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Women – Men – Gender

Women's & Gender Policies
in the work of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

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“A Conditioned Optimism”

In conversation with Anke Fuchs, Chairperson of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung



For the past 60 years, it is enshrined in the German Basic Law that, “Men and women are equal.” But is this, indeed, a reality in all fields today?

On a daily basis, it has yet to become a reality. As a matter of fact, we have indeed achieved a lot at the socio-political level through the introduction of quotas, education and vocational training. But as far as everyday life is concerned, the struggle for equality at the work place and for reconciling family and job continues and is even today not an organized struggle.

I would like to take you back in time. You were a young lawyer, married and had two children. And you continued working full time. Was that difficult?

At the birth of my second child, my father-in-law wrote me a letter that now surely the job would have to take a back seat. And my mother gave my husband a dressing down, saying, “You’re obliging Anke to go to work.” However, both my husband and I were keen that I continue working. At the beginning, I spent more than half my salary on child care. The fact of the matter is, of course, that I certainly had an exciting job and a good salary. It would have been different altogether had I been working part-time somewhere.

Mothers, like yourself, were vilified as callous and uncaring at the time?

This brings to mind a small anecdote. Whenever we were invited to coffee, my children would wolf down enormous helpings of cake because they never got any at home. The reason being we never had the German traditional afternoon-tea-time at home. People then tut-tutted, saying children of working mothers were to be pitied.

You not only had a full time job, you were also working in a purely man’s world in the executive of German metalworkers’ union, IG Metall?

I learnt a lot during my stint with IG Metall but it was also a very difficult time for me. In fact, it was so difficult, that I sometimes thought I would not be able to go through with it. You may well ask why? Well, I was just 30, married to a civil servant and had two children. On top of that, all the men over 50 were constantly wondering what this young woman was doing there. They clearly felt that she should have been looking after her children. The goal of the workers’ movement was obviously that the man should earn enough so that his wife could remain with the children. That was the time when we succeeded in eliminating ‘light wage jobs’. Despite this, women did not want to stay at home. They wanted to earn their own money, even those women, who earned very little. The men found this attitude difficult to understand.

Even today, we can't claim equal pay for equal work ...

There are some lovely illustrations- for example, of a man and woman working next to each other on a conveyor belt and the woman earning less than the man. Why? Both are packing television sets, only that the man is packing a color T.V. and the woman a black-and-white T.V. and that is the reason she is paid less. This happened then. And it is still happening today. One reason for this is that no-one cares to ask: 'how much are you being paid, mate?' All this is treated as confidential. And the lack of transparency and openness has resulted in our reverting to the old structures. This can be seen in the field of nursing. Thirty years ago the Public Services, Transport and Traffic Union negotiated a better pay-scale for nurses and care-givers. We thought at the time that the issue had been solved, "Thank God!". But, now, it's all slipped away again. It's high time we defined how much we as a society are willing to pay for care. We require money to pay the care services better.

The quota has brought women in the SPD to the fore. What do you make of quotas in the private sector, at least in the supervisory boards?

Initially I was against it. Because we had already fought our way through at the time, I believed we would make it even without the quotas. I was the federal whip of the SPD at that time. But the quota is a success story, because men had to learn to collaborate with women in all areas. We women who had previously been dubbed 'token women' were now derogatorily called 'quota women'. But it's turned out pretty well. I am in favor of quotas in the private sector, because otherwise we will not make any headway there and in other social groups. I am all for continuing the struggle.

Another issue that has generated a lot of debate amongst women in Germany is the separate taxation of married couples. Childless 'house-wife marriages' benefit the most from it. Don't you think we ought to do away with this antiquated idea?

No. My old proposal was: take the money that the bread-winner-normally, the man-saves and invest it in an old-age pension scheme for the woman. Such models can be considered. This is an issue that generates anxiety and is left well alone during election campaigns. Although this issue naturally creates polarization amongst women, I will stick to my 'no' – we won't manage it.

Anke Fuchs, as Minister, sits next to the Federal Chancellor in the treasury benches, April 1982.





Anke Fuchs with former Federal Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and Dr. Roland Schmidt at an event at the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

And how. Certainly, there is a feeling of despair and it also makes me angry. However, I believe, that new modes of employment will only emerge when there is a demand in the labor market for them. I remember a time when women were picked up from their homes and also brought back by buses of the companies where they worked – this was so because they were needed. The current situation is a matter of despair for me because the women will once again be the ones with meager pensions in old-age, which in turn, will lead to old-age poverty. On the other hand, I do also understand that professional life as it is today organized, is very stressful, and so crammed with work that women working full time are unable to properly care of their children and after all they do want to live and spend time with their children also! Women should be able to say: as long as the children are small, I can work part-time, but only temporarily, for a short while and after five years it will be back to full time employment. Currently, part-time work is a dead-end.

I am proud at how intensely the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has responded to this issue. Currently, four departments are being headed by women. There is a very vibrant “Coordination [of] Women’s and Gender Policy”, and the staff of the Stiftung themselves are being trained in the application of gender mainstreaming. But going beyond that – when I look back and see how much we have achieved, then I’m filled with optimism. When I look at our daily lives, then we can only hope that after the end of the financial crisis, the working environment will change, so that we can once again discuss a reduction in working hours, the humanizing of the work place, the breaks while working on the assembly line, more leave, should the children fall ill. But, for all this women will have to be prepared to take up cudgels, to join trade unions. It is indeed a sign of hope that trade unions are once again in demand. My view of the future can be summed up as qualified optimism.

The best educated generation of women that we have ever had, has been a step ahead till the end of their studies or training. And, then, when these women beget children, they are back to square one: “children, kitchen and a part-time job”. Doesn’t this make you despair sometimes?

Looking back at your long political and professional life, how would you rate the women and gender record?

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Social Democracy is Gender-Democracy

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has identified three strategic objectives, which are perceived as being particularly important in strengthening Social Democracy. The activities of the FES at the national and international level will focus on these strategic goals. These three policy areas that have to necessarily be broadly defined provide a minimal structure and an overview to the broad spectrum of FES activities.

Shaping Globalization to promote social justice

Projects, publications and events seek answers to the following questions: who are the winners and who are the losers? How to protect the losers of globalization in Germany as well as in Bangladesh? Do gender strategies help in development cooperation – and how open are governments and industry to applying these strategies, which are supposed to ensure greater gender equality and equity?

Making the values of Social Democracy tangible: Education, Integration, Equality of Opportunity, Protection for the Weak, Support for Families

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung has impelled public debate on these issues. At conferences, panel discussions and seminars in Germany and abroad, the connections between these issues have consistently been highlighted: without education there can be no integration. Without protection for the weak, there can be no equality of opportunity. Without a policy for families that views men and women as sharing responsibility equally and children as societal responsibility, there can be no equal opportunity for women professionally.

Promoting Dialogue amongst Politics and Trade Unions

In trade unions women still find it difficult to get gender issues included in the agenda. However, people are increasingly more inclined to view the application of methods such as gender mainstreaming more favorably, seeing in them opportunities for both sexes, be it with regard to working conditions, or the elimination of the continuing wide disparity in wages for men and women or social issues such as old age poverty of women. At the same time, it is also important to once again intensify the dialogue between trade unions and political decision-makers.

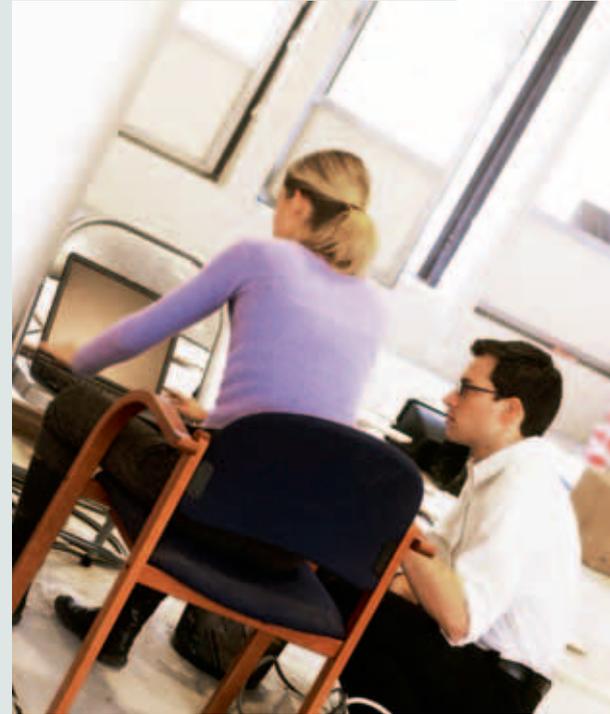
The year 2008 provided ample opportunity to take stock of and reflect on the successes and failures associated with the issues of equal opportunities, policies for women and gender equality and equity in politics and society. A hundred years ago [in Germany] the ban on women participating in politics was lifted. For the past ninety years women have



enjoyed the right to vote. Fifty years ago the Act on Equal Rights of Men and Women in the field of Civil Law came into effect. Twenty years ago, a SPD Party Convention in Münster passed a memorable resolution on the quota for women (see the conversation with Dr.Hans-Jochen Vogel on [page 28](#))

Women, and a small number of – for most of the time hesitant – solidary men, had to fight every inch of the way. The reason for this was that any progress achieved by women meant a loss in power for men. With the passage of every law that brought women closer to their goal of achieving equality, they became competitors for jobs, mandates and public attention. It is only in recent times that the discussion is taking a different direction: the typically male career profiles (to which women were also expected to conform if they wanted to be successful) are, today, viewed sceptically. Older men regret their omissions, and are aware that they lived like strangers within their families. Younger men are trying to draw lessons from these mistakes and are trying to play a more active role within the family, and discussing with their partners how to share the burden of family and job responsibilities more equally.

The Friedrich Ebert Stiftung has supported these relatively new social discussions and through its persistence, been responsible for the inclusion of the issue of gender mainstreaming, together with science and politics in the political agenda. Gender analysis (see Barbara Stiegler, [page 18](#)) will make men and women more sensitive to the causes of discriminatory treatment. [Gendermainstreaming] means a declaration





Elisabeth Selbert

to fight against a conscious or subconscious world view that is purely biological when it comes to understanding the differing needs of men and women.

A glimpse into the past reveals how much women have achieved in a relatively short timespan in the Federal Republic of Germany. However, it also reveals that every small step forward had to be fought tooth and nail. The battle began with the constitutional debate in the parliamentary council itself. The following wording on the issue of equality almost made it to the Basic Law: “The law must treat the same equally and difference according to its nature.” Women were up in arms against the diction of this sentence and there was a wave of vehement protests, supported by even conservative newspapers. The phrase would have meant, that while civil rights would have been guaranteed to women, they would not have enjoyed equal rights in the private sphere. It was above all the Social democrat, Elisabeth Selbert, who was responsible for saving the issue of women’s equality. She succeeded in inserting the equally simple but explicit sentence: “Men and women shall have equal rights”. The Adenauer government, however, resisted breathing life into this Article of the Basic Law. The necessary revisions to the civil code were delayed. The Federal Constitutional Court repeatedly forced reforms, as the entire Marriage and Family Law had become unconstitutional since the passing of the Basic Law.

Before the Equal Rights Act finally came into effect in 1958, the life situation of women was as follows: married women did not even have the right to dispose of money they had earned themselves as they wished. The husband had the right to terminate the job of his wife or could force her to take up a job. Under a so-called Double Income Law, married women civil servants could be dismissed from their jobs. In case of a lack of consensus, men had the last word on all issues: whether their child was to be named Hans or Franz, whether to move to a new area, whether the children should attend grammar school (Gymnasium), whether a washing machine should be purchased – the final word on the



matter was that of the husband. The decisive authority of the husband, also reflected in the Equal Rights Act of 1958, was overturned by the Federal Constitutional Court in 1959.

This, however, was not enough to set women's world in order: Whereas the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1968 declared the professional advancement of women to be "the responsibility of state and society". The Equal Rights Act in West Germany reinforced old role models. The (West-German) Civil Code stated, that "the woman has the sole responsibility of running the household. She has the right to be gainfully employed, as long as this is compatible with her obligations towards her marriage and family".

This had very serious consequences: Any man, who was averse to his wife being gainfully employed, had to merely allege that the household was being neglected, and that would have been enough to end that little bit of freedom enjoyed by her. Thus the dual burden of women had the highest legal blessing since there was no mention of joint responsibility for household chores and familial work. This situation continued unchanged, till the then Federal Minister of Justice, Hans-Jochen Vogel, ushered in the reform of the Family and Divorce Law, which was passed in 1977 in the face of intense opposition. Other milestones were the reform of the abortion law, paragraph 218 of the criminal code, the criminalizing of marital rape in law, and the reform of the law on family names.

Does this mean that everything is now hunky dory? Certainly not! SPD and trade union women have for decades been initiating campaigns on the issue of "equal pay for equal work". One of the pioneers in this area was Annemarie Renger, who passed away in 2008. Yet, in industrialized countries, women still continue to earn one-fifth less than the men, and in some fields, they earn as much as one-third less than their male colleagues. For the sake of the children, women reconcile themselves to working part-time or make do with mini-jobs, and keep their fingers





Annemarie Renger

crossed that their marriage will last, because otherwise they (and also their ex-husbands) will be staring old-age poverty in the face. The reason for this is, that the pension that would have to be shared, is not sufficient for running two households. The plight of single mothers is even more harrowing. The catch words associated with this condition are all too well-known: social welfare, because either there are no child care centres or these are too expensive; bad jobs or poorly paid jobs, because the break from the job was too long; dependent on social welfare, even in old age, because the pension, due to their fractured career profiles, is not sufficient to survive on. (see in conversation with Christine Bergmann, [page 20](#))

An issue, that has been largely ignored, is the nursing and caring for [the elderly or seriously ill] relatives. This work, which often spans years, is often performed by daughters and female partners. Many women have experienced physical and mental exhaustion from providing this kind of care. In 2008, the FES engaged intensively with this issue, and put together a comprehensive analysis entitled "Role of Gender in Nursing and Care" and organized a conference on this issue (see [page 38](#)).

There is no fair sharing of duties and no gender equity even now. This is evident from the way the younger generation is raised. Although 20 per cent of the fathers are now availing of the opportunity to take time off for parenting, there are still another 80 per cent who are not. And these 20 per cent merely look after their child on an average for two months, whereas the mothers do it for twelve months. Even after the time-out for parenting has run out, many mothers are more or less compelled to remain at home and look after the child round the clock.



There are too few child care centres or they are too expensive. Consequently, young families resort to the old and irritating methodology of weighing the costs, and the outcome is, that the job of the mother “is not worth it”, since the separate taxation of married individuals privileges the ‘housewife-marriage’ model. If one were to add the costs of child care at a day care centre or the cost of a baby sitter to the loss of tax benefits incurred, as well as the house-keeping expenses, then the gainful employment of mothers is often, in reality, a zero sum game. And which young mother thinks of the necessity for an old-age pension scheme or of the fact that marriages can break down? More often than not, there is no gender democracy in organizing the daily routine of a young family.

How then can a concept that is difficult to realize in a small family, be successfully applied to politics and economics? The facts of the case are well known. It is predominantly women politicians and trade unionists, who are pressing for the consideration of gender specific impact in all decision-making. FES is also constantly raising this sore point. For example at conferences where strategies for “gender budgeting” are being developed with regard to the allocation of public funds. In Germany alone, gender and women’s policy issues were the focus of 120 events in 2008. In addition to this, economic and socio-political studies also address gender issues.

Gender analysis plays a very important role in the activities of the FES offices all over the world, as equality is an important economic factor. The World Bank has recognized this fact and developed a Gender Action Plan, as the unequal treatment of men and women costs the global economy billions annually. Gender justice and equity is, therefore, an important evaluation criterion for quality control of projects within the framework of development cooperation – and not just to be applied in the case of micro-credit for women. In Morocco, for example, the FES actively participated in the reform process for a new family law. In Vietnam, nearly 700 multipliers were sensitized to gender issues. Those occupying the top-most positions in government and administration are supporting the project. In Bonn, politicians associated with development co-operation are discussing how to integrate issues of gender equality more closely with the financing of projects.

Women are increasingly becoming aware of their often miserable condition. To give but one example of several: even the approximately two million seamstresses in the textile factories of Bangladesh know what globalization is. For the first time in their lives, they have paid work, due





to open trade. At the same time, the cut-throat competition, especially amongst the discounters in the Western industrialized countries, is responsible for the pittance they are paid as wages, on which no one can survive, not even people in the poorest countries of the world. They work seven days a week, for the equivalent of 18 to 24 dollars a month. For years now the FES has been engaging with the job-creating world trade, but also its negative aspects. It has supported women trade unionists and tried to engender international solidarity among women.

Women in crisis areas are particularly in need of solidarity. They want peace, so that their children can grow up healthy and attend school. Professor Herta Däubler-Gmelin, the Chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Aid, is constantly travelling on behalf of the FES. She knows that timely crisis intervention in Africa and in other places can only succeed if there is a bonding amongst women (see conversation with Prof. Däubler-Gmelin on [page 46](#)). Women have influence over their husbands and sons. Even if they don't know the theoretical concept of gender [as socially constructed roles of men and women in society], they aim for living their lives with their heads held high, as equals with their male counterparts, respected for their capabilities and clearly aware of the differing needs of men and women.

