Realität und identitätsstiftend. Über viele Jahre haben Gewerkschafter_innen und Feministinnen daran gearbeitet, Gleichberechtigung derart zu verankern, dass die Gewerkschaftsbewegung fester in der brasilianischen Gesellschaft verwurzelt ist. Und auch der derzeitige reaktionäre Gegenwind daran nichts ändern wird.

Further reading: Didice Godinho Delgado: Trade unions in transformation. Building trade union power with gender equality: the case of the Unified Workers' Central of Brazil (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/13794.pdf>

The Women's Movement in Bangladesh

Since its independence, Bangladesh has made significant gains in empowering women. The country has formulated and implemented policies and programmes that improve the condition of women and girls. Maternal mortality and fertility rates have gone down, making Bangladesh attain gender parity in enrolment.

The women's movement in Bangladesh played a critical role in bringing about these changes. However, the movement has also faced many different challenges given the rapidly changing economic and political contexts at the national and global levels. For socially just and gender equal responses to these challenges, solidarity and coalitions among the various school of thoughts in Bangladesh are essential. Hence, the study is an attempt to trace the history of women's movements in Bangladesh and to discuss its achievements and internal and external challenges for a sustainable movement. The author weaves in broader historical changes and discusses the nature of the current political context.

This study is part of a series published under Political Feminism in Asia, a regional project coordinated by the FES Office for Regional Cooperation in Asia.

Further reading: Sohela Nazneen: The Women's Movement in Bangladesh (2017): <http://www.fes-asia.org/news/the-womens-movement-in-bangladesh/>

Feminism in Africa: Trends and Prospects. Report of the International Workshop on Political Feminism in Africa

Despite the advancement of women's rights witnessed in the past few decades, we are currently experiencing a regional and international context in which not only are women's human rights disputed, but the historical achievements of the women's movement are being undermined. The fragility of democratic institutions, a conservative backlash and an economic crisis exacerbate the precarious situation of women in Africa and worldwide and weaken the opportunities of feminist movements for self-expression in their struggle for human rights. Against this background, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the World March of Women and the Mozambican Women's Forum (Forúm Mulher) organised in October 2016 an encounter that brought together activists, academics and representatives of feminist organisations across the continent in order to jointly analyse these new

contexts, discuss the trends and coordinate the creation and/or strengthening of regional action platforms for joint actions. This document is intended to present the main findings of the debate.

Further reading: Feminism in Africa: Trends and Prospects (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/mosambik/13795.pdf>

Feminism in China: An Analysis of Advocates, Debates and Strategies

This study takes a look at feminism in China over the last century and reveals that feminist movements and arguments at most times have been linked to the nation's development. Independent and mass feminist movements like those in the West never developed in China. By taking a look at the realities of women and women images in contemporary China, the study shows that feminism in the People's Republic of China has still plenty of room for development. Alongside studies from India and Pakistan, this is third in a series on the past and present of feminist movements and current trends in feminist debates under the regional project on Political Feminism in Asia. The regional project is coordinated by FES Singapore and implemented in cooperation with the FES offices in Bangladesh, China (Shanghai), India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Further reading: Shen Yifei: Feminism in China: An Analysis of Advocates, Debates and Strategies (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/china/12947.pdf>

Political Feminism in India: An Analysis of Actors, Debates and Strategies

Oriental feminism taking a stand on women's choice to wear a veil, Western feminism viewed as condescending, or neoliberal feminism which emphasizes representation and wages rather than work conditions – to name but a few – bring out such strong reactions and positions that they often overlook what feminists really want. In India too, the feminist space though distinctive, builds upon a diversity of women's groups, political

party networks, feminist and HIV/AIDS-related NGOs, non-funded feminist and queer groups and individuals, democratic rights groups, eco-feminists, non-feminists, research institutes and universities. Despite the broad experience, this space remains rather disunited. How then, with this background, do we build a society that keeps up to the promise of a better life for all? How do we connect in the struggle as people regardless of sexual orientation, gender identity and expression in paving ways to achieving social justice? Commissioned with these questions in mind, the present study analyzes the current feminist actors, organizations and debates around gender equality and feminist perspectives in order to provide an overview of feminist ideas and actors in the country. It shows that Feminism today is the constant questioning of the world we perceive and the boundaries we encounter. The more we understand, the closer we get to building a narrative for change. There are innumerable new energies arising from different positions transforming the feminist field: new contestations of patriarchy and new contestations of the normative feminism itself. It will be the interplay of fields that might change the system altogether.