“I am a part of Social Democracy” Remembering Annemarie Renger

Annemarie Renger, the “grande dame” of Social Democracy, was born on 7 October 1919 in Leipzig, into a social democratic family. Very early in life, she decided on her dream job: to be the ‘party secretary’. Soon after the end of the Second World War, Annemarie Renger became the private secretary and confidante of Kurt Schuhmacher. In 1953, she began her own political career, when she won the election and entered the German Parliament, the Bundestag. She remained a Member of Parliament till 1990 – that is, for 37 years. On the 13 December 1972 she made history as she was the first woman and the first member of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) to become the speaker of the Bundestag. She resolutely fought against the wage disparities between men and women. Her campaign, “Equal Pay for Equal Work”, made her popular among female workers. The reconciliation with the East was a matter close to her heart. She led the first West German parliamentary delegation to Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union. She felt a strong personal bond with Israel.

Even after she ceased to be a Member of Parliament, she remained politically active and continued to work on an honorary basis. Throughout her life, she remained committed to Kurt Schuhmacher and his legacy. For many years she delivered lectures on Kurt Schuhmacher and participated in discussions on Kurt Schuhmacher at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Annemarie Renger was awarded the order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany. She was also the recipient of the Bubes-Rosenzweig Medal and the Heinz-Galinski-Award of the Jewish Community of Berlin. She was also awarded an honorary doctorate by the Ben Gurion University in Israel. These honours were bestowed on her in recognition of her efforts to foster the Christian-Jewish dialogue.

On 3rd March 2008, Annemarie Renger died peacefully at the age of 88, surrounded by her family, at her home in Oberwinter.



“If I had to live my life over again, there is nothing I would change”

Remembering Susanne Miller



Till the time of her death, at 93, Susanne Miller retained her girlishness. The fragile old lady, with a touch of a Viennese accent, was loved by all, who knew her. She combined keen intelligence with an enormous amount of human warmth. She lived unpretentiously, in her small Bonn flat, surrounded by books – which, in the last years of her life, she could no longer read, even with the help of powerful magnifying glasses. Can one imagine a fate worse than this for a person, for whom reading was but another word for life itself? Yet she never appeared to be bitter, she never complained. When Antje Dertinger was recording the memoirs of the 90 year old lady, she remarked, “If I had to live my life over again, there is nothing I would change”. The title of the book was culled from this remark.

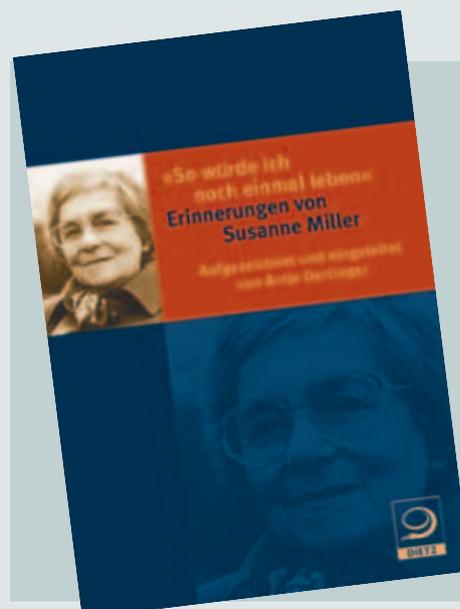
The history of the 20th century made Susanne Miller into a world citizen: born in Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria, she grew up in Vienna, passed her high school once again from Sofia, pursued university studies in Vienna and worked in London – and then a return to her roots was no longer possible. Her Jewish descent and her involvement with the Militant Socialist International forced her to become an immigrant. How precarious her situation was, even in exile, in Britain is illustrated through an anecdote. Susanne Miller, born Susanne Strasser, entered into a marriage of convenience with a British officer. Just like other refugees, she feared a German invasion and sought security through a change of name and the acquisition of British citizenship.

While in exile in London, she got to know Willi Eichler, whom she later married. After the Second World War, Eichler became the Chairman of the SPD Programme Commission, which was responsible for drawing up a new party manifesto. Susanne Miller was employed by the SPD and worked very closely with Willi Eichler. She took the minutes of the meetings, summing up discussions that were often very passionately conducted. In 1959, the “Godesberg Programme”, that radically transformed the SPD, was finalized. Susanne Miller, who was a gifted writer, later very briefly summed up the main points of these radical changes:

“1. In Godesberg, the SPD abandoned the original perception of itself as a workers’ party even from a programmatic point of view. In the course of its history, the SPD transformed itself into a mass party of the Left.

2. The Marxist tradition of the SPD is not reflected in the Godesberg Programme – in fact it is not even mentioned in passing.
3. The SPD is, therefore, no longer an ideology driven party, rather it is a party that unites people from different schools of thought and having different religious beliefs, all of whom, however, are committed to the fundamental values of freedom, justice and solidarity”.

After the conclusion of the Godesberg Party Convention, Susanne Miller fulfilled her biggest wish. She went back to university, and, in Bonn, completed her degree in history that had been abandoned midway, in 1935, because of the compulsions of world history. In 1963, when she was already 48 years old, she completed her doctorate on the evolution of the party programme of German Social Democracy. Thus began her second career. She worked with the Commission for the History of Parliamentarism and of Political Parties in Bonn. Together with Heinrich Potthoff, she published “Kleine Geschichte der SPD” (A Brief History of the SPD), which is now running into its 8th edition. She became the Chairperson of the History Commission of the SPD Party Executive. She was a member of the SPD Commission on Fundamental Values and in old age, she was appointed Chairperson of the Working Group on Persecuted Social Democrats. At 70, she was conferred the title of Professor by the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. What made her so unique? Probably, the fact that her life-long research on the workers’ movement, while being academically sound and accurate, also reflected the fate of individuals. Her involvement was ethical and this is visible in all her numerous publications.



The International Women's Movement is still on the right track!

Barbara Stiegler



Perhaps the international women's movement embarked upon too much, when it already recommended a new gendered strategy in Peking in 1995 itself: apart from the anti-discrimination rules and affirmative action in support of women through quotas, it viewed gender mainstreaming as the logical continuation of its' demand for gender equality and equity in society. For some time, it certainly seemed as though a break-through in gender policy had been achieved in Germany and Europe. At the top managerial level, in many places, those wielding "power" grappled with questions such as, "What is gender?" and "What do we need to do to ensure that gender relations are transformed?" Gender analysis was undertaken, pilot projects developed, training introduced and implementation strategies drawn up. Many steps were taken to implement these, especially at the local level and in civil society organizations, where women were strongly represented.

Times, however, have clearly changed. This is evident from the "6th Report of the Federal Republic of Germany on the UN Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women", issued by the Federal Ministry for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, which reads, "The adoption of the English term gender mainstreaming has resulted in the emergence of pockets of resistance that have prevented the long-term integration of this important matter". The Ministry has provided "a new direction to the concept of gender mainstreaming." "Equality policy as success strategy" is the new slogan. This reflects a refusal to implement gender mainstreaming and instead an attempt to realize the goal of equality through other means. But what are these means? Unfortunately, that remains a moot question.

Indeed, gender mainstreaming as a new gendered strategy is not easy to implement. There is bound to be opposition to this

- with regard to personal attitudes: many potential gender mainstreaming actors have a biological, essentialist mind-set. They find nothing wrong with the prevalent gender relations;



- due to professional ignorance: many potential gender mainstreaming actors find it difficult to recognize gender relevant connections and even more difficult to work towards gender-specific goals;
- at the organizational level: gender mainstreaming necessitates that professional work be differently organized, that processes and power relations be transformed.

The solution to all these obstacles can, however, not lie in the adoption of a strategy to accommodate the opposition to gender mainstreaming.

The problem lies neither in the strategy nor in the nomenclature, but rather in the hierarchically gendered thought and organizational structures, that create the initial obstructions. Internationally, gender mainstreaming is known to be effective, and recognized as a strategy for achieving equality. Even in Germany, there are plenty of good efforts, many processes and initial results. This applies to areas such as youth activities, health, planning processes at the local level, finance, trade unions and universities. Hopefully, the “official” turning away from gender mainstreaming, will not result in these efforts running out of steam. In fact, it would have been appropriate if the “top” – in this case the Ministry – had attempted to familiarize itself with what was happening “down”.

Gender mainstreaming as a strategy remains ambitious, and will only be implemented in the face of opposition and there are risks involved, not least, that this strategy will be played off against successes achieved through women’s policy. Gender mainstreaming, on the other hand, achieves structural equality of the sexes, it aims to transform structures that generate undesirable gender differences and is binding on all, irrespective of their sex. Consequently, it is the most far-reaching gender relevant strategy that must be adhered to. The international women’s movement is still on the right track!



“Changing a mind-set always takes a long time”

In Conversation with Dr. Christine Bergmann

She was a Senator in Berlin, and in 1998, she was the first Minister for Women and Family Affairs in the Coalition Government of SPD and the Green Party of Germany. She is a member of the Executive Board of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, and is a passionate champion of a modern women's policy. She believes gender mainstreaming is a necessary complement for such but not a substitute.



“Equal pay for equal work”. For decades, this has been the demand of women workers and trade unionists, yet women continue to earn one-fifth less than men. Why are women not protesting more vehemently?

It's scandalous that women continue to earn less than men, and, on this issue, Germany is particularly badly placed in international comparison. The difference in salaries between men and women is substantively higher in the old Bundesländer (federal states) than in the new ones, although even there, there is no parity of pay. What is the reason for this, and what must women do to ensure gender equitable payment? There are several answers to these questions:

1. Traditional women's professions are traditionally poorly paid. I'm thinking here, for example, of the service rendered by women to other people, such as, nursing, child care etc. Protest, in this case, means that women must become members of the trade union collective agreement committee. Women must also realize that they have to take the lead in ensuring that subsistence level legal minimum wages are fixed.
2. Taking a break from work, particularly a long one, and part-time work are hindrances to career advancement and do not lead to well-paid positions. This brings us to, one, the problem of equitable distribution of familial and professional work between men and women. One has to think differently even with regard to the workplace. Many executive positions can be held, even with shorter working hours. Yes, we can!
3. Even if the first two causes were no longer to apply, differences would still persist, as has been proven by the German Institute of Economic Research (DIW). Real discrimination still exists. In gene-

ral, in such cases, it is only the self-confident, individual fight for one's rights that works. The Act on Equal Treatment (Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz – AGG) can also be of help.

So, women, take up your place on the personnel committee, the work councils, on the trade union committees and participate in political debates. Unfortunately, there is no easy way – women's past experience has taught us that “there ain't no such thing as a free lunch”.

The situation of East German women slightly differs, even today. In the Western Bundesländer (federal states), the aspiration of mothers for full-time gainful employment is much greater than the opportunities available to make this a reality. One of the main reasons for this is the paucity of full-day child care centres. According to a study from the year 2005, in these Bundesländer, only 26 per cent of the places in the child day-care centres were full day ones, whereas in the Eastern Bundesländer, these were almost 100 per cent.

Although, there is no lack of publications on this issue, according to me, the long-term prospects are often ignored. I always tell young women, that economic independence is a precious asset, even within a functioning marriage and not only when a marriage breaks down. However, we cannot disregard the fact that there are many women, who have to draw on all their resources just to get through the day. They are in no position to reflect on future problems.

Competence alone is not sufficient to propel women into the top jobs. Women have to proclaim their achievements loud and clear. Their male colleagues are definitely doing so. The presence of more women in managerial positions will help in ushering the necessary change at the work-place. Neither every woman nor every man has an interest in workers, male and female, being available all around the clock.



Is it still true: Even today women work part-time, are responsible for the household and family, and men work full-time?

More than every third marriage is ending in divorce. And in big cities, every second marriage is ending in divorce. Are women at all aware, that given their fractured career profile, marked by frequent interruptions and due to their marriage and child care commitments, they may be heading directly into old-age poverty?

Never before have we had such a highly educated and enormously motivated generation of young women as we have today. Yet, sooner or later, they come up against the notorious “glass ceiling”. Why is that? Are they afraid of the competition for the best jobs? Do they, perhaps, have other goals in life?

Do children, as in the past, act as a brake on the careers of women, whereas the young father is benevolently supported in his career?

Despite all the exemplary fathers, who try to strike a different path, this remains the reality. This situation can only be changed through a need-based provision of early childhood education and training centres and also of child care centres. We also require a change in work culture and an equitable sharing of family and professional responsibilities.

Why is there so little change, given that the causes for inequality have been known for a long time?

Changing a mind-set always takes a long time. And as far as changing the roles that society has assigned to men and women is concerned, it is now for the men to make the next move. They are having a tough time adjusting to their new role. Experience has taught me, however, that it is crucial that women vigorously demand change.

She takes twelve months off for parenting, whereas, he – at best – will take off two months. Is this how gender equity works?

At least, it is a beginning. And when I think of all the discussions that took place at the time of the introduction of paternity leave! Even for the not-so-conservative men, who can talk so movingly about family, it seemed to herald the end of the accident!

Do we, therefore, continue to require a focused traditional women's policy?

We need it in order to make best use of our opportunities as women in complex social processes, - as in the case of minimum wages, which would be but one example to illustrate my point. This, however, applies also to other areas – only think of the issue of domestic violence.

Is gender the new instrument for dealing with old and new challenges?

Women's policy and gender mainstreaming complement each other. We require both, so that men and women can together create a gender equitable society.

How many male politicians do you know, who can adequately explain the idea that underlies the concept of gender mainstreaming?

To be honest, I can't think of anyone.



From EMMA to Alpha? Feminism in Transition

For many years, feminism in Germany was viewed, even amongst women, as outdated. Protagonists, such as Alice Schwarzer [Germany's most renowned feminist and editor of the women's journal EMMA], the symbol of "old feminism" accused young women of having forgotten history, of being apolitical and cultivating a "wellness-feminism". However, the tables have been turned again. Even the papers speak of a new kind of feminism focusing on a particular generation of young women, whom they acknowledge as being highly efficient and successful. Now, young women vigorously and wittily refute the traditional more or less subtle charges of being egoistic and only interested in making a career for themselves. They call themselves the "new German girls", "the F-class" or "Alpha-girls". The FES Forum for Politics and Society, in Berlin, took up this debate in 2008, and examined the real status of equal rights in Germany: what were and are the contents, demands and goals of feminism? What remains to be done to achieve a gender equitable society? Are we on the way to shifting from EMMA to Alpha?

During a discussion on her book, "Die neue F-Klasse: Wie die Zukunft von Frauen gemacht wird" ('The new F-class: how the future is being shaped by women'), the author, Thea Dorn, does not want to speak of a new movement. Many goals of the old women's movement have been achieved. In her opinion, today, there is a trend amongst young women to master perennial challenges in professional and private life individually through ability, persistence and ambition. However, the German-Turkish women's rights activist and lawyer, Seyran Ates, who is a single mother is skeptical: "Equal rights of men and women are not anywhere near being internalized within society."

At another event the focus was on the hypothesis of the book "Wir Alphas Mädchen. Warum Feminismus das Leben schöner macht." ('We Alpha Girls. Why Feminism makes Life more Beautiful'). The



EMMA-generation [of the 1960s, 70s and 80s] has reproached younger women, alleging that the new feminism lacks critical thought to analyse power structures and societies. However, individual emancipation is seen by the EMMAs as a precondition for social emancipation and vice versa. According to the journalist, Ute Scheub, "Feminism is inseparably linked to a critique of power." Younger women, such as Barbara Streidl, have reacted to this criticism. They have given vent to their rage through their Alpha girls' book, claiming that – mostly conservative voices – have in the recent past sought to be judgmental about the life style of younger women. Despite the fact that there are many successful women, one aspect remains unchanged: women continue to suffer massive structural discrimination.

The older generation of women's rights activists maintains that feminism is a struggle for freedom. "Feminism means also fighting on behalf of others", that is, for women from Muslim families, from disadvantaged and deprived families and not least, for women from countries, where they continue to be suppressed. Professor Sabine Hark from Cologne recalled the origins of the women's movement, saying, "Feminism is always international."

Emma's bickering and squabbling Daughters

The "Alpha-Girls" want a Career and Fun. But a new Feminism is confronted by much greater Challenges

SABINE HARK

[Newspaper Photo: My stomach belongs to me: The struggle against Paragraph 218 became a mass movement (here 1983 in Karlsruhe)]

The "old" feminism is dead. At any rate, the features section of German newspapers would prefer it to be that way. The period of the men haters, who never outgrew their dungarees and who had settled into their role of victim, is over – that is the tenor of these papers. There is often a resonance of anti-women homophobia in such articles. On the other hand, the very same journalists benevolently view the emergence of a "new feminism", under which they include a series of younger German women authors, such as, Jana Hensel, Elisabeth Raether ("Neue deutsche Mädchen" [new German Girls]), Meredith Haaf, Susanne Klingner, and Barbara Streidl ("Wir Alphamädchen" [We Alpha-Girls]), Charlotte Roche ("Feuchtgebiete" [Wet Zones]) or Thea Dorn ("Die neue F-Klasse [The new F-Class]).

The new "F-Class" is engaged in distancing itself from the image of the "Emmas" and their apparent self-pity. The "new feminism" projects itself as strong, career-oriented and fun-loving, prepared to prove that "any woman, who is dynamic, disciplined, self-confident and courageous can be an achiever in a society like ours" as Thea Dorn put it. This mind-set is very different from that of the "old feminism". The F-Class women do not want to be bothered with discriminatory structures. They perceive their success as proof of their personal ability and their individual superiority in the daily struggle for survival, and not as the outcome of social conditions. This provides the link between "new feminism" and neo-liberalism and patriarchal discourses.

The attempt to declare feminism dead is as old as feminism itself. It is also tradition to generate distorted images of the feminist movement as is being done by features writers and the F-Class women in the current debate. However, a "new feminism" cannot emerge from their critique of "old feminism". It is rather a sectional feminism, because justice, according to it, is not a larger social issue, instead it is viewed in terms of access of a few to the echelons of the elite. Therefore, this brand of feminism has practically nothing to say to the present time.



Indeed, it is high time to now start thinking of a new feminism. It's main motif is freedom, and its roots are in the new women's movement that began in the second half of the 20th century.

The desire for autonomy and self-determination mobilized women across the world at that time. In this connection, feminists, from the very beginning, did not think in terms of the individual but rather in terms of the social and historical context. Women are not free because of a dense and coercive straitjacket of stereotypes of femininity and also due to a partially violent sexual culture, which denies women their freedom, and above all the gender hierarchical social organization of production and reproduction is responsible for the banishment of women into the "private sphere".

In her now famous and notorious speech on behalf of the "Action Committee for the Liberation of Women" on the 13 September 1968 at the Delegates Conference of the SDS (German Socialist Students Federation) in Frankfurt am Main, Heike Sanders expressed it thus: Women "continue to be raised for the private sphere, for the family, which in turn is shaped by the conditions for production, which we are fighting against. Growing up with stereotypes, an inculcated feeling of inferiority, the contradiction between their own expectations and the demands of society results in having a perpetual bad conscience at not having done justice to the demands made on them or in having to make a choice that would always mean the renunciation of vital needs."

This discontent with the straitjacket of femininity is not confined to the West and evidence of this is the bestseller by Maxie Wanders, "Guten Morgen du

Schöne. Frauen in der DDR.”(Good Morning, Beautiful. Women in the GDR), which was published in 1977.

Heike Sanders speech signaled the beginning of the new women’s movement in West Germany. Very soon women, across Germany, organized themselves into Action Groups, they founded journals, they celebrated festivals, they disrupted political events and criminal proceedings and organized “abortion trips” to the Netherlands.

There have always been fierce conflicts within feminism

It is no accident that the defiant, self-confident slogan, “My stomach belongs to me!”, that kicked off the feminist struggle for autonomy and self-determination in the 1970s, best captures the crux of the matter. And, as is well known, it was the struggle for the revision of paragraph 218 that brought together the left, liberal and bourgeois women in a coalition for the first time, and which made the women’s movement into a broad-based mass-movement. Till today, the conflict has not been resolved, since legally “the termination at any point during pregnancy is basically viewed as illegal”, therefore, the state has privileged the right of the unborn over that of the mother.

Yet the political goals of feminist activism were not simply the struggle for equal rights and equality, but rather, for self-determination and autonomy. And autonomy, here, is distinctly anti-statist and is to be distinguished from that of men and their programmes and organizations. Thus, to begin with, it is apparently private issues that served to mobilize women: self-determination with regard to sexuality, the right to self-determination with regard to the body, the lesbian way of life, health, sexual violence, new life styles, and the new definition of motherhood.

Ulrike Prokop (1986) describes these early years as a time when women were in the process of discovering themselves, turning to each other with radical and, even from today’s vantage point, almost arrogant self-centeredness. With self-awareness, women activists of the 1970s fought off self-hatred, hatred against women, and the patriarchal attributes of female respectability.

The progress in a “triad” of physical, psychological and intellectual self-understanding is, however, not the outcome of a simple, idyllic, harmonious process, but is rather the result of fiercely fought battles and conflicts, even within the feminist context.

The conflicts between lesbians and heterosexual women, between mothers and non-mothers, between university educated women and women from other social backgrounds, also between immigrant women and German born women, all belong to the 1970s, and particularly to the 1980s and 1990s. The ferocity of the

conflicts results in women repeatedly turning their backs angrily on feminism, because they have the impression that here a new set of rules to govern women’s lives are being drawn up, that a new form of guardianship and tutelage is being established – only this time under women.

The defining characteristic of the second wave of feminism – and that is its most precious legacy – is, however, the attempt to integrate social and individual freedom, the belief that it is not possible to acquire the one without the other, that individual emancipation presupposes social emancipation and vice versa. The main feminist point is that all women can be involved in the process of emancipation and none will be hindered from taking on an activist role due to oppression in private life or due to the social degradation of their work.

Consequently, even in the German women’s movement, the differences that have existed among women right from the beginning, have been put on the agenda as internal points of criticism and correction. The “internal” criticism of feminism by lesbian women, immigrants, or by women from East Germany was and is, however, always linked to the goal of reformulating a more complex feminism, rather than to per se segregate these differences into separate hyphenated-feminisms. The brief history of feminism is, therefore, more often than not, to be read as a history of conflict, in which the monopoly over definitions was attacked, informal power relations challenged, and the “course of the movement” steered into a new direction – and feministically inclined men were and are, certainly also, a part of this churning.

In a world, in which the most pressing problems are access to clean water and housing, to education, the lived experience of war and persecution, of abuse and violence, of poverty and scarcity, of lawlessness and arbitrariness, of sexism, homophobia and racism in its diverse forms, feminism has to articulate this complexity. A new feminism cannot, therefore, avoid confronting its own ambivalences openly, not only recognizing its differences and paradoxes but also exposing these, but it has also constantly to renegotiate its position.

Feminists, who want to be more than just a footnote in history, who are not content to sit back, the moment more than their own situation is at stake, still have a lot to do. Because the core issues of feminism – the right to political and social participation, the opportunity for economic independence, the right to education, the possibility of leading an autonomous life free of violence – continue to be as relevant and topical today as they were ever before, when viewed from a global perspective. Anyone who finds this to be old fashioned is not in tune with the times.

The author is a substitute Professor for Gender Research at the University of Cologne.

Reply of the "Alpha-Girls"

Susanne Klingner and Barbara Streidl

Dear Mrs. Hark,

We read your article in the Tagesspiegel of 15 October 2008 with a great deal of interest. You had already presented some of what you have written about in the article at a panel discussion organized by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Berlin to which both you and I, Barbara Streidl, had been invited. The new portion is the section where you are passing judgment on the ideological orientation of those you describe as the representatives of a generation of "new feminist", a group to which we, as authors of the book "We Alpha-Girls", also belong.

We believe that there is some misunderstanding. You write that the young feminists perceive their success as proof of their personal ability and their individual superiority in the daily struggle for survival and not as the outcome of social conditions. Also you describe the substance of our writing and demands as providing a link to neo-liberalism and patriarchal discourses. Reading this, we must assume that you know of our book only from hearsay. We are amazed that you are openly critiquing us, the young feminists, although our cause is the same.

We are demanding freedom for all women to lead the life of their choice – the same freedom that you swear by. We are also calling for a structural change, because we have clearly understood that as women the be-all and end-all is not "personal ability and individual superiority". In our works, we explicitly criticize precisely this logic that is so wide-spread in our neo-liberal society. We are not fighting for the improvement of the lives of the elite, but rather for equitable structures and opportunities for all. In order to realize this, we believe that issues such as the new regulations on child care as also the introduction of quotas in the private sector or the right to self-determination in case termination of pregnancy need to be taken up.

We, the younger feminists, are certainly not seeking to establish a new narrative and high ground, casting aside the older activists. We, who belong to the new generation, are aware that there are some issues that our predecessors pursued, but which have still not been resolved, yet they are no longer publicly debated either. Consequently, these issues remain on our agenda, as well as new ones, which, at the time of feminists conquering societal institutions, had not been included.

We hope that this has served to make clear that the issue at hand is not old or new feminism but rather: do we work together or against each other?

With best wishes
Barbara Streidl, Susanne Klingner



Dr Jutta Allmendinger
President of the Social Science Research Centre, Berlin

Work, Old-Age, Poverty?

Approximately 70 per cent of the Germans fear old-age poverty. The focus of policy debates on old-age pension has shifted from stabilizing pension rates and contributions to the efficacy of old-age social security in preventing poverty. The former Minister for Women's Affairs, Christine Bergmann, highlighted at a conference called "Work, Old-Age, Poverty? Preventing Old-Age Poverty of Women!" in Berlin in November 2008, the fact that debates on this issue did not deal sufficiently at length with the impact on women. Although, it is women particularly, who are affected by old-age poverty due to their career profiles and their personal life. Yet, they draw merely 60 per cent of the average pension that men draw. Jutta Allmendinger, the President of the Social Science Research Centre in Berlin, attributed the reasons for this state of affairs, in particular, to the high unemployment, precarious employment, the unequal sharing of family and nursing chores between the sexes, as also to the continuing gender pay gap. Elke Hannack, Member of the national executive of the trade union ver.di, corroborated, that "low-paid and part-time employment is a women's issue." She further criticized the fact that old-age social security reforms had till date mostly only catered to male career profiles: in the three-pillar model women had much less opportunity to provide against future risks, whether at the company level or privately. Therefore, "the best form of old-age social security for women was a good and equitably paid full-time job that was bound by the statutory pension scheme!"

Politics needs Women – Has the Quota become an end in itself?

Women's answer to this question was a rather skeptical "yes and no". 20 years after the resolution in favor of introducing quotas was passed at the SPD party convention at Münster, women politicians took stock of the situation at a panel discussion, to which they had been invited by the Forum for Politics and Society of the FES Berlin. Since 1988, it has been the practice in the SPD that there must be at least a 40 per cent representation of women and men in all positions and also in the parliamentary seats of the Party. Inge Wettig-Danielmeier recalled that, at the time, quotas were hotly debated even amongst women. Anke Fuchs added, "Especially as a woman, one would be ill-advised to bank only on this strategy." Without Hans-Jochen Vogel, the Chairperson of the SPD at the time, it would not have been possible to have the quota. According to him, the quota, on the whole, has been a success. At least, today, women's participation in politics is taken for granted. Elke Ferner, Chairperson of the Working Group on Social Democratic Women, ruminated, "Without the quota I would not have been sitting here today." So, has gender equity, finally, been achieved in politics? No, says Franziska Drohsel, Chairperson of the Jusos [the youth organisation of SPD]. Politics continues to mainly be a male domain. The former Minister for Women's Affairs Christine Bergmann was certain that this situation would not change as long as house work remained mainly the responsibility of the woman.



“No pain, no gain!”

Hans-Jochen Vogel on the Resolution to introduce Quotas

Dr. Hans-Jochen Vogel was the Chairperson of the SPD from 1987 to 1991. He vehemently supported the greater participation of women in political offices and seats. He did not view this as political astuteness, but simply as a matter of gender equality. Had it not been for his tenacity in convincing others, there would have been no resolution to introduce quotas by the SPD, twenty years ago, at the Münster party congress.



Why did you work so intensely for the larger political participation of women, which according to you, at that time, would seemingly not have been possible without a clear cut decision in favor of quotas?

Well, many women were also skeptical about quotas. They feared the stigma of “token-women” would attach to them and they wanted to achieve these milestones through their own efforts.

Have the men come to terms with the decision in favor of quotas? To begin with, they were not particularly taken up by it?

As the Chairperson of the Party, at the Münster Party Congress, in 1988, I strongly advocated quotas, but even before that, I always supported the idea of quotas for women, because equality of men and women has been a fundamental tenet of social democracy since the time of August Bebel, and, it was increasingly becoming clear that appeals and exhortations alone would not result in an increase in the share of women in political positions. Thus, for example, the proportion of women in the SPD parliamentary party faction remained clearly below 20 per cent till the end of the 1980s.

From a subjective perspective, I could well understand these anxieties. But anyone wanting to improve the situation could not remain passive in the long-term because of such fears and anxieties. The Working Group on Social Democratic Women also then changed its position in 1985 and spoke out in favor of the quota.

Yes, they have. There have been instances, where men have cited the resolution on quotas. Strictly speaking, it is really a gender quota.

Yes, it has improved substantively. The proportion of women in the parliamentary party faction of the SPD has clearly risen since 1988. Currently, it is 36 per cent. On an average the representation of women from the SPD in the State Assemblies has also increased and is equally high. Even in the government, both at the national and state level, women are much more strongly represented than before. Incidentally, even the CDU, which for a long time was critical of our resolution on quotas, has itself, now, agreed to a quota regulation.

However, in the upper echelons of the 626 companies with the highest turnover, there are today less than one per cent women. Similarly, at the level of the highest grade of Professors at universities and colleges, the share of women is still a matter of concern. This is the situation today, when more than 50 per cent of those joining universities and colleges are women.

The balancing of job and family continues to be a problem. But the improvement in child care facilities has certainly made it easier to reconcile both. At the same time, today we have more “house-husbands” than before, and in more than just a few families, there is a sensible and rational sharing of house work. In this context – but also in general – I would say that women should rebel. Because – and this is my own experience – nothing comes from nothing!

Has the resolution on quotas transformed the SPD, maybe even worked as a precedent for other parties and for society as a whole? Has the situation of women within the SPD Party improved since Münster?

Is there any gender equity at home, within the family? Has politics served as a shining example in this case?



The then party whip of the SPD, Anke Fuchs, and delegates on the periphery of the party congress in Münster in 1988.

International Women's Day in Berlin

Right-wing Women are as Extremist as Me

Since women have played a marginal and sub-ordinate role in historical research, the impression gained ground that most women – both during the period of national socialism and in the contemporary Right-wing extremist milieu – were mostly fellow travelers. But this is a fallacy, as a programme on International Women's Day in Berlin explored. Even during the Nazi period, several women were actively involved in the pursuit of national-socialist goals, although, according to the official role model of women, they were confined to their role as mothers. The Cologne feminist theatre group, 'Generationenkomplott', that does political satire, exposed this ideal of womanhood as a myth in its play "radio revue". Original texts from the Nazi period revealed how much women also cheered and encouraged the regime.

The contemporary scenario is similar. Women in the Right-wing extremist milieu are perceived as fellow travelers, although they are no less of extremists than their male counterparts. However, they play an active role behind the scenes, accepting the role of housewife and mother. At the same time, Right-wing women's organizations are preparing

"women comrades" in a very focused manner for political careers. During the course of the programme, women politicians warned that, nice young mothers from the National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD) and from other organizations are active in parents' associations, they procure loans, organize rooms, and are successful, because at first glance they appear so harmless.

Life Style of the Far Right

There are numerous organizations and party organizations, in which Right-wing women are active, for example, the women's organization Ring of National Women in **Thuringia**. The FES Thuringia office, together with the local level representatives responsible for gender equality, has for years been organizing seminars on this issue. In the course of these seminars, the strategies of Right-wing extremist women activists and their organizations are put under the scanner and their efforts at recruitment expounded on. The seminars deal with reality, for example, they engage with the typical life style in a Right-wing extremist milieu and the music of the Neo-Nazis.

As Fanatical as the Men

In 2008, in **Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania**, a German-Polish women's forum, which was established in 1996 with the help of the FES, deliberated upon the issue of Right-wing extremist women. The discussions revealed that the Right-wing extremist women's scene in Poland is not as systematically organized as is the case in Western Pomerania. Nevertheless, the following applies equally to both sides of the border: these young women are as hostile to foreigners and as fanatical as are their male counterparts. It is a cliché to say that they entered this milieu through friends. Very often it is in fact girl-friends and sisters, who make the first contact. The main problem, especially on the German side of the border, is that far too little is being done for the youth in rural areas, so that Right-wing extremist groups appear to offer the only escape from boredom.



Juliane Braun

Resistance is Possible – Young women against the Far Right

Raucous bawling. Hard rock. Even harder fists. Men like giants, with a clean shaven head and steel-capped boots. Dressed all in black. Shoulder to shoulder. Foreigner bashing. Cleansing suburbs of “left ticks”. Defacing synagogues.

The women: No lip gloss in their hand-bags. Do not spend an evening of film viewing with friends, watching romantic comedies. Surely, that doesn't go together! Women and Right-wing extremism do not mix!

At least, not in our minds. Women in the political arena are rare. The Right-wing extremist milieu is also confronted with this problem. Yet, young women are joining a “movement” that preaches hate and violence, that assigns to them, above all, the role of custodian of German genes. Outsiders are amazed at this. So am I. Despite having studied this issue intensely, I will never understand it.

However, women working against Right-wing extremism attract equally astounded glances. I have experienced this repeatedly. After detailed, specialized discussions about my work against the Right-wing, there is always one, apparently important question: “Aren't you afraid at night, when you're out on the street?” Yet, on the ground, the number of women involved in the work of the right wing initiatives is above average, at least in comparison to political parties or associations and unions. Very often these women are in leadership positions. And why should they not? Violent arguments form the minutest part of the work against the far right.

We have to work together against Right-wing extremism. And this means having the courage to look, to inform and to establish networks.



In 2005, Juliane Braun established an Initiative against Right-wing Extremism in Dietfurt on the Altmühl, after a “comradeship” was formed there. She studied Media and Communication in Passau and is a fellowship awardee of the FES. She coordinates the working group “Right-wing Extremism” for the Jusos (the youth organization of the SPD) in Bavaria.

FES-Berlin

Ban on Head Scarves vs. the Participation of Muslim Women?

More than five years ago the Federal Constitutional Court ruled that legislation was required for “newly laying down the permissible degree of religious references in schools”. At a conference in Berlin, the consequences of this “Headscarf Ruling” and the new legal statutes in the Bundesländer (federal states) were discussed. The majority of the participants criticised the restrictive statutes, particularly in the southern Bundesländer with their privileging of Christian-occidental symbols. It was pointed out that this is in violation of the ruling of the highest court with regard to the equal treatment of religions. However, the Berlin Law on strict neutrality, due to which a number of religious symbols were prohibited in public spaces, was also criticised, as this resulted in a conflict of objectives: the desired participation of Muslim women and the obligation of the state to maintain neutrality in matters of religion. The law has resulted in the discrimination against women wearing headscarves in the free labor market.