Further reading: Dr Vibhuti Patel, Radhika Khajuria: Political Feminism in India: An Analysis of Actors, Debates and Strategies (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/indien/12706.pdf>

Women Migrant Workers in the ASEAN Economic Community

The overall aim of this study is to shed new light on intra-ASEAN migrant women's labour mobility trends, access to and outcomes in labour markets, the contribution to ASEAN economies and high-growth sectors, and the challenges of social and economic inclusion. The report also reviews the current migrant governance frameworks at national and regional level, providing actionable evidence-based policy recommendations to benefit from women's labour mobility, provide fair and equitable migration opportunities for women, and enhance regional social and economic development.

Further reading: ASEAN Secretariat, Ministry of Manpower (Republic of Indonesia), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, UN Women: Women Migrant Workers in the ASEAN Economic Community (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/singapur/13585.pdf>

Political feminism and the women's movement in Thailand

In recent years, challenges caused by social and political unrest and conflicts over natural resources and the environment have had an impact on the lives and livelihoods of Thai women. These challenges have disproportionately affected women and created new forms of pressure and difficulties in achieving gender equality, especially for those women who do not have decision-making power or access to resources and political policy-making. To rise and meet these challenges, women and women's organizations need to take concerted actions to protect their rights.

Further reading: Duanghathai Buranajaroenkij: Political feminism and the women's movement in Thailand (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/thailand/13363.pdf>

Öffentliche Gelder wirkungsvoll, gerecht und transparent verteilen ... mit Gender Budgeting!

Der öffentliche Haushalt ist in Zahlen gegossene Politik. Auch bei der Verteilung staatlicher Gelder kann es zu Diskriminierungen von Frauen und Männern kommen. Mit der Strategie des Gender Budgeting kann dem begegnet werden. Die finanziellen Ressourcen einer Gesellschaft werden so gerecht und wirkungsvoll zwischen Frauen und Männern verteilt, die Gleichstellung der Geschlechter kommt voran. Es ist an der Zeit, dass die Bundesrepublik Gender Budgeting für den Bundeshaushalt nutzt.

Further reading: Mara Kuhl : Öffentliche Gelder wirkungsvoll, gerecht und transparent verteilen ... mit Gender Budgeting! (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/13571.pdf>

Zukunftsbranche soziale Dienstleistungen – höchste Zeit für die Aufwertung!

Die Sorgearbeit steckt in einer Krise, die sowohl eine zeitpolitische Antwort erfordert als auch den Ausbau einer qualitativ guten sozialen Infrastruktur. Gute professionelle Sorgearbeit braucht gute Arbeitsbedingungen und eine Orientierung an den Bedürfnissen der Menschen. Hierfür bedarf es einer Aufwertung der personenbezogenen sozialen Dienstleistungen, sowohl gesellschaftlich als auch monetär. Es wäre ein wichtiger Schritt auf dem Weg zu mehr Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und dafür, dem zunehmenden Fachkräftemangel entgegenzuwirken. Doch wie kann eine Aufwertung gelingen? Welche Maßnahmen sind erforderlich?

Further reading: Jonathan Menge, Christina Schildmann, Severin Schmidt: Zukunftsbranche soziale Dienstleistungen – höchste Zeit für die Aufwertung! (2017): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/13351.pdf>

Gute Gründe für gute Kitas! Wer nutzt welche Qualität von Kindertageseinrichtungen und was bedeutet sie für die Vereinbarkeit von Familien- und Erwerbsarbeit?