It was proposed to proceed case by case rather than to go strictly by regulation alone. But opinion remains divided.



The Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania FES Office

Not a Place to Stay?

At the seminar of the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania FES Office, the focus was on demographic developments, on migration and commuting, especially of young girls and women, and ways to prevent the exodus of young women. Young women narrated experiences from their personal lives and articulated their aspirations and wishes, which if they were to come true, could persuade them to stay back.

The Brandenburg FES Office

Living Women's Strengths

During the Brandenburg Women's Week in Potsdam, the focus was on municipal elections and politics. The FES Office had organized a discussion to explore ways and means to strengthen the participation of women in municipal decision-making processes. The slogan was “Bringing Alive Women's Strengths – Structuring the Future through Diversity and Participation”. The topics for discussion were: critical review of regional developments, fostering a sense of responsibility for the region, continuing deficits in the participation of women, creating more opportunities for structuring.



Würzburg

“Policies for women are out of fashion!”

This was the assessment of a participant at a symposium on “Progress in Family Policy – Regression in Women’s Policy?” in June 2008, at the Frankenwarte Academy in Würzburg. The highly contentious debate showed that many of those responsible for gender equality and women’s empowerment believed that there was a blurring of boundaries between various policy areas and they feared this might result in policies for women being excluded altogether from the framework of policy-making. Other participants were, however, willing to accept the slogan “Policies for women are more than family policy, but a feminist family policy is also a policy for women” as well as the pragmatic view, that “Current developments could lead to a conservative roll-back.”

Walter Lochmann the leader of the ver.di trade union-project “Father and Job”, presented a perspective from the father’s point of view consisting

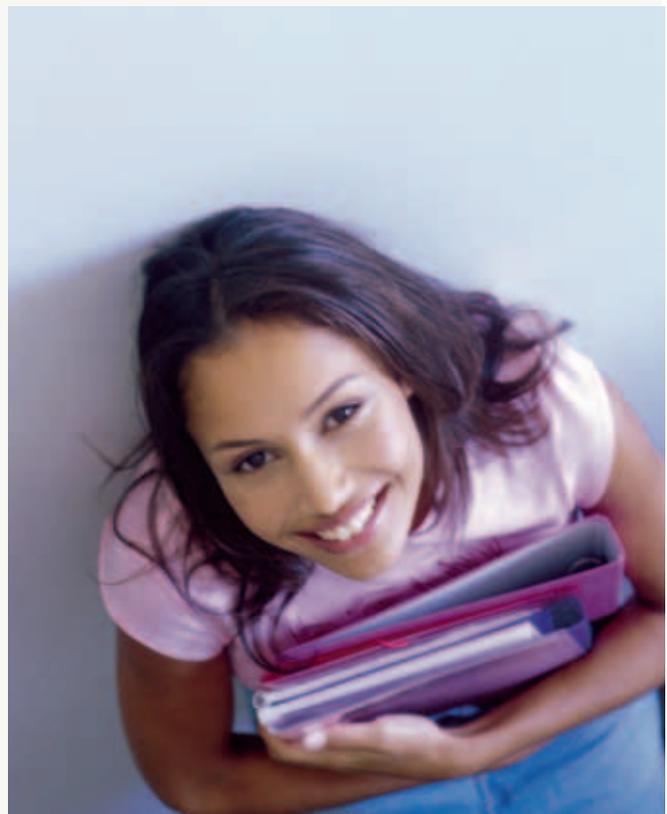
of almost full-time and part-time work models as well as working hour models tailored to individual needs. According to Lochmann, difficulties in eliminating gender boundaries and gender differences are today not so much due to differing perceptions of “men activists” and feminists, but rather due to those within the group of men.

A lot of time was spent in finding answers to the question, why it was so difficult to interest young women in women’s and women’s policy related issues. “There is a total lack of empathy! Only after a child comes along, do they wake up!” Whether the disinterest of young women in women’s issues and policies for women was a matter to be lamented or to be viewed positively remained open to discussion. “What kind of an image do we provide girls and young women? A 14 year old once told me: I’m not as daft as my mother and I’m not going to slave away at home and in the office!”

FES Magdeburg

Has the notion of a gender neutral upbringing failed?

Since years statistics have proved that girls fare better in their school-leaving examination than boys. The number of school drop-outs amongst boys are double that amongst girls and a disproportionately high number of boys attend the *Hauptschule* (secondary general school) and the *Förderschule* (special school). Boys are conspicuous because of indiscipline and incidents of disrupting class. The FES symposium in Magdeburg focused on the causes and consequences of this phenomenon. The experts recommended special boy-specific projects similar to those that have since years been developed for girls. Boys have to be counselled much more intensively on their future prospects. Gender-specific affirmative action must become an integral and continuing component of pedagogy.



“A lot still remains to be done...”

In Conversation with Claudia Menne, German Trade Union Federation

For the past four years, Claudia Menne (right) is the Head of the Department for Gender Equality and Women’s Policy on the National Executive Board of the German Trade Union Federation. She shares her experience with politics and industry in conversation with Anne Seyfferth, Head of the Forum for Politics and Society at FES.



Since 2001, there is a “voluntary agreement” with the top central associations of German industry to promote equal opportunities for women and men in the private sector.

But we are still a long way off from achieving that goal. Do trade unions have to increase the pressure on politics and industry?

We organized a workshop on “More Opportunities for Women in the Private Sector” for women’s representatives in companies. We were astounded at how few companies actually have this position. Why is this so? Can trade unions play a more active role in this case?

We have to pin our hopes on the next legislative period. In the recent past, there have been a variety of proposals, for example, the quota in the supervisory boards. We continue to believe that legal regulations are required. After three audits, the “voluntary agreement” is a failure. Now, during the election campaign, all the parties, from the liberals to the left, are knocking at our doors. Anyway, at least the willingness to change currently pervades all the parties.

The works councils in the concerned companies can do something about it. We have repeatedly discussed where best to locate representatives responsible for gender equality: in the personnel department or in the employee union representation. At the end of the day, however, it really depends on teamwork. There are also demands for setting up a panel, since in large companies, in particular, individual representatives cannot achieve much on their own.

The trade unions have to be prepared to have a look at the structures and appraisal criteria of collective agreements. And those companies that are consistently evading wage commitments must again sign collective agreements. We know sectors, where, for years now, there has been no movement on collective bargaining of wages. The collective agreements are renewed but neither side spares a glance at the structures. Of course, this would mean an enormous amount of work for about 70,000 collective agreements in Germany. What we need is more women on the collective agreement committees and also men who have been sensitised to such issues. A lot still remains to be done. For sectors without collective agreements, the main demand is for the legally stipulated minimum wages. Women are demanding that this should not be sector specific. The current trend towards a sector specific minimum wage level is especially problematic for the gainful employment of women.

No, but, it is nevertheless, a correct and absolutely necessary step, particularly in the field of nursing and care-giving. I am sure many women would benefit if a minimum wage level were to be fixed. But the wage level is nowhere near the level demanded by the trade unions. The absolute minimum that would secure subsistence is, according to us, 1,300 Euro per month or 7.50 Euro per hour. We are a long way off from that figure.

It is absolutely necessary to reduce the number of so called mini-jobs, that today amount to 6.5 million. This has been our demand for many years now. The study "Providing for Old-Age in Germany" has demonstrated that women are increasingly being forced to take up mini-jobs. But these do not provide any social security. This means that although women are indeed working, yet they are not contributing towards social welfare funds. Old-age poverty is a challenge across Germany. In the case of the generation of women, who will be retiring in twenty years, the old-age poverty in both East and West Germany would have risen steeply. We are going to initiate a campaign on this issue. The demand to give more weightage to child-raising time is, for example, being discussed. However, there is also a great deal of resistance to this. Many fear a "premium for having children".

In the trade union campaign "I am worth more", there is a demand for "Equal pay for equal work". How can you ensure that the collective agreements are non-discriminatory and thus contribute to equitable pay? In certain areas there is no wage commitment. What can the trade unions do in such cases?

The Bundestag, the Lower House of Parliament, has cleared the way for minimum wages in another six sectors. Is that sufficient to protect women against the low end wage bracket?

Women, in particular, are impacted by old-age poverty. This is due to their professional and personal life situations. The minimum wage, that is appropriate payment, would be an important step in the direction of providing security in old-age. What additional measures, according to you, are required to be taken?



The reconciliation of family and job is central to achieving gender equality. What is the experience of men with regard to paternity leave? Is the German Trade Union Federation, DGB, going to support them on this issue?

What has been the experience of the DGB with gender mainstreaming? Is this instrument being applied?

The DGB has just commissioned an Institute to inquire into the experience of these “new fathers” with their employers and colleagues. We suspect that there is still very little understanding of this phenomenon – perhaps their superiors might support them, but there is often a lack of acceptance among their colleagues. Very little can be done in terms of law on this issue. It is necessary to sensitise and generate awareness on this issue at the work-place. We are doing this, for example, through our educational work. The theme of “The Reconciliation of Family and Job” must be more intensely integrated into the work of the Works Council. Our experience has been that the management of small and medium-sized enterprises on their own make overtures to the Works Council. In order to keep their employees they want to offer them an incentive for the family phase. This perspective is currently totally lacking in the case of big companies. For trade unions, it is very rewarding to generate awareness on this issue.

We have not succeeded in applying it uniformly. The understanding of gender mainstreaming is the greatest at the administrative level of the national executive board. Here, there is good cooperation between the various departments. However, if one goes to the provinces and the regions, the picture is somewhat different. We want to evaluate the experience critically and establish what we have actually achieved in our own organization after ten years. The positive point to be made is that even in a male dominated trade union such as IG Metall awareness has been generated that greater consideration must be given to gender, that is men and women, with regard to forms of address, to planning or to advertisements. So there is some change, but everything takes an incredibly long time.

The questions were posed by Anne Seyffert (left) and Nora Langenbacher both FES



Girls' Day 2008 in Bonn

Katharina Oerder: "We can really choose any job we like"

The 60 girl pupils – 14 to 15 year olds – from grammar and comprehensive schools in Bonn were very spiritedly and enthusiastically discussing difficult questions.

I did not think it would be easy to keep a group of 60 girls under control for a whole day, but the girls were more restrained than boisterous and worked together in a focused manner. Would it have been as easy with a group of 60 boys? As I started posing the initial questions on equal rights of men and women, some of the girls appeared more disconcerted than interested. "We can really choose any job we like!", said one girl. Their career aspirations were ambitious and some of them were not the run-of-the-mill: they wanted to be psychologists, solicitors, aid-workers, managers, but also tattooists. The self-confidence and self-belief the girls' exuded was remarkable – no doubt the outcome of the success of women's emancipation. However, what does the future hold for these ambitious young girls, once they complete school, go to university or embark on a career? The fact, that on an average, women, even today, earn at least a quarter less than their male colleagues, was known to only a very few amongst them. And if women can really choose any career, then why is it that all the top positions are dominated by men?

Not all the girls were aware of the existence of committed women's rights' activists, who they discovered during their visit to the Archives of Social Democracy and in a film on women in politics. In various workshops, issues such as career opportunities and opportunities for career advancement, reconciling family and job, and personal biogra-



Katharina Oerder, FES fellowship awardee and the chairperson of the Bonn chapter of the Jusos (the SPD Youth organisation), moderated Girls' Day 2008.

phies and life situations of women were discussed. The focus of the discussion was on the future aspirations of the girls' themselves: to have an interesting job, where I can earn well, to have a large family and travel a lot – how can I achieve this? The girls worked on these issues with a great deal of enthusiasm. In the concluding round, the participants achieved some great results and could score with partially artistic presentations. Many went back home knowing that recognizing injustice is sometimes as difficult as the option of ushering in change. The conclusion: "In school, everything is still okay, but later it'll be difficult. Germany is not geared to women pursuing careers. Because of inadequate child care facilities and the like."

Care-Work or what a precautionary social welfare state must do, so that men and women can live comfortably in their old-age

Within the feminist discourse, the concept of “care” covers paid and unpaid work, which comprise caring for dependents (be they old, ill or disabled). Politics determines the scope and the type of care provided. It specifies private and public responsibilities, it stipulates what constitutes paid work and what does not and defines the rights of care-givers and care-receivers.

In the programmes of every party, there are many statements devoted to providing child care but hardly any to those who need care and ministering. On the other hand, trade unions, through their campaigns (ver.di: “We’ve had enough!”), are drawing attention to the new crisis emerging in this area, due to a paucity of care-givers. At the political level, however, as in the past, there are only discussions on the need for change in the field of nursing care. Experts feel that the problem with the German care system lies, above all, in the fact that the debate is shaped by stakeholders, those providing care or those from the social insurance

sector. There is no comprehensive vision and neither is there a plan, supported and sustained by politics for evolving a policy on nursing care in the future.

The present care system in Germany is fragile and this will become even more so in the future. The following trends are contributing to this situation:

- Women of every age are increasingly taking up jobs. As a result the dual burden of nursing and working will increase.
- The increasing pressures of mobility and flexibility at work, which will make the daily caring for those who require care at a certain place and at certain times increasingly impossible to accomplish.
- The low birth rates and the increasing numbers of childless couples. The consequence of this will be that nursing provided by relatives can no longer be guaranteed.
- The importance of marriage as a system for ensuring livelihood is decreasing. Life-long financial support for female partners is no longer guaranteed and with this the security of having private nursing care financed through matrimonial maintenance will disappear.
- The numbers of those requiring care will increase. By 2020, there will be another million people requiring regular nursing.

Till today, economic prospects hardly play any role, when discussing the issue of providing care. Feminist economists have always lamented this oversight on the part of traditional economics. The peculiarity of nursing care is that unlike industrial production and even many other services, it creates personal relationships. There is a particular logic underlying this work and its productivity has to be defined differently from that of the production of industrial goods. In private care-giving, life



German Federal Minister for Health Ulla Schmidt presents the FES study “Gender in Care Giving” by Dr. Gertrud Backes (right). On the left is Dr. Barbara Stiegler, the Head of the Department for Gender and Women’s Policy at FES.

situations are polarized and hierarchies are defined by gender affiliation. These are based on the breadwinner model of gendered biographies. The relative poverty and financial dependence created by this is further perpetuated through nursing and caring for relatives.

Private nursing and care is mainly provided by women:

- Women provide nursing and care more often than men. The feeling of obligation towards one's family is stronger in a female partner, a daughter or a daughter-in-law than in men, who also nurse their partners.
- Women give up working to care for relatives more often than men. Men prefer to manage care.
- Women often take up part-time jobs so as to balance work and nursing.
- Due to the fact that the partner is older and his life-expectancy is lower, the probability of women being alone when they require nursing and care and not having a partner to fall back on for nursing is much higher than the other way round.

The professions linked to providing care are typically women's professions. Therefore

- they are subject to training regulations that are not systematic,
- they are dead-end professions without any potential for upward mobility,
- they are undervalued in terms of wages and salaries,
- the tenure of employees at the job is very brief,
- often they do not have a steady job,
- they are often characterized by a high rate of burn-out syndrom.



In 2008, the FES Department for Gender and Women's Policy undertook a long-term project on providing care to those requiring nursing. Initially it dealt with the structure, scope and life situations of care-givers and care-receivers. The study on "Gender in Care-Giving" undertaken by Dr. Gertrud Backes of the "Centre for Aging and Society" of the University of Vechta was discussed at a workshop with trade unions, experts and politicians. The third step will deal with the restructuring of private nursing care. The ideal should be that everybody, male and female, has the right to receiving care. This means that there is a right to provide care but equally to receive care. The exercise of this right should not lead to poverty, nor should it create an existential dependence on the partner. There must be a right to receiving professional care (as well as options for the type of professional care). All rights must be realized irrespective of financial assets and sex. The political and economic consequences of these positions will be put to a debate at a future date.

Experiences from Mexico

Gender-related work makes trade unions more attractive

Gender-related work can result in the modernization and democratization of the internal structures of trade unions and it can make trade unions fit to take up global challenges. This has been the experience in Latin America and other continents as demonstrated by the project work undertaken by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

One of the most important issues in Mexico is the promotion of gender equality at the work-place. Why?

With respect to gender stereotypes, most countries in Latin America are undergoing change. Before the law, men and women have, for a fairly long time now, been equal. The reality, however, is somewhat different, especially with regard to the labor market. Over the past 50 years, Mexican women have fought for a quantitatively larger share of the labor market. The radical changes in the Mexican economy since the 1980s have led to flexibility and instability of jobs, impacting women in particular. They earn on an average 35 per cent less than their male colleagues and a much higher

proportion of women work in exploitative industrial sectors, where there is hardly any trade union presence.

The increased participation of women in the labor market has garnered for them only a limited increase in decision-making within the Mexican trade unions, which continue to be dominated by male power structures and ideology. Trade unions are no exception to this philosophy in Mexico. The political culture and institutions are steeped in relationships of male loyalty and often prevent women from entering politics or occupying top positions.

Modernization through gender

It is with good reason that the legitimation crisis of trade unions in Mexico is also rooted in the marginalization of women in the organizational and power structures of trade unions. Women always had and continue to have few opportunities to take on the leadership role in the male dominated trade union structures. Often, these structures are authoritarian and non-transparent. Women meet with resistance when they attempt to discuss issues such as discrimination at the work-place or unequal wages in their organizations. For the FES work in Mexico, this means that specific gender work not only helps women workers, but it is also a solid contribution towards the socio-political modernization of fossilized structures within the trade unions.

The idea is not merely to achieve apparent gender equality within the trade unions through a purely quantitative mechanism of women's quotas, but rather, it is much more important to ensure that women active within the trade unions evolve their own style of leadership so that they do not conform to the established leadership structures of male trade unionists.



A concrete example is the cooperation with the umbrella association Unión Nacional de Trabajadores (UNT) and with the Network of Women Trade Unionists (Red de Mujeres Sindicalistas). The FES offers consultancy, it strengthens competences through programmes for further training and capacity-building, and helps in developing overarching networks. The seminars and workshops organized only for women serve to create a space for reflection and for defining one's own politics. In order to ensure that support programmes for women are not viewed as unimportant parallel structures, it is necessary to introduce gender training programmes and the gender mainstreaming concept. This is the only way for women and men to jointly work on new strategies and to effect a gender sensitive change in perspective.

Trade Unionized Networks

The outcome of the consultancy with UNT has been fairly concrete. At the Annual Congress, gender mainstreaming was declared as the basic principle of the UNT. It was resolved to establish a working group with the mandate of devising methods to implement this concept. The men were won over through a change in strategy: instead of incessantly pressing for women's advancement, the benefits accruing from gender mainstreaming for the future development of the trade union federation were highlighted. This "image-building campaign" went down well with the men also.

The gender sensitive processing of labor issues plays an important role in the projects of the FES. The majority of the collective agreements in Mexico are "simulated collective agreements" in favor of the employers. Practically none of the collective agreements include gendered clauses. Thus, for example, there are no regulations pertaining to pregnant women at the work-place. It is rare that a company commits itself to supporting them by



way of shortened work-days, extended breaks or crèches. The unionized collaboration of women workers was only encouraged in two Mexican collective agreements. Time and again there are illegal clauses which discriminate against women workers on the basis of their sex or they restrict the freedom to assemble and thus also the freedom to form unions.

Gender work has far-reaching consequences for trade union work on the ground. Only if the Mexican trade unions were to transform themselves into groups representing the interests of women workers also will they be able to win over more new members. But even more important is the fact that only by adopting an innovative and democratic approach in strategically important areas such as the organization of the informal sector, issues of migration and labor and labor law, will they be able to acquire greater legitimacy and consequently wield greater political influence.

Berlin

More opportunities for women in the private sector

In the private sector, women still do not enjoy equal rights. Not much has changed in this regard even after the signing of an “Agreement between the Federal Government and the leading Associations of the Private Sector” seven years ago. The third review of this agreement has listed a number of cases of discriminations. In comparison with the rest of Europe Germany ranks amongst the lowest. To cite just one example of many: there are only 7.8 per cent women represented on the supervisory boards of 200 of the largest companies in Germany. A workshop organized by the Forum for Politics and Society for representatives responsible for women and gender equality sought to find ways to

improve the situation. Mentoring is an important instrument to bring more women into executive positions. It is, however, crucial to sensitize male boards such that women’s advancement is given priority. The unanimous view was that large gender pay gaps are no longer acceptable. According to Claudia Menne, a member of the Executive board of the German Trade Union Federation, one reason for this was the different categorization of men and women in the companies. It was the responsibility of the trade unions to ensure the freedom from discrimination while negotiating the collective agreement. In addition, there was a demand for a Gender Equality Act for the private sector.

Managerial Group, North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW)

Making confident use of opportunities

“How do we get more women in executive positions?” The managerial group of the FES, North-Rhine Westphalia regional group, discussed this issue with Hannelore Kraft, the chairperson of the SPD in North-Rhine Westphalia. She said, useful training methods, but equally broadening experience helped her during her career, and by this

she was referring, in particular, to the enormous stress of time management. During the discussion, she encouraged all women – the young in executive positions or experienced managers – to be confident and make best use of the increasing professional opportunities available to them due to their high academic qualifications and training.

Brussels

Women, career and the glass ceiling

The European gender equality policy began as early as 1957 with the principle of equal pay in the Treaty of Rome. Since then there have been numerous EU legal regulations on access to the labor market, to education and training, on reconciliation of family and job, etc. These issues formed the focus of a seminar organized by the Brussels office of the FES. The topic of the seminar was: “Women, Career and the Glass Ceiling”.

The participants from fields as diverse as politics, economics, administration and academics were unanimous in their view that there existed an action deficit. They enumerated the main problems: gender pay gap, unequal sharing of house-work, under-representation of women in leading positions in both politics and in industry. During the course of the seminar European efforts at women’s advancement were presented and discussed critically. The conclusion: although Europe had contributed positively towards equality of opportunity, yet, as in the past, real equality between women and men remains “a political and legal construction site” – that is, it is still evolving.



Ukraine

Conventional gender stereotypes

Conventional gender stereotypes continue to be prevalent in Ukraine despite the political upheaval of the past two decades.

The traditional roles attributed to men and women shape politics, society and the economy even today. In the associations of industries and in trade unions men continue to call the shots. Discriminatory sexism, for example, in advertisements is hardly perceived, even today, as a problem. The Kiev office of the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung continued to intensify the work in this area in its gender-related projects in 2008 also. The focus was on:

- gender training for men and women of the Ukrainian trade unions;
- problematising discriminatory sexism within the advertising industry and sponsoring a campaign for sensitization at the municipality level, in educational institutions and political organizations;
- supporting the monitoring of government equal rights and gender policy by networks of non-government organizations.

In 2008, gender training for Ukrainian trade unionists was a priority area. In this connection, the FES is cooperating with a new post-Soviet national umbrella association, which is a reservoir of new trends in the Ukrainian trade union movement, and which is open to this new and, till now, unfamiliar concept, which is not a women's seminar in the conventional sense. Apart from this trade union, two other sectoral trade unions from the largest national umbrella organization have proven themselves: the nuclear trade union, which represents the interests of the workers in the Ukrainian nuclear energy industry (this includes the 3,000 workers of the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl that has been closed down) and the



trade union of the workers in the Ukrainian arms industry (Ukraine was a hub of the arms industry in the former Soviet Union – today it is a shrinking industry).

The seminar “Equal Rights and Trade Unions” with the arms trade union in October 2008 is typical of this work with the trade unions. The chairman of the trade union took part in the seminar for the entire two days as an ordinary participant. In the Ukrainian industry, women as trade union representatives have to confront mostly male bosses at the work or company level. Gender stereotypes, personal attitude and bearing, and body language are extremely important in successfully or unsuccessfully representing the interests of workers. Better mastery over the above and the ability to translate these into action, and in doing so to practice egalitarian and democratic behavior is, thus, of interest for an open and broad-minded trade union leadership.

South-East Europe

Several small steps towards self-help

It is an open secret that the rapid and in part chaotic economic revolution in the transition countries has impacted on women in particular and will probably continue to do so in future also. At the same time, it is also a fact that in south-east Europe, women on an average, are better qualified and are able to deal with the changed circumstances much more flexibly than men.

They have demonstrated this repeatedly in the joint action taken in the context of the regional project “Labor Relations and Social Dialogue in South-East Europe – SOE”. Since the past few years the FES has been intensively working with women trade unionists because even the trade unions have ignored the issue of “Women in the professional

world”. At the same time, there are many good and bad reasons for women especially to develop new options within an institution representing their interests. Nowhere else in Europe have we seen such an avid interest in training programmes on mobbing as in the West Balkans. But the women do not want to merely struggle and resist, they also want to evolve new methods to free themselves of the misery on the labor market. So a series of events were organized in which interesting concepts of co-operatives for women and other disadvantaged groups were discussed. And some of that is already on the way to becoming a reality. Those are just several small steps towards self-help, but they are already bearing fruit.



“Can severance pay be used for self-employment?” is a topic, which has engaged women trade unionists in southern Serbia since a long time. In this regard, women in Serbia can look back at some success stories and good examples because they have succeeded in generating long-term employment for themselves through co-operatives. Most of these co-operatives work in the social or service sector.

With the help of the FES, the topic “Mobbing at the work-place – how can we defend ourselves?” is being dealt with, for the past several years, at the regional level with women from former Yugoslavia.

With the help of the FES, the topic “Mobbing at the work-place – how can we defend ourselves?” is being dealt with, for the past several years, at the regional level with women from former Yugoslavia. In addition, it has also resulted, within the trade union, in internal policy initiatives being taken to make the rights of women a priority area within the general work of the trade union. Currently, in more and more trade unions, there are functional women’s departments, and maybe, in the future, these will provide a new and necessary direction to the work of trade unions, for example, more emphasis on the private service sector or on the small and medium sized enterprises – sectors in which jobs are (and can) be created and in which the majority of the workers are women.



With the help of the FES, the topic “Mobbing at the work-place – how can we defend ourselves?” is being dealt with, for the past several years, at the regional level with women from former Yugoslavia.

“Women want to have a say”

In Conversation with Herta Däubler-Gmelin, MP

The Chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian-Aid is constantly traveling, also on behalf of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. In 2008 she was in Africa and China. She was full of admiration for women who are struggling for the survival of their families in desperate situations. They are politically more discerning and critical than the developed countries are aware of.

Are there, in Africa, female elites in politics and society, who are engaged in changing the prevalent conditions?

Do gender debates play a role? How much power and responsibility are men willing to share with women?

In many African countries, the responsibility for daily life rests solely or mostly with the women. And yet, developmental aid appears to be largely shaped by men's needs, or so it is said and critiqued.



There are many active women, strong women, all of whom are working to change the often miserable living conditions. Women produce most of the food in Africa. Women are the worst affected by HIV/AIDS. The highest illiteracy rates are those of women. Women are often the victims of violence, of sexual violence in particular – in times of war, civil wars, and conflicts, but also in their ostensibly normal lives. A lot has to be changed. In countries, where women have a say, they raise their voices. In other countries, they champion the cause of their daughters and support more schooling.

There are gender debates, but far too few. In countries that are more developed, these debates are there. But, where they are most needed, there, there are hardly any. In the autumn of 2008, I was in Ethiopia. There, it is even enshrined in the constitution that women must have a fair share of the means of production, of political power and influence in society. But, there are hardly any women ministers, professors or managers. This is agitating more and more women. At least, the majority of girls are now attending school – that's an important starting point for ushering in change.

Well, the most important matter for development cooperation is the millennium development goals, with the mandate to eradicate poverty, misery and hunger. The needs of the women, especially, are being emphasized here. Our development cooperation programmes certainly take that into account: schools and vocational training, access to water, facilitating the cultivation of food, health care measures, hospitals, particularly for rape victims are all issues covered by development cooperation. Of course, there must also be bad examples. But our development cooperation is very good here.

Peace, security against repeated mass rapes, which are not prosecuted. They want their children to be able to attend school so that they can have the opportunity to lead a life of human dignity some time. This is an opportunity, which they do not have now. And the women in the camps want to have a say, they want to finally take control of their lives. I met terrific, tough and courageous women there.

You can find women in every really efficient and courageous human rights commission. This applies to Kenya, but equally to South Africa. The first plaintiffs at the courts in Rwanda and Yugoslavia were women. And the current High Commissioner for Human Rights is an African woman from South Africa. That has left a deep impression on me. As have the women, who are caring for the raped and mentally disturbed girls and women in the hospitals in Panzi in East Africa. And the many women, who for years in the camps in Darfur and Chad are trying to learn to read and whose reply to the question why they are doing this is: so that we can have a say and also work towards ensuring peace.

As far as women's issues are concerned, China is very good in many areas – at least in the cities. There, you find women everywhere – in fact one could even be envious of them: there are women in the industry, at the universities, everywhere women have equal opportunities. However, in the countryside, in the very traditional areas the picture is different. In the highest decision-making bodies of the Party also there are not too many women to be seen. Quite clearly, even in China, women still have to do a lot to bring about change and to be able to assert themselves.

The Chinese Code of Law can on the whole be said to be extremely progressive. On paper it's great. And there are no differences between men and women. However, there are now decrees, which are greatly relativising progress and in fact want to reverse it. From our perspective, the women workers are very poorly paid – but the opportunities they have are much better than in the countryside. There, they have none. Till now, I have hardly observed any discussion on the exploitation of women by Western companies, but I cannot believe that in reality, women would be getting the same wages as the men.

You have visited Darfur many times. What is the most ardent wish of the women there and what are their demands?

In Africa, there are many courageous women, who have fought for human rights. Whom were you particularly impressed by?

Your second priority is China. On paper there is absolute equality in China. What is it like in practice?

And what about equal wages? Is the exploitation of women by western companies an issue there?

Gender on the agenda of development cooperation

It is also to the credit of the FES that during the conference on development financing in Doha, gender issues took centre stage. In the run-up to the Doha conference, at a preliminary international symposium in Bonn issues such as national resources, trade relations and government development aid, which were to be taken up at Doha, were discussed extensively and analyzed in detail.

There was unanimity on the fact that gender-budgiting led to increased growth. The examples cited were the programmes extending credit to women. Studies corroborate that women spend a larger proportion of their earnings on their families than men. In the run-up to Doha, a new approach – in addition to providing loans to women – was discussed, namely, social security systems for the poorest, which was to benefit especially poor women and their children.

During the Doha conference, there were lively discussions on the consequences of trade liberalization. In the panel discussion organized and moderated by the FES, people were cautioned against “gender blind” liberalization. Such an approach, it was felt, would lead to an increase in informal jobs, which carried neither job nor income guarantees. The working conditions were deteriorating; there were either few or even no workers’ rights. As a positive counter-example, experiences from Cambodia were cited: there the quota regulations and the guaranteed compliance with work norms had resulted in an increase in employment and exports.

This positive development was observed routinely in developing countries, where alongside economic initiatives, measures to alleviate poverty, to promote environmental norms and gender equality were also introduced.



According to participants at the Doha conference, gender equality in governmental development cooperation had many positive results: such aid (especially for promoting social security) reduces the pressure on women to take up unpaid work in order to secure the survival of their family. The opportunities for obtaining paid work increase, if aid is extended in the following manner:

The construction of roads and access to clean water has a direct impact, immediately improving the condition of women and children, saving time and benefiting health. The indirect effects of this activity also should not be underestimated. The access to healthy food is much simpler. Children can then attend schools.

Extending loans directly to women reduces the dependence on food imports, facilitates the acquisition of modern technologies and in turn raises productivity and income.

Laying down the core areas for development, which help indigenous enterprises in the production of knowledge-intensive goods and hence create new job opportunities.

Support for small farmers by way of research, which in turn leads to increased yields and hence to a rise in productivity and income.

In the Final Report of the panel discussion, it was once again emphasized that gender strategies are indispensable for economic development. Literally, the report says, amongst other things, the following:

“Gender equality and opportunities for the participation of women are essential for achieving equitable and effective development and for stimulating

the economy. We once again reaffirm, we shall fight gender-based discrimination in all its consequences in the field of work as also in the financial sector, as also with regard to the right to assets and property. We want to advance the rights of women, including the opportunities for them to participate economically, we want to establish gender in law reforms and in economic programmes and ensure women unrestricted and equitable access to economic resources. We want to promote and strengthen gender-budgeting.”



Dialogue on Globalization
Conference Report Berlin
„On the way to Doha ... Gender on the agenda!“
International Conference on Financing Development
21.11.2008, FES, Berlin



The rediscovery of women – gender equality as smart economic policy?

Equal rights for women and men are indispensable for democracy and human rights. There are very good economic reasons for this also. The unequal treatment of men and women costs the global economy billions annually.

The World Bank has addressed this through its Gender Action Plan and German development cooperation is also increasingly accepting the importance of instruments for the economic integration of women. Parallel to this, however, the international trade regime must provide women producers from the South access to markets in the North.

This co-relation of “Gender Equality as smart Economic Policy” was debated by experts from the field of international development cooperation at a conference in Bonn in October 2008. At the beginning of the conference, the former chairperson of the Reconstruction Loan Corporation (KfW), Ingrid Matthäus-Meier, presented the Gender Action Plan of the World Bank. Taking four areas of action, participants discussed how far this Plan could contribute towards reduction of female poverty and increased growth of the economy, and what enabling conditions would be necessary for it to succeed.

Taking China and India as examples, the well-known commentator on politics and current affairs, Christa Wichterich, examined how far international trade and world market integration have contributed towards creating better job and income opportunities for women and eliminating gender-imbalances. In the case of both countries, the findings demonstrated that although new jobs and, therefore, new opportunities for women did emerge, yet there was an enormous disparity in income in society in general, and also between women

The third presentation by Ulrike Chini of Oikocredit focused on the role of micro-credits for women in achieving development. Micro-credits can help in acquiring qualifications, securing income, education and health, increasing purchasing power, creating more job opportunities and promoting the regional economy, provided conducive, enabling conditions exist. These include professional micro-financing institutions, a holistic approach, that is, loans as a component of development work, training and consultancy, the participation of women borrowers and the provision of additional financial services.

In the last section, the central issue was, whether economic empowerment can help achieve the millennium development goals and to what extent. Marita Steinke, division head at the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, drew attention to the fact that focusing on the MDGs had once again revealed where the deficits in the individual areas lay, and she further informed, that indicators had been developed to measure the achievement of the goals. Further instruments, such as the Gender Action Plan of the World Bank and regional approaches, such as the Maputo and SADC Protocols also contribute to the attainment of the goals. At the same time, however, economic change must go hand in hand with social change, so that, for example, the lack of property law or the state laws do not become obstacles to economic empowerment.



Who owns development?

At a conference, organized jointly by FES and Womnet in Bonn, Barbara Adams, the acting director of UNIFEM quoted the Ambassador of Tanzania, as saying, "Gender is development." The theme of the conference was: "Who owns Development? Gender Justice, Participation and Ownership in the new Architecture of Development."