Der wichtigste Grund für gute Kitas besteht zweifellos in der Bedeutung für das Kindeswohl und die Förderung der Entwicklung des Kindes. Die Literaturstudie „Gute Gründe für gute Kitas!“ geht darüber hinaus noch weiteren Qualitätsaspekten und -dimensionen nach. Insbesondere zwei in den Diskussionen über Kita-Qualität bislang weitgehend vernachlässigten Fragen: 1. Wer hat Zugang zu qualitativ hochwertiger Kindertagesbetreuung und welche Rolle spielt dabei der sozioökonomische Hintergrund der Eltern? Und 2. Welche Bedeutung hat Kita-Qualität für die Vereinbarkeit von Familie und Beruf?

Further reading: Pia S. Schober, C. Katharina Spieß, Juliane F. Stahl: Gute Gründe für gute Kitas! Wer nutzt welche Qualität von Kindertageseinrichtungen und was bedeutet sie für die Vereinbarkeit von Familien- und Erwerbsarbeit? (2016): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/dialog/12939.pdf>

Illicit financial flows undermining gender justice

Illegale Finanzströme verhindern Geschlechtergerechtigkeit. Die Autorinnen beschreiben wie Steuervermeidung und –flucht dazu beiträgt, dass dem Staat wichtige finanzielle Einnahmenquellen entgehen, die für die Umsetzung struktureller Reformen als Bedingung von mehr Geschlechtergerechtigkeit notwendig wären. Das ganze Ausmaß des negativen Zusammenhangs zwischen Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und illegalen Finanzströmen zeigt sich bei der Rolle die Schattenfinanzplätze spielen, um Gelder aus dem Menschenhandel mit Frauen und Mädchen rein zu waschen. Zur Regulierung und Bekämpfung illegaler Finanzströme präsentieren die Autorinnen am Schluss einen Katalog von Politikempfehlungen sowohl für die nationale als auch internationale Ebene.

Further reading: Veronica Grondona, Nicole Bidegain Ponte and Corina Rodríguez Enriquez: Illicit financial flows undermining gender justice (2016): <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/12984.pdf>

WE DO GENDER!

- 109** Introducing the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Bangladesh office
- 114** Gender-related PhD projects with the support of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung



*Fellows of the FES Acedemy of Work with FES representative in Bangladesh, Franziska Korn.
Photograph: FES Bangladesh*

„WE DO GENDER“

**Introducing the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's
Bangladesh office**

The Bangladeshi government is led by a woman, as is the main opposition party. About 30 percent of all students are female, and the numbers are rising. Mostly female textile workers are the main driving force behind economic growth. And with regard to the Millennium Development Goals, Bangladesh stands out for its successes in combating maternal mortality and reducing the birth rate.

In recent years Bangladesh has undoubtedly achieved important successes on the path to gender equality. But despite this progress, having a handful of women in positions of power is clearly not enough to ensure that resources are distributed in a gender-equitable manner to a population of more than 160 million people. Social and economic structures in Bangladesh discriminate against women. Public and private life is permeated with patriarchal patterns of thinking; domestic violence and sexual assault are a part of everyday life. And in the struggle to reconcile paid work with family care, most women remain trapped in precarious economic dependency.

Many women's movements in Bangladesh have long been fighting these circumstances, even before independence was declared in 1971. They have been a significant driving force behind gender equality throughout the country's history. Despite the continual erosion of their political influence, they continue to find ways to raise their voices against national and global grievances and to bring about change.

The Bangladesh office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) has collaborated with some of these women and movements since its opening in 2014. Even if many things are still in their infancy, one thing is clear: the topic of gender equality is an integral part of the office's work.