In the run-up to the conference in Accra, Ghana, international experts from Europe, Asia, America and Africa gathered to discuss the efficacy of development aid from a gender perspective. With the so-called Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the efficiency in development cooperation is to be achieved through effective leadership and ownership of development by the partner countries and also through a greater alignment of aid with the requirements and priorities of these countries. The Paris Declaration also stressed the need for greater transparency and for harmonizing donor activities.

The question being addressed at the Bonn conference was: What impact do these developments have on gender justice and on the participation of civil society? How to guarantee that the new aid mechanisms are gender equitable?

In principle, all the objectives, that is, better coordination of aid, cost-effectiveness, and strengthening the importance of developing countries, was welcomed by all the conference participants. However, there was also some criticism. For example, it was said that the goals originally visualized and the indicators of progress were too closely linked to economic performance. It was claimed that the criteria should not only be the efficient administration and effective flow of funds. A rational and

judicious approach to aid had to be linked to the issue of gender justice. The gender-blind approach of the Paris Declaration would not be successful so long as structural inequalities persisted.



International Women's Day in Bonn Reconciliation beyond borders



All over the world courageous women – disregarding their own safety – are working in crisis regions to establish peace or to develop civil society structures. Without holding an office and without any mandate they are taking on responsibility. They fight against any form of aggression, against the violation of human rights, against destruction wrought by wars. They try to protect women against violence, they fight for their basic subsistence. They have established networks across the world and are seeking to reach out to a broader public for their practical work.

At the international Women's Day, 2008, in Bonn, the founder and president of "FriedensFrauen Weltweit" (Women of Peace Worldwide), Ruth-Gaby Vermot-Mangold shared her experiences on developing projects. The German language internet portal of the organization was also launched during the event.

What is peace building in reality? Here is an impressive example from the border area of Poland – the Czech Republic – Germany and it is about children. This cross-border project focuses on the multilingualism of pre-school children. The objective is the ease in communication and understanding between the border population and the disappearance of prejudice. It is only through having command over languages that the right to free movement within Europe will be imbued with life and meaning. At another forum, the role of women during war and in post-war societies was discussed, using the Balkans as a case in point. The conclusion was: any reconciliation work has to take the local and regional power structures into account. The women players must be able to set their own pace and choose their own approach.

The individual steps of reconciliation work must be pooled in across regions and organizations and presented to the public. Experience shows that the role of women, even in patriarchal societies is changing significantly.

However, the work on the ground reveals the deficits from which women suffer: there is a lack of knowledge, qualifications, techniques and resources. The role conflicts that arise within families on the return of the men have not been worked on sufficiently. The rape of women during war continues to be taboo. Criminal prosecution can only proceed subject to the filing of a complaint. It is here that women are put under a lot of pressure.

Yemen

Women in an election campaign

Men in ties and jackets normally sit in the conference room of Hotel Sheba, in the vicinity of the heart of the historic old city of Sanaa, the capital of Yemen. Today, it is the women who make up the picture, some of them heavily veiled, some with only a headscarf, and they set the tone. A book launch is the occasion for this gathering. Nothing unusual for Sanaa, the media city of Yemen, except that this book is about the experiences of Yemeni women while electioneering. The FES in collaboration with the Yemen Times, the most important English language newspaper in the country (that is headed by a woman), compiled the experiences of 26 candidates who participated in last year's parliamentary and municipal elections. In the book, as well as at the launch, the women narrated the challenges they had to encounter during the campaign. Till date, women in Yemen have played a secondary role in political life although Yemen has ratified numerous international agreements which support the role of women in society and which are supposed to protect women against discrimination. The Constitution of Yemen also theoretically guarantees relative equality between men and women. The figures, however, tell a different story: although there was an increase in the number of registered women voters from 18 per cent to 42 per cent between 1993 and 2006 yet, women are clearly under-represented in political institutions. In Par-

liament, for example, there is only one sitting woman member among 300 men, there are only two women ministers and only approximately six per cent women, on an average, are represented on Party committees.



Latin America

"Gender, Power and Democracy"

Twenty-seven of the generation next politicians met in Bolivia at a workshop on "Gender, Power and Democracy in Latin America". They were young women and men from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay who discussed the issues of equal opportunity and gender mainstreaming. According to the experience of these politically committed young people, gender discrimination is the political and social reality. They also lamented that there were hardly any programmes for the advancement of the next genera-

tion's political leadership. The gender concept is important for modernizing politics. How it can proceed in reality was explained by experts by using the example of social justice and social policy. There was a great demand for information. The work is to be continued through regional networking. The outcome of the workshop in Bolivia was an internet blog. The young women and men want to remain in touch through this link, and exchange information on political activities for youth.

Gender Policy in Asia

FES Gender Equality Project Asia

In Germany, it is said that Valentine's Day is the clever invention of the florist retail trade and women are welcome guests at pubs on a daily basis. In India, last year, a visit to the pub by a group of young women students ended with them being beaten up by a mob of 40 men and being dragged out of the pub by their hair. The police remained, by and large, passive. On Valentine's Day following this incident, this religious fundamentalist group threatened women with violence, forced marriage and a beating, if they were to give up their traditional code and indulge in love or revel in their sexuality. In the case of India, and in many other countries of Asia, there are laws for women's advancement and for gender justice, but these are rarely implemented. The old social norms are stronger. In private and public life, the inherited norms govern all societal institutions, from the family to the security forces.

It is already clear that in some Asian countries the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), seeking, to provide better opportunities to girls, pregnant women and mothers will not be attained. In the concerned countries, the shortcoming is not discussed publicly.

Women's Quotas in Parliaments

The good news is that every year spells progress in terms of formal equality. The gender indicators of the Human Development Report 2008 show that especially in South Asia, the formal option for political participation of women is evolving positively, especially in Sri Lanka and Pakistan, because national quotas for women have been introduced in parliament. In daily life, however, patriarchal

power relations continue to be firmly entrenched. And it remains to be seen if the current instable political situations, do not jeopardize the current quota regulations. Nevertheless, the women's quotas in national parliaments in South and South-East Asia create a better starting point for committed women. They are a long way off still from guaranteeing comprehensive, equitable and high quality policies for women and families, but they certainly enlarge the political sphere of influence for women.

In many Asian political parties, it is not the best idea, which emerges after lengthy internal debates and is then accepted, rather it is nepotism, hierarchies rooted in age and sex, illegal party financing, or the influence of established clans or families that dominates. There is a lack of women politicians, who represent all classes. This is where the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung steps in with its activities. An important platform for developing new ideas on gender and women's advancement and for discussing these with political decision-makers is the regional "FES Gender Equality Project Asia". The aim is to develop a gender sensitive consultancy module through cooperation between the FES and partner organizations.

Here, the FES is pursuing a dual strategy: on the one hand, the project is pursuing target group oriented women's advancement programmes and so supports for example the demands of women trade unionists, or initiates an exchange of best practices on gender specific challenges facing the leadership within political parties. On the other hand, the project compiles knowledge for gender-sensitive



consultancy modules in specific policy areas and contributes to the remodeling of policy making processes. Events and activities are organized all across Asia. They are planned collectively by FES offices and then implemented jointly. There are gender experts in all our offices as well as qualified and sensitised program staff. Future alliance partners meet each other at our events. Very often they come from different cultural and political backgrounds, yet they discover synergies and common interests. Through the networking of FES regional cooperation for Gender Equality FES offices as well as close partners can, keep track of how the FES is integrating its gender policy in its work and how it is attempting to promote equal opportunity.

Dialogue Asia-Europe

New issues are constantly being added to the ‘Gender Equality Project Asia’. At the moment these constitute pressing problems: poor women in Asia are the ones most impacted by international crises, be they the harmful consequences of climate change or the effects of the financial crisis. Frequently, solutions can only be found through international cooperation. Consequently, the FES is consistently attempting to draw public attention to the European-Asian fora on gender issues.

According to Wikipedia, the most sought after gifts on Valentine’s Day continue to be flowers. In Asian countries, this custom is becoming increasingly popular.

Uzbekistan

Nothing obvious about it: Cooperation between a women's shelter and the police

'Traveller, if you should come to Bukhara, don't forget to visit 44, Mustakillik Street.' This or a similar slogan will not be found in any city guidebook on this venerable old south Uzbek city that is located on the legendary Silk Road, and is more than 2,500 years old. Anyone in search of this address, striving to obtain more detailed information on the house from men -who often stand clustered together in groups, or who are squatting in the typical Uzbek style, clad in traditional outfits comprising the chapan or coat and the tyubiteika, which covers the head – elicit either an indifferent or clueless shrug as reply.



If the person seeking to locate this house, finally turns to the police (who are known as the Miliz in Uzbekistan) and not to the lower level custodians of law, who are posted everywhere, but to their superior officers, then he will learn in a surly, almost conspiratorial undertone, tinged, however, with pride, what is the significance of 44 Mustakillik: a small and modest Women's Crisis Centre is located in this nondescript three-storeyed residential building. And this is the only one in Uzbekistan.

With a little financial assistance from an American NGO, the psychologist and pedagogue Dr. Salichova took the personal initiative of setting-up this centre for counselling and consultation in 1999. Since then she, together with a colleague and an advocate, has been providing women victims of domestic violence psychological counselling and legal consultation free of cost. However, neither the municipal nor government institutions make any financial contributions towards the survival of the Centre. Consequently, the Centre is totally dependent on regular small donations from the few foreign organizations that have been permitted to maintain a presence in the country.

The inspiration for setting up the Centre came to Dr. Salichova during a visit of Central Asian women's activists to Germany that had been sponsored by the FES. There they were exposed to the cooperation between some women's shelters and the police. And, in fact, it was possible even in Bukhara to emulate this example – with a great deal of diplomacy and tact and persistent persuasion, but without having to resort to a campaign, it was possible for the Women's Crisis Centre and the FES and the Miliz to develop a stable structure of cooperation.

Where in Uzbekistan can the many battered women and women living under threat of assault

turn to? The woman's own family does not offer a way out. They would probably immediately restore their run-away daughter to her wife-beating husband for fear of a stigma attaching to the family honor. Should she turn to the Miliz and file a complaint? She knows that at the police station, in all probability, the policemen will object: they might say that there were justifications for the corporal punishment of women in the Koran and that domestic violence, according to oriental tradition, is considered to be a private matter. She also knows that it is much more difficult for women to obtain a divorce than for men. Hence, it is not rare to find women despairingly resorting to suicide as the only "way out".

Not far from the Women's Crisis Centre, Dr. Salichova, therefore, began in 2006 to establish a so-called shelter, the location of which has to, understandably, remain anonymous. Step by step, by putting in her own resources and occasionally through help in kind from the FES, the shelter has grown from the proverbial roof over one's head to four simple habitable rooms and it is the first such refuge for women. There is no reason to be surprised that the authorities have not extended any financial assistance for this shelter either.

In the official socio-political view, assaults, threats and coercion in Uzbek families are seen as regrettable, but isolated incidents, because domestic violence by men runs counter to the Uzbek tradition of respecting women. So simple, and yet so far removed from reality. The fate of women in this country, where they are very often married off when they are still young, is often already sealed. They have to adjust to the family of the in-laws, beget many children, work and, above all, in accordance with oriental tradition, they have to obey, endure and put up with subjugation.



Since 2006, the FES, together with the team from the Women's Crisis Centre, is able to organize ten to fifteen two-day seminars on law annually for the Miliz officers. No matter how strange it sounds, but policemen, normally for the first time, learn about protective and penal law in the different Uzbek law codices at these seminars. Through experimental games and role play, they are sensitized and trained to react appropriately in case of deployment in conflict or violent situations in families. They learn how to deal with frightened women who have the confidence to file a complaint against the brutality of their husbands. And they learn about international legal norms from German solicitors, who are invited by the FES.

As a Muslim-oriented post-Soviet country with authoritarian and autocratic state and Government structures, law reforms will probably be carried out in the long-term. The transformation of the traditional mind-set of the police is only a small step in this direction, but every path, as is well known, begins with that.

Tanzania

The thorny path of the barefoot women lawyers: raising awareness on women's rights in Tanzania



Although the Tanzanian Government officially supports equal rights for women and men, yet religious and customary traditions are obstacles in the way to advancing women's rights. Especially in rural areas, women's access to education is very poor as compared to men. As a result, it is more difficult for them to oppose miserable working conditions or the daily oppression they are subjected to. Till today, poverty in Tanzania is predominantly a women's issue. In rural areas, where customary law is often practised to the detriment of women, they are heavily discriminated against especially with regard to right to property and right to own land. The Deputy UN Secretary-General, Asha-Rose Migiro, a former minister in Tanzania, therefore, urges, "In order to achieve equal rights we must support women in rural areas in particular."

For the past ten years, the FES has dedicated itself to this work. It supports the work of the so-called barefoot women lawyers (Paralegal Units, PLUs), because one reason for the continuing discrimination against women and for the oppression of women is their ignorance about their legal rights. Making information available in the concerned local languages, raising awareness about the rights and duties of men and women are the first steps on the path to an equitable and just social order. Women working free of charge, offering legal consultancy are trained in family law, property law and political rights. They advise the women individually in their villages. They support those who are too poor to defray the legal expenses even in case of civil disputes before the court.

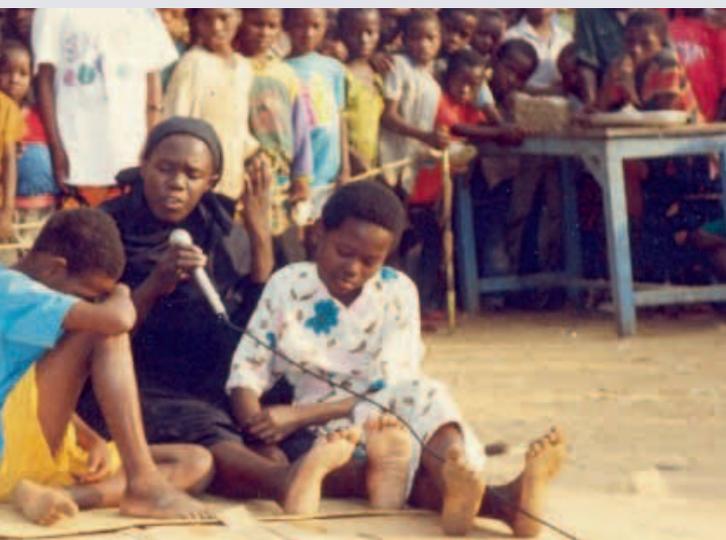
The manual on women's rights to land, the "Kiongozi cha Sheria", the fifth edition of which was brought out by the FES in 2008, forms the basis for the legal training of the barefoot lawyers. Some of the subjects covered are Tanzanian land and property rights, child rights, marriage laws or the divorce law. This information on the new land laws



is particularly important in patriarchal rural communities since women in these communities are traditionally denied their rights to ownership of land.

During the past year the FES was busy promoting the regional networking of paralegal units. Currently, there are 19 consultancy units. At events of the FES, the barefoot lawyers regularly compare notes. The events also offer the barefoot lawyers an opportunity to keep in touch with NGOs.

The increasing number of men who are actively associated with the PLUs is a positive feature. This proves that awareness about gender justice is growing. This has immediate positive consequences. Pregnant school girls will no longer be excluded from class as had been the case earlier and will no longer be disowned by their families. The FES and PLUs have thus succeeded in sensitizing society. Hence, the outcome of the work thus far is that although the barefoot lawyers have to negotiate a difficult and thorny path yet they have made inroads and their exemplary success is an inspiration to all of us.



Southern Africa

Women's rights and gender policy in southern Africa

Since the past few years the FES office in Botswana has been supporting the development of a gender policy within the "Southern African Development Community (SADC)", the regional association of 15 Southern African states. As early as 1997, the SADC member states adopted a Declaration that was at the time non-binding and at the heart of which were women's rights and which highlighted the role of women in regional development. Eight years later the states committed themselves to a Plan of Action, the crux of which was a legally binding SADC Protocol. The FES offices in Botswana and other Southern African countries played an important supportive role in the drafting of this Protocol. The main aim of the Protocol is to drive the harmonization of the various regional and national strategies on gender and equal rights. This Protocol was signed during the last summit of SADC member states in 2008.

Several measures, discussions and expert inputs by the FES preceded this. The outcome is a substantive contribution towards the development of democracy. Due to the timely efforts at cooperation with government authorities and civil society organizations, there was a lot of support for the Protocol draft. The FES has contributed towards developing a legal instrument which could be path-breaking for other organizations also. The Protocol is very progressive and is enforceable. With this, war has been declared on the suppression of women in many sacrosanct areas. With this instrument the right to equality between women and men can be taken a decisive step forward.

Turkey:**Women and conflict prevention**

Through its activities, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung supports Turkey's friendly relations with its neighbors. In 2008, an international training seminar was organized at the Bosphorus University. Women from Turkey, from Greece, and from North and South Cyprus met at the seminar. The seminar was organized by the FES in collaboration with the peace initiative of Greek and Turkish women, "WINPEACE", and the recently established Centre for Peace Research and Peace Education. For a week there was brain-storming on conflict prevention and peace education that would be incorporated into the teaching job of women at school and in the work of NGOs.

Despite the historically strained relations between Turkey and Greece, there has been rapprochement between the two countries in recent times. In order to stabilize this fragile relationship further, it is necessary to initiate measures at various social levels. The exchange of civil society multipliers during this training seminar is, therefore, very significant. Open, receptive people, a lot of energy and goodwill are the essential ingredients for breaking down mutual prejudices. Very often women make important contributions to social processes of reconciliation. Personal friendships developed during the time spent together and this ensured an open discussion and frank talks, even on the delicate issue of Turkish-Greek-Cypriot relations.