In 2013, a year before the FES office opened, the Rana Plaza textile mill collapsed. Over 1,100 people were killed, and at least twice that number were seriously injured. This was an occasion for the FES Bangladesh not only to follow the ensuing debates on workers rights and global responsibility along the value chain, but also to link issues of gender policy to employee policy. Because when the factories of Bangladesh are scrutinised, it quickly becomes apparent that the textile industry is female-dominated: more than 60 percent of textile workers are women. As cheap wage labour, they make the country attractive to international companies as a production location.

A similar picture emerges for the rapidly growing informal labour sector in Bangladesh, which – as in all developing countries – far exceeds the formal one. Women make up more than 90 percent of it. They are not covered by Bangladeshi labour laws, have no social security and are helplessly exposed to discrimination and unfair wage competition. However, very few women in the formal or informal sector are unionised, even fewer have collaborated in cross-sectoral coalitions and still fewer hold leading union positions.

Over the past two years, the FES has supported the creation of a platform together with local organisations, trade unions and women's rights activists. After numerous meetings and discussions on common and varying experiences as well as the election of a chair, last year the time finally came: women from twenty unions and eight sectors officially joined forces on the platform of Nari Sramik Kantha (Voice of Women Workers). Those familiar with the trade union movement in Bangladesh know that alliances like these are essential to bring greater unity to the highly fragmented and politicised unions.

On the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women in 2016, the platform's first event took place under the patronage of the minister of labour. The agenda is clear: to achieve equal participation and representation for working women by the year 2030. In the coming months, this agenda will be presented to various female politicians. This is intended to ensure it finds its way into current discussions about the reform of workers' rights.

Since last year, the joint platform has also been looking at trade union structures. The aim is to stimulate a debate within the trade unions on how women can be better heard and represented. The platform aims to fill 50 percent of leading trade union positions with women. As there is little data in this area, the FES supported a comprehensive study on gender equality in trade unions, which was presented at the International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women.

What's more, the Academy of Work, which was set up in 2017 by the FES, together with the BILS trade union think tank and BRAC University, also focuses on workers rights and gender politics. During the three-month training programme for junior trade union movement staff, a module was devoted exclusively to the topic "Gender and Work". In order to enable more women to lead trade unions in the future, the academy also aims to ensure that 50 percent of its participants each year are female. This year, women made up more than a third of the total number.

The study "The Women's Movement in Bangladesh" looks at the movement's origins and present challenges. It was created as part of the regional "Political Feminism" project. As in other countries, the women's movement in Bangladesh is fighting against a worldwide backlash that increasingly restricts feminist voices. The study makes it clear that coalitions between different strands of feminist thinking and directions for a sustainable movement are vital. The FES is therefore initiating the series "Dialogues of Women" to bring together different groups: the young and old, the traditional and modern, the religious and secular and women's rights activists and feminists.

As in other FES offices, the theme of "gender equality" runs through all of the Bangladesh centre's work, whether in education policy or regional relations with its Asian neighbours. Because the FES is certain of one thing worldwide: to achieve solidarity in society, gender equality must always be taken into consideration and practised.

AUTHOR: Franziska Korn, FES Bangladesch

GENDER-RELATED PHD PROJECTS WITH THE SUPPORT OF THE FRIEDRICH-EBERT-STIFTUNG

The Educational Grants department of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung supports a range of gender-related PhD projects in various disciplines. More information on the individual projects can be obtained from Dr Ursula Bitzegeio: ursula.bitzegeio@fes.de.