Women and the discrimination against them in Turkish media

Gender justice and the representation of women in the media are very closely linked to each other. Last year 23 Turkish women's initiatives came together to enlighten and sensitize the public and the press. Under the slogan "We are watching you! Stop the discrimination of women in the media!" they started a campaign to overcome stereotypical images. For many months there were advertisements in newspapers, and two short films were

broadcast on T.V. and shown in cinema halls to highlight this problem. Participants at an international conference on this subject included media representatives, women's initiatives and academics, as well as Turkish mainstream media, who also share the responsibility for the kind of reporting that veers on sensationalism and that is not very gender sensitive.



Women's life-situations in the vicinity of the Mediterranean

At an event of the Rome office of the FES, the life situation of young women in nine Mediterranean states was the subject of critical discussion. The speakers gave an account of the social conflicts in Algeria and Morocco, in Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey. Very often the repression at home resulted in emigration, particularly to European countries. An Algerian woman journalist narrated how Islamist terror in her country especially impacted on young women. The aim is always to intimidate in order to drastically restrict their civil rights and liberties and their freedom of movement. A Moroccan woman described the domestic violence against women and called for defending the victims rather than sparing the perpetrators. There was a positive example from Egypt: largely unnoticed by the public outside their own country wherein women textile workers played a leading role in the protests against the privatization policy of the government.



Radical feminism or gender equity

What constitutes a modern women's policy was the subject of heated debate in Israel. The FES office is consistently seeking to enlist the support of NGOs and academics for gender mainstreaming. At a training course for executive managerial personnel, organized in collaboration with the women's organization Na'amat, the situation in Germany as compared with Israel was discussed in a delightfully open manner. The discussions with the partner organization "Women's Parliament" are much more impassioned. There, the majority opinion was, that the only way to tackle the conservative and discriminatory attitude of Israeli so-

ciety towards women would be through radical feminism as in the 1970s. However, only a minority in Israel can relate to this uncompromising position.

All issues touching upon the security of the country are extremely sensitive. In public discourse, these are traditionally viewed as belonging to the "male domain". An attempt to change this attitude was the presentation and discussion of a publication, "Women, Media and Conflict: A Gender View of the Lebanon War Media Coverage".



Bosnia-Herzegovina

Communication (em)powers gender

A glance at the public institutions, ministries, local councils and mayors' offices is very revealing: over 80 per cent of all positions are filled by men. Moreover, many women accept the discriminatory roles allocated to them and condone the view that political leadership is essentially a male domain.

Men, in turn, have a low opinion of women's achievements, deny them major leadership responsibilities, and do not want to share political power and economic benefits with women. Discrimination is particularly conspicuous in politics. During the last local elections, women were deliberately given the seats at the bottom of the list, which had no prospects of being won. The result was that the proportion of women representatives touched an all-time low. Added to the general macho behaviour, is the extremely discriminatory and pejorative and degrading language used by men, which is further reinforced by the matching body language. Even women, who despite all odds are in public positions, have to put up with degradation and discrimination on a daily basis. Equal access to media is deliberately denied them.

This formed the starting point of FES activities. The public demeanor of women politicians was sought to be improved through training at several workshops. Representative surveys, T.V. recordings and newspaper articles were analyzed. This was to prepare women for certain typical behavior patterns on the part of the male competition. They were also trained to be media savvy. In addition, the non-verbal part of communication, that is, gestures, facial expressions, posture and choice of clothes were also discussed. Women practiced public speaking and learnt to demand for themselves the right to have a say. So far they had been sidelined into the so-called soft subjects, such as, family, health care, culture, and social welfare services while men claim the finance and economic portfolios for themselves.



Slovakia

Forum for Roma Women

Even 20 years after change swept through the country and five years after Slovakia's accession to the EU, the social, political and socio-economic condition of the Roma in Slovakia continues to be a problem, requiring a solution. The approximately 400,000 Slovakian Roma live on the margins of society. They suffer from high unemployment and are social outcasts. Since the Roma are patriarchal in outlook, the women are doubly discriminated against: first, as members of an ethnic minority and second, within that minority. The Bratislava office of the FES has, since many years, been critically engaging with the Roma issue and has been working with several Roma women activists. When the women decided, two years ago, to establish a "Forum for Roma Women", the FES extended its support and since then has been providing help in a variety of ways.

The forum offers consultancy on social and educational issues and tries to keep communication going with the majority population. Since the FES can offer only limited assistance for many small projects, it decided to develop a network: selected



women activists are trained and international networking is fostered. The women are trained in two areas in particular: their organizational skills are honed and they are informed about their rights. Typical problems are first analyzed in collaboration with experienced Slovak women activists and then, at a second level, certain attitudes and behaviour patterns inculcated as a solution to those problems. Information and experience were exchanged at a conference with Czech Roma women activists. This collaboration will be continued in 2009 also.

Albania

Gender activities in Albania

Formally, the women in Albania enjoy equality. The reality, however, is different: only seven per cent of the members of Parliament are women. At the level of the political party there are indeed quotas for women (for the social democratic women the quota is 25-30 per cent), but these are not adhered to. Currently, there are about 90 women's NGOs. Their focus is on the participation of women in politics and the economy and on the reconciliation of family and job. These NGOs are independent of parties and wield very little political influence.

Despite these difficult circumstances, women could qualify for important positions due to the project activities of the FES. The thrust areas are: the ana-

lysis of women's rights and the analysis of the causes for the low representation of women in public life, the preparation of new plans of action in order to enhance women's agency, greater involvement of women in political campaigns. There is wide interest in all of these activities undertaken by the FES. Many groups were sensitized to women's emancipation and in the course of sensitization they became aware that even in a male dominated society, it is possible to raise women's awareness about their rights. These activities bolster women's courage to become politically active. The FES helps women who are already active in politics to crystallize their positions and to achieve these in reality. This work will be continued in the coming years also.





International Work

The guiding principles underlying the international work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung are promoting democracy and development all over the world, contributing towards peace and security, structuring globalization with a social face in collaboration with others and supporting the enlargement and deepening of the European Union. With projects in more than 100 countries, the Stiftung is actively involved in developing and reinforcing civil society and government structures that promote democracy and social justice, strong and free trade unions and human rights. Gender equality is also a constituent element of democracy and social justice and is therefore integral to the task of promoting democracy, to which the Stiftung makes a constructive contribution through political education, development related public relations work, and political consulting. It organizes seminars, conferences and publishes studies on contemporary and potentially important issues.

A dialogue between various social actors, between different cultures and social systems, between North and South, between the EU member states and the candidate countries and international institutions, is indispensable for stabilizing fragile social and government structures on the one hand and for resolving overarching regional and global

problems on the other. The principle underlying the activities of the departments of International Development Cooperation (IEZ) and of International Dialogue (ID) is to ensure the equal participation of women and men in the planning and development of democratic and equitable structures.

In most project countries, discrimination against women persists in all social sectors. A consequence of this is that there is a wide discrepancy in terms of access to power, money, time and work between women and men. Thus women, for example, work longer hours but earn and own much less than men. Women are virtually excluded from political and economic policy making. Top positions in these areas are occupied almost exclusively by men.

In many cases the social construction of the roles of men and women in society, which is the definition of the English term gender, prevent women from participating in political and public life. Sustainable development, however, requires the knowledge, insight and experience of women and men equally. For the long term success of policies, it is equally necessary that the interests and needs of women and men be taken into account. For this reason the FES staunchly supports women in politics and on their path to management positions in organizations and associations. Gender mainstreaming, a method by which the gender dimension is integrated at every level of the management of the project and the results evaluated, supplements the specific affirmative support to women.

In the context of the international work undertaken by the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, gender mainstreaming implies:

- identifying the different needs and interests of women and men,
- analysing the gender specific implications of a policy, e.g., economic, social or security policy,



The new international house of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Berlin.

- putting mechanisms in place to ensure equity, and
- promoting participation of women in institutions, particularly in management positions.

International Development Cooperation – IEZ

In projects of the department for International Development Cooperation, there are two aspects to gender mainstreaming: one, achieving equal opportunity for women and men as a political goal; and two, as a methodological approach differentiating target groups in project management according to sex and integrating the different gender specific needs and interests in the project. The department has appointed its own gender team to oversee the process after integrating the gender dimension in the project. The gender team is responsible for monitoring, for the conceptual evolution and for providing consultancy to colleagues working on projects all over the world. This structure is supplemented by persons responsible for gender issues in many country offices.

In recent years, many questions relating to quality management in general have emerged from deliberations on integrating gender. At present, these are being discussed and compiled at different levels within the department. Discussions on the quality of the work performed, the evaluation of the output and the management of knowledge with regard to different subjects and methods play an important role.

International Dialogue – ID

Despite national differences, women in most industrialized countries are basically facing similar problems: very few women occupy top positions in the field of politics or the economy, there is a gendered division of the labor market, including the gender pay gap, there is insufficient support available to reconcile job and family and finally, on the whole, their social and economic situation is worse



The FES Human Rights Prize winner 2008:
The journalist Ms. Zhanna Litvina, who engages herself for media freedom and diversity of opinion in Belarus.

than that of men. In the department of International Dialogue, women's advancement and gender mainstreaming are the core themes in the bilateral dialogue with leaders from the socio-political sphere in the Stiftung's Central and East European offices. The form and content of the projects varies according to the situation and framework conditions in the concerned partner country. In many countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the gender mainstreaming approach, for example, is hardly applied. With our partners in the host country and with the support of experts from Germany, we help to discuss and create awareness about the concept. In addition, the FES enables qualified personnel to undertake a study tour to Brussels to acquire in-depth knowledge about the EU gender equality policy and familiarize themselves with the debate on this issue at the European level. The FES also uses its network of offices to generate a discussion on women's issues at the regional level and to promote the networking of relevant stakeholders and facilitate a cross-country learning process.

Political Education



Political education is a key area of the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. It is the common thread running through all areas of activity. The objective is to intervene in and structure the socio-political debates in Germany, with a view to enabling people to effectively participate in political processes and in ushering in social change.

Gender relevant issues are taken up at seminars, public dialogue events, learning projects, competence training, talks by experts, and in policy papers and studies. In part, however, “gender” continues to be equated with affirmative action for women, although it actually refers to the equal co-existence of men and women in all spheres of life. In an organization, such as, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, in particular, the process of gender mainstreaming must be gradually augmented and enforced. It must be perceived as a cross-sectoral task that has to be integrated in all spheres of life and in all areas of work and it has to be taken seriously. In the coming years, this will be an important goal of political educational activities.

The promotion of social and political commitment and the consolidation of a polity rooted in the fundamental values of social democracy forms the core of the diverse activities of the country offices of all three departments responsible for political education.

Dialogue East Germany

Gender and women’s policy is institutionalised as a line of work in its own right in the “Forum for Politics and Society”. Across the country, the section supports discussions and decision-making processes on gender and women’s policy by holding public conferences, background talks and bringing out publications. In 2008, three important anniversaries influenced the work of the department: in 1918, the active and passive electoral rights were passed. 1968 is remembered as the culmination of the second wave of the women’s movement. In 1988, the SPD Party Convention adopted the resolution on quotas. One of the highlights was the International Women’s Day: the role of women in National Socialism and the new far-right scene were discussed.

Department for Socio-political Information

The regional focus of the department’s work is on North Rhine Westphalia, Hesse, Rhineland-Palatinate and Lower Saxony. Symposiums on gender issues are organized on a regular basis. Of special importance was the event organized on the occasion of International Women’s Day in Bonn on “Women and their Contribution to Peace” and the POLITEIA-Exhibition “Women, who make (and made) History”

Academy of Political Education

“Justice, Participation and Social Cohesion” from the gender perspective specifically form the guiding principles of the work of this department. The potential for social innovation in education and family policy and gender and cross-generational relationships is being intensely discussed and further refined. Thus, for a second time, a conference on “Women in Islam” was organized. This was an international meeting of Muslim women involved in lobbying and in self-help groups. The series “Women Executives in Conversation” was continued. The KommunalAkademie supports women in their political engagement through special programmes.

Research

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung promotes academic research through its own research projects as well as through supporting the research of third parties. Research at FES is conducted primarily by the Centre for Historical Research and the department of Economic and Social Policy. The work of young researchers and politicians is supported by the FES scholarship programme. All three departments contribute to the advancement of women and research into women's issues or provide consultancy for gender mainstreaming processes.

Department of Economic and Social Policy

In the department of Economic and Social Policy, the focus of gender and women's policy (Director: Dr Barbara Stiegler) is on the interface between research and policy: research findings from the studies on women's and gender issues inform the arguments, concepts and solutions evolved. Solutions to current problems are presented in short papers, in support of the (women) advocates of gender equality and also to shape the gender policy discourse. Political consultancy is offered through lectures, workshops and panel discussions, book reviews as well as through FES contributions in media in Germany and abroad. The important issues in 2008 were the critical analysis of the child care benefit that had the support of the conservatives and the development of profit-motivated child care centres. In a policy paper, reasons against the continuation of the separate taxation of married couples were listed.

In 2008, "care work" was the focus of the inter-departmental FES project "Future 2020". A detailed description of the issue is contained in a study by Dr. Gertrud M. Backes, Director of the Centre for Aging and Society of the University of Vechta. This analysis was submitted to the Federal Minister for Health, Ulla Schmidt. The consequences of this study were developed at a workshop with experts and were then presented and discussed at a public event in Berlin.



Scholarship programme

The FES scholarship programme awards grants to especially talented young people who are also involved in socio-political activities. In 2008, more than 2,400 German and foreign students were given grants. A new programme was initiated in the form of the "scholarship on probation" for first semester students. The goal is to encourage especially young people from low-income families and migrants to take up studies. Approximately 300 students were sponsored through this programme. The percentage of women in this programme was over 55 per cent and that of migrants about 19 per cent. Sixty per cent constitute the so-called (women) educational climbers. The department for scholarships offers its scholars comprehensive support throughout their course of studies. This includes the personal support of FES staff, over 440 tutors in universities, the active university group work of FES scholars and mentors across the country. The internal online platform of the scholarship programme also facilitates networking between current scholarship holders and alumni. They interact during exchange programmes for students doing a practical year, as they do at the numerous

reunions organised by the department throughout Germany. Of particular help for FES scholars is a parallel seminar programme on important socio-political themes that challenges the students in terms of their subjects while also fostering their social and political involvement.

The Centre for Historical Research

The FES Centre for Historical Research comprises the Department of Social and Contemporary History, the Karl Marx House in Trier and the library and the Archives of Social Democracy (AdsD). It is here that FES preserves, maintains, presents and analyses the historical legacy of the entire social-democratic movement (SPD, trade unions, workers cultural movement). The Centre for Historical Research informs and enlightens an interested public

through numerous publications, exhibitions, specialist lectures, symposiums and seminars, for example, on women who paved the way for social democracy or the introduction of voting rights. In many diverse ways gender aspects form an integral part of the work of the Centre. Here Gisela Notz's brochure, "Her mit dem Frauenwahlrecht" ("Hand over the Women's Vote"), needs to be mentioned. The Karl Marx House in Trier draws attention to the role of women in the life of Karl Marx through various events organized by them.

The Archives of Social Democracy (AdsD) houses approximately 45 kilometers of files. Apart from this, there is also a collection of photographs, posters, leaflets, films and audio-material. There is abundant material available on politically active women in the past and present and on women's history. For detailed information see page 77ff.

With over 800,000 volumes, **the library of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung**, is considered the largest specialist library on the history of the workers' movement in Germany and the world. A large specialist collection on the proletarian women's movement is also available for purposes of research into women's as well as gender issues, in addition to diverse literature of and about the middle-class women's movement, as well as all the publications of parties and trade unions in Germany and Europe on the politics of family, women and gender. The catalogue can be accessed online at <http://library.fes.de>. New FES publications are available in full text from the digital library <http://library.fes.de/fr-digbib.html>.



Women's and Gender Policy in the Archives of Social Democracy

The Archives of Social Democracy houses approximately 45,000 meters of files. Here, one can find many answers to questions on women's history and on the political work of women, including in terms of the gender dimension. The source for this is mainly the 180 unpublished documents and papers of politically active women. The collection covers documents from the end of the 19th century up to the present day. These documents range from the very few unpublished papers of the social democratic Reichstag members (Clara Bohm-Schuch, Marie Juchacz) to the records of former or still active women parliamentarians (e.g. Käthe Strobel, Annemarie Renger, Iris Gleicke). Members of the European Parliament are as visible as women who held or currently hold government offices

(Heide Simonis, Katharina Focke, Edelgard Buhlman, Herta Däublin-Gmelin, Heidemarie Wiczorek-Zeul). Records of the members of the SPD party executive committee (Andrea Nahles) or of members of major trade union committees (Ilse Brusis) are also available here, as also those of well-known representatives of the Working Group on social democratic women. The documents of women journalists (Carola Stern), of women in the Resistance (Erna Blencke, Nora Platiel) or of women activists in the peace movement, such as, Christel Beilmann, also make for interesting reading.

Further documents on gender issues and on the political work of women are available in the records of the SPD party executive committee, for example, in the collection of the "women's offices" that has more than 1,200 titles. Especially interesting for research on women's and gender policy are the documents of the SPD parliamentary party group. These protocols and other materials are a repository of virtually all women related issues of the past decades, ranging from the debates on Paragraph 218 to the measures on improved reconciliation of family and job.

Additional sources on specific issues, such as, on the condition of women at work and on the commitment of women workers and employees to trade unions can be accessed in the trade union collection. Apart from the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) Archive, there are also the documents of formerly individual trade unions, for example, of the German Salaried Employees Union, of the Union of Retailing, Banking and Insurance, of the Union of Food, Beverages and Catering or of the Union of Textiles and Garments.