Berger, Luise Beatrix: Dem Entscheidungsprozess auf der Spur: Betriebliche Weiterbildung von Frauen mit Hochschulabschluss. Eine explorative Studie in drei Großunternehmen

Bozhinov, Viktor: Eine empirische Untersuchung der Einführung der Geschlechterquote in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Dahm, Mario: „Und ist das auch gut so?“ – Das Verhältnis von deutscher Sozialdemokratie und homosexueller Emanzipationsbewegung zwischen Ablehnung und Unterstützung

Diebowski, Jessica: Gender in Foreign Language Learning and Heritage Acquisition (dt. Titel: Das Genus im gesteuerten Fremdsprach- und Herkunftsspracherwerb des Spanischen)

Duhra, Marij: Zum Einfluss von Anerkennungserfahrungen auf jugendliche Fußballspielerinnen – Eine komparative Untersuchung am Beispiel von Deutschland und Polen

Feiler, Julia: **Social Freezing:** Die biologische Uhr austricksen? Zur (Neu) Verhandlung weiblicher Reproduktionsfähigkeit im Spannungsverhältnis von Technologie und Natur

Franzmann, Marcel: Geschlechterverhältnisse in der Interaktion von Schüler_innen im Religionsunterricht

Frick, Marc: Familie, Freundschaft, Gabe und Gemeinschaft: Zur Bedeutung des Gabentausches für das Verständnis des Lebens in politischen Gemeinschaften

Kronberger, Alisa: Continue to look closer. Feministische Medienkunst in den 1970er-Jahren und heute

Lademann, Laura: Integration durch Arbeit? Die Bedeutung der Arbeitswelt für die Eingliederung von MigrantInnen der zweiten Generation zwischen Ende der 60er und Mitte der 80er Jahre am Beispiel der IG Metall und der Gewerkschaft Textil-Bekleidung

Mader, Ann-Kathrin: Schwangere Körper und heteronormative Hegemonie. Elternschaft im Spannungsfeld von pluralisierten Geschlechtsidentitäten, neuen Reproduktionstechnologien und Biopolitiken des Körpers

Manoharan, Jeneka: Die rechtliche Stellung der Familie, insbesondere von Frauen und (unbegleiteten) Minderjährigen, im Asyl-, Migrations- und Flüchtlingsrecht.

Naß, Alexander: „Beziehungswelten – Der divergente Umgang mit Partnerschaft, Intimität und Körperlichkeit von transgeschlechtlichen Männern und Frauen vor Beginn der Transition“

Nieder, Christina: Preventing sexual violence against women in India: Evaluation of a sexual violence prevention program on college campuses

Obermann, Eva-Maria: Die Mutterfigur in der Gegenwartsliteratur

Odobasic, Amra: Vocal Fry – A Feminine Marker of Sophistication or Stupidity?

Rabe, Mirjam: Inklusion und die Frage nach nicht-sprachlichem Denken. Überlegungen zu den gesellschaftspolitischen Dimensionen der gegenwärtigen Philosophie des Geistes

Sachseder, Julia: Feminist intersectional conflict analysis

Schacht, Frauke: Beweisprozesse von Mathematiklehramtsstudierenden in der Studieneingangsphase

Schütze, Lea Johanna: Schwul sein – alt werden. Selbstbeschreibungen älterer schwuler Männer

Siegert, Karolina: Familiäre Beeinflussung der Übergangsgestaltung unter gleichzeitiger Betrachtung von Prozessen sozialer Ungleichheit im Übergang Schule-Beruf

Skowronski, Marika: Kurzfristige und langfristige Effekte sexistischer Videospiele und weiblicher Rollenbilder in Videospielen auf das Selbstkonzept von Frauen

Stolzenberg, Thorsten: Otokodate und Horimono. Wissen, Macht und der männliche Körper in der Edo-Zeit

Thym, Anika: Macht und Kritik: Eine Untersuchung kritischer (Selbst-)Reflexionen von Männern aus Führungspositionen im Finanzsektor

Valentiner, Dana-Sophia: Das Grundrecht auf sexuelle Selbstbestimmung als Ausprägung des Allgemeinen Persönlichkeitsrechts

Vogl, Janna: Zwischen internationaler Entwicklungszusammenarbeit und lokaler Legitimation. Südindische Frauenrechts-NGOs aus Akteursperspektive

Zimmermann, Simona: Macht und Deliberation: Dominanz und Durchsetzung in deutschen Bürgerhaushalten (Arbeitstitel)

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