The collection FEM Archives has materials on the regional and national women's movement. The various collections comprising the Archives of Social Democracy are also of interest from a gender perspective. There is the newspaper cuttings collection, the "Collection Personalia" with biographical details of well-known and lesser known public figures, the pamphlet and poster collection with materials from the 19th century up to the present day. The film, audio and video archive includes rare historical documents on women's history. The photo archive of the AdsD comprises approximately two million pictures and negatives, about 20 per cent of which are of women, and depict women's work and the stories of their daily lives. The archive is therefore truly a treasure trove for (and not only of) a history of gender issues.



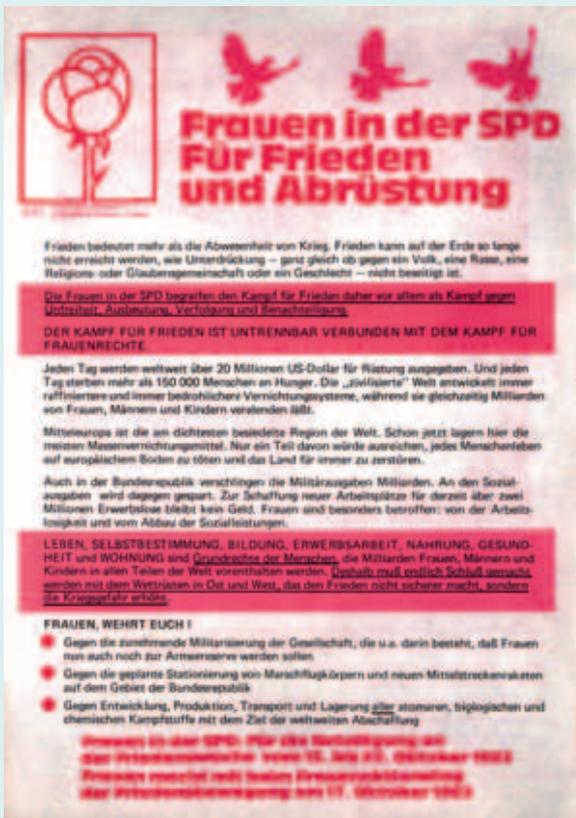
Women of the Workers' Welfare Association

The "Workers' Welfare Association (AWO) within the SPD", founded by Marie Juchacz in 1919, was headed and moulded by many social democratic women. In 2004, the AWO handed over its collection to the library and the Archives of Social Democracy. In 2008, the library created its internet presence "Arbeiterwohlfahrt" ("Workers' Welfare Association"): <http://library.fes.de/awo/awo-start.html>. Here, it is possible not only to access and research the AWO library, but also the journal "Arbeiterwohlfahrt" (Jahrgänge 1926–1933) ["Workers' Welfare Association" (issues from 1926 to 1933)] in digitalized form. In addition, the "FES Network Source" located there, provides an overview of the history of the Association together with 180 of the most important documents.

The records of the AWO Federal Executive and the state Association of North Rhine-Westphalia, dating back to 1945 are available in the Archives of Social Democracy and are readily accessible for academic research.

Some examples from the new collections

In 2008 also, the Archives of Social Democracy received important new collections of politically active women. Of particular interest is the collection of the unpublished material of Clara Bohm-Schuch (1879-1936). She was a member of the Reichstag from 1920 until 1933. Given the meager quantity of inherited unpublished documents from the period of the Weimar Republic, the acquisition of this small but substantive collection is a welcome addition. Important aspects of local developments after 1945 are highlighted in the collection of Beate Weber (Member of the European Parliament and subsequently the Mayor of Heidelberg) from 1973-2006. The new collection of the former Chief Minister of the state of Schleswig-Holstein, Heidi Simonis, and of the Deputy Chief Minister, Uta Erdsiek-Rave, contain important documents on the struggle for women's equality since the 1970s. The documents of Renate Schmidt,



the former Federal Minister for Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth, provide very important insights into the period of the Red-Green Coalition Government.

The unpublished documents collection of the late Annemarie Renger, former Bundestag Speaker, who died in 2008, has been expanded to include correspondence from the period when she worked in the office of the SPD Chairman, Kurt Schumacher. Currently, this covers 165 meters of shelf space of archival records and, since 1994, it is being transferred piecemeal to the FES's Archives of Social democracy (AdsD). The collection documents her entire political work in terms of content and time period. The collection includes the letters from her time as party secretary with Kurt Schumacher. The collection also holds material from her term in office in the German Parliament and documents the multifarious political and honorary activities she undertook till the time of her death in 2008.

How can I find information?

Access to the archival records from a gender and women's perspective is facilitated by a series of finding aids, such as the publication by Sabine Boltzendahl and Ilse Fischer, *Gender- und Frauengeschichte im Historischen Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Bestände im Archiv der sozialen Demokratie und der Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2. erw. und überarb. Auflage, Bonn 2003* (Gender and Women's History in the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung's Centre for Historical Research. Records in the Archives of Social Democracy and the Library of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2nd revised edition, Bonn 2003).

www.fes.de/archiv: Research tools and finding aids in the archive (a longer version of this piece can be found there).

In case specific information on gender and women's history is required, the staff of the archive can provide necessary assistance, advice and information: auskunft@fes.de.



Young Researchers

Promotionsprojekte der FES-StipendiatInnen

The FES is one of the eleven large organizations responsible for promoting young talent. These organizations are sponsoring the doctoral projects of young talented researchers through the funding provided by the German Foreign Office and by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Research on gender and women's issues is still a desideratum in various academic disciplines. This is corroborated by the diverse doctoral projects that the FES funded in 2008. We will present some of those projects in greater detail here.



Former fellowship awardee Dr. Martin Lücke today teaches at the Friedrich Meinecke Institute at the Free University, Berlin as a research associate

Recommended Reading:

Dr. Martin Lücke:

Männlichkeit in Unordnung. Homosexualität und männliche Prostitution in Kaiserreich und Weimarer Republik

(Reihe «Geschichte und Geschlechter» Bd. 58), Frankfurt (Main): Campus 2008

Masculinity in Disarray. Homosexuality and Male Prostitution in Imperial Germany and during the Weimar Republic.

(Series: "History and Gender" Vol. 58), Frankfurt (Main): Campus 2008

Shady Business

In October 2008, the dissertation of Dr. Martin Lücke was awarded the prestigious Hedwig-Hintze Prize of the Association of Historians of Germany. It had an unusual title: "A Shady Business: Male Prostitution in Germany in Imperial Germany and during the Weimar Republic". The work of the former FES research scholar was thought to be exceptionally original and ambitious even during the period of his fellowship. The jury lauded his work as being exemplary in its handling of source material and for the methodology applied. The research was conducted at three levels: (i) the sexuality discourse of the time period, (ii) the official approach or practice of the state, and (iii) the "doing gender", which in this case was also an analysis of the variations in interaction in the homosexual scene. At the outset the work may appear to be a marginal or niche subject, but the contrary is true: a new engagement with masculinities and concepts of sexual identity is an important contribution to gender history. It throws light on social constructions in their historical contexts which were shaped by sexual male power and dominance and its ambivalent modes of operation.

Between the Cult of Mothers and Heroes

The research scholar, Martina Bitunjac, is currently pursuing a very different research project. Since July 2007, she has been researching the theme of "Between the Cult of Mothers and Heroes: Images of Women in Independent Croatia". In her work, Martina Bitunjac establishes how two very different perceptions of the feminine ideal have evolved from within a traditional Catholic patriarchy – and what political and military objectives were linked to these ideals. Whereas, the ideology of the Ustascha highlighted the role of the woman as a mother, who would bear and raise as many soldiers as possible, the Communist National Liberation

Movement had a more modern role model for women. The equal participation of women in the struggle was viewed as the appropriate role. It was clear that consciousness raising work among the largely uninformed and illiterate women would have to be undertaken by politically educated women comrades, for example, through word-of-mouth propaganda. In addition, to achieve this goal, leaflets would have to, for example, be written by women for women, printed and distributed – these have been traced and collected by Martina Bitunjac, who is now studying them. She is also interviewing women of the Ustascha movement and women from the National Liberation Movement and is analyzing laws and ordinances of that period. The work is being supervised by professors in Berlin, Zagreb and Rome, where the fascist Ustascha movement was founded.

Gender(doing) in the Child Day Care Centre?

Currently, Lena Irmeler has a FES scholarship to pursue her doctoral research in the discipline of pedagogy. Her topic “Gender(doing) in the Child Day Care Centre?” is preying on the minds of the parents of small children in particular. Almost 97 per cent of the child care workers are women. The assumption is that for children in their formative years, where they are developing their own gender roles, the “overwhelming presence of women” could be problematic. One reason for this being that child care workers – as also those raising the child, i.e. mother and father – tend to unconsciously develop and reinforce unreflected gender stereotypes. In her work Lena Irmeler is researching non-verbal communication and interaction between the child care workers and with child raisers (parents) by means of video footage. She hopes that her research findings will contribute to the new conceptualisation of training and study pro-

grammes for what is now termed Early Childhood Education or something similar. She hopes that her research will promote the training of awareness, which is why the study envisages, in particular, the education and further training of those who are already employed in the field of child care.



At the meeting of the FES sponsored doctoral students, Martina Bitunjac presents her doctoral project.

A selection of FES-funded doctoral projects on women's and gender policy 2008

North American Studies and Literature

Leila Rahimi Bahmany: *The Image of the Modern Woman by Sylvia Plath and Frugh Farrokhzad. A Comparative Study*

Non-European Languages and Culture Studies

Hanane El Boussadani: *Frauenbewegung und Eherecht im Königreich Marokko. Eine Studie über die Entwicklung des Frauenrechts seit der Unabhängigkeit*
 Amporn Marddent: *Gender Piety of Muslim Women in Thailand*

Education, Pedagogy

Lena Irmeler: *Gender(doing) in der Kita? Wie sehen Interaktionen zwischen Erzieherinnen und Jungen und Mädchen in Kindertagesstätten aus?*

German Studies and Literature

Magdalena Gebala: *Das Mutterbild in Hermann Hesses Prosawerk zwischen 1900 und 1930*
 Juliane Sucker: *„Und Birken gibt es auch nicht hier“. Politisch-publizistisches Engagement im Exil – Die Journalistin, Schriftstellerin und langjährige Sekretärin des P.E.N.-Zentrums Gabriele Tergit*

History

Martina Bitunjac: *Zwischen Mutter- und Heldenkult. Frauenbilder im unabhängigen Staat Kroatien*
 Yvonne Pulla: *Käthe Kollwitz – eine Biographie*

Media

Sigrid Kannengießer: *Globalisierung – Medien – Geschlecht. Die Auswirkungen kultureller Globalisierungsprozesse auf mediale Geschlechterkonstrukte und gesellschaftliche Geschlechterhierarchien*
 Natalia Romanova: *Das Frauenbild in den Medien der 80er Jahre. Einfl uss der sowjetischen Berichterstattung auf die Frauenpolitik der DDR*

Art history

Andrea Stahl: *Surrealistische Inszenierungen des Körpers bei Claude Cahun. Parallelübersetzung ihrer Texte ins Deutsche*

Political Science

Annette Huland: *Frauenhandel und Abschiebungspolitik in der EU*

Law

Hanna Kappstein: Das Verfahren in Scheidungssachen in Deutschland, Frankreich und Österreich
Ning Ni: Ersatz für den immateriellen Schaden nach dem Allgemeine Gleichbehandlungsgesetz.

Romance Languages and Literature

Artur Budnik: Die Wende in der lateinamerikanischen Aids-Literatur der 90er Jahre.

Sociology, Social Sciences

Alexandra Geisler: Gehandelte Romafrauen – zur Bedeutung des Menschenhandels zum Zweck der sexuellen Ausbeutung mit Frauen der ethnischen Romaminderheiten in Mittel- und Osteuropa.

Ruth Hasberg: Determinanten der Perzeption von Einkommensungleichheit in Deutschland.

Matilde Heredia: Subjektkonstituierung von Frauen, die während der argentinischen Militärdiktatur (1976–1983) in Gefangenschaft gelebt haben.

Elena Stirbu: The advantages and disadvantages of circular labour migration from a gendered perspective. The case of Moldova.

Peggy Szymenderski: Emotionale Verbindungen und Begrenzungen im Alltag: Wechselwirkungen im Spannungsfeld von Familie und Erwerbsarbeit am Beispiel von Polizistinnen und Polizisten.

Theology

Adrian Tavaszi: Die weibliche Gottesidee des Devimahatmya

Political Economy

Eva Berger: Der Zusammenhang zwischen der Erwerbstätigkeit von Müttern, der mütterlichen Gesundheit und der Entwicklung von Kindern – Analyse auf der Basis repräsentativer Microdaten

Angela Greulich: Gleichheit durch Wachstum? Frauenspezifische Aspekte makroökonomischen Wachstums: ökonomische Theorie und empirische Befunde im Ländervergleich

A selection of FES publications on women's and gender policy 2008

A selection of FES publications on women's and gender policy 2008

- Bedingungsloses Grundeinkommen aus einer geschlechterpolitischen Perspektive/Irene Pimminger. Bonn: Abt. Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. (WISO direkt)
- Business gegen häusliche Gewalt: Zusammenfassung der Tagung vom 23. November 2007 / [Text: Nicola Schuldt-Baumgart].: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Politik und Gesellschaft, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-912-7
- Es geht ums Ganze, Constanze!: 20. Oktober 2007, Bonn: Dokumentation/[Autorinnen: Gabriele Bischoff; Christine Weinböner]. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Abt. Gesellschaftspolitische Information, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-974-5
- Frauen – Männer – Gender: Frauenpolitik & Genderpolitik in der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2007/2008. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-874-8
- Frauen, Technik, Management: weibliche Führungskräfte in der High-Tech-Branche/[Text: Nicola Schuldt-Baumgart]. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Politik und Gesellschaft [u.a.], 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-870-0
- Frauenpolitik & Genderpolitik in der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung: Jahresbericht. Bonn, [2008 und früher]
- Gender budgeting in the civil society/Christine Färber. Jakarta: FES, [2008].
- Gender in der Pflege: Herausforderungen für die Politik ; Expertise im Auftrag der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung/Gertrud M. Backes; Ludwig Amrhein; Martina Wolfinger. Bonn: Abt. Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-942-4
- „Her mit dem allgemeinen, gleichen Wahlrecht für Mann und Frau!“. Die internationale sozialistische Frauenbewegung zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts und der Kampf um das Frauenwahlrecht/Gisela Notz. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Historisches Forschungszentrum, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-981-3
- Das Kind am Markt / Barbara Stiegler. Bonn: Abt. Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-899-1
- Klimawandel, Klimaschutz und Gender/Hrsg.: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Internationale Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, Referat Entwicklungspolitik. Ulrike Röhr; Santosh Vas; Astrid Klug. Webfassung. Bonn, 2008.
- Der Koran neu gelesen: feministische Interpretationen; Dokumentation/Asma Barlas; Nahide Bozkurt; Rabeya Müller. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Politische Akad., Interkultureller Dialog, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-908-0
- O feminismo é uma prática: refl exões com mulheres jovens do PT/org: Fernanda Papa São Paulo: Fundação Friedrich Ebert, 2008. ISBN 978-85-99138-04-5
- Das Phänomen Sarah Palin: das Ende des Feminismus oder Frauen an die Macht!/? / Almut Wieland-Karimi. Washington, DC: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008.
- Políticas para as mulheres em Fortaleza: desafi os para a igualdade / [Maria Elaene Rodrigues Alves ... (Orgs.). Fortaleza: Coord. Especial de Políticas Públicas para as Mulheres [u.a.], 2008. ISBN 978-85-99138-07-6

- Proceedings of the Third Fudan-Forum on Gender and Development/ed. by Letian Zhang ... Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Shanghai: Shanghai Acad. of Social Sciences Press, 2008. ISBN 978-7-80745-388-8
- Study on gender mainstreaming in the specific policy contexts of China: political participation, legal status and social security/Yifei Shen. Shanghai: Shanghai Acad. of Social Sciences Press, 2008. ISBN 978-7-80745-388-8
- Unternehmen Vereinbarkeit: Perspektiven familienfreundlicher Unternehmenspolitik/[Text: Nina Besing]. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Forum Politik und Gesellschaft, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-876-2
- Women & politics: from the perspective of islamic movements in Jordan / Hasan Abu Hanieh. Amman Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. ISBN 978-9957-484-08-8
- Women and social development/Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Shanghai: Shanghai Acad. of Social Sciences Press
1. Fudan-Forum on Gender and Development 3, 2007, Shanghai: Proceedings of the Third Fudan-Forum on Gender and Development.
 2. Shen, Yifei: Study on gender mainstreaming in the specific policy contexts of China. 2008.
- Women in Islam between oppression and (self-)empowerment = Frauen im Islam zwischen Unterdrückung und Selbstbestimmung = Les femmes dans l'islam entre oppression et émancipation/[Text: Jeanette Spellen. Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Politische Akademie, Berliner Akademiegespräche/Interkultureller Dialog, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-907-3
- Women in Zarqa governorate: why should they be involved/Bushra Center for Women Studies and Research. Zarqa: Rozana Printing Press, 2008. Electronic ed.: Amman; Bonn: FES, 2009
- Women – men – gender: gender and women's policy in the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung 2007/2008. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2008. ISBN 978-3-89892-874-8

All publications may be accessed as Download in the Digital Library of the FES.
<http://library.fes.de/library/fr-digbib.html>

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