WOMAN UP!
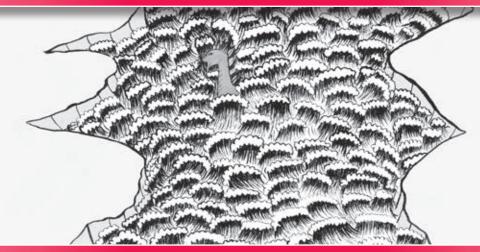
2

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

Edited by

Maari Põim *FEPS Junior Policy Advisor*
Judit Tánczos *FEPS Policy Advisor*

Jean Jaurès
F o n d a t i o n

WOMAN UP! 2

● A transatlantic gender dialogue ●

WOMAN UP! 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONTRIBUTORS

CONTRIBUTORS

ZITA GURMAÏ

Zita Gurmai is the President of PES Women and a Vice-President of FEPS. She has been active in Hungarian and international women's movements since the early 1990s. She became the President of the women's section of the Hungarian Socialist Party in 2001, and as one of her main initiatives she launched the "Women for Change" movement, often referred to as the "yellow scarf movement", which was successful in advocating the introduction of gender quotas in the Hungarian Socialist Party. She was elected Member of Parliament in Hungary in 2002, then Member of the European Parliament in 2004. She was elected as President of PES Women in the same year. She is also active in the Central and Eastern European Network for Gender Issues and the Global Progressive Forum. She became FEPS Vice-President in 2010.

PIA LOCATELLI

Pia Locatelli has degrees in foreign languages and literature and in economics. She served as local councillor in Bergamo between 1980 and 1995. From 1992 to 1997, Pia was member of the Boards of Directors of the University of Bergamo. She became vice-president of the Socialist International Women in 1992, a position which she held until 1999. From 1997 to 2003, she was member of the Italian National Commission for Equal Opportunities between women and men, established at the Prime Minister's Office. She then served as member of the European Parliament from 2004 to 2009. She was president of Socialist International Women for two terms between 2003 and 2012. Her current responsibilities include: member of the National Council of the Partito Socialista Italiano (PSI); president of the "Fondazione A.J.Zaninoni", member of the scientific committee of the Fondazione Nilde Iotti and of the Scientific Council of FEPS.

ERNST **STETTER**

Ernst Stetter is the Secretary General of the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS). He is also a regular commentator on EU affairs in the media. In 1976 Ernst Stetter began his professional career as a lecturer in economics at the DGB Trade Union Centre for Vocational Training in Heidelberg. From 1980 to 2008 he worked for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES) in various positions. He spent the first four years at the FES as a Consultant in Dakar, Senegal. In 1988, Ernst Stetter was appointed as Head of the Africa Department. In 1994 he started working as Head of the Central Europe Unit. In 1997 he moved to Paris and became the Director of the FES Office in France while in 2003 he was appointed as Director of the EU-Office of Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) in Brussels. Ernst Stetter is an economist and political scientist. He studied in Tübingen and Heidelberg (Germany) focusing on international trade, finance, economic and social policy as well as development issues. In 1980 he obtained his PhD in political science for his dissertation entitled The Association of ACP-Countries (Lomé I and II) to the European Community and the STABEX-System. In 2003 he received the French decoration of Chevalier de l'Ordre national du Mérite.

GHISLAINE **TOUTAIN**

Ghislaine Toutain is a lawyer and journalist. She has been head of external relations at the Fondation Jean-Jaurès (FJJ) since 1998. Assistant of Pierre Mauroy at the Senat and at FJJ. She has been co-organiser of the annual meeting of the FJJ "Femmes d'Europe... entres elles" since 2000, together with the French section of the European Women's Lobby. She has been also co-organiser of the French-German Forum since 1999 together with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. She was councillor in extraordinary service at the French Conseil d'Etat between 1992 and 1996 and was also responsible for the international section of the socialist weekly magazine "Vendredi" from 1988 to 1995. Ghislaine was MP from 1981 to 1988.

Jean Jaurès Fondation

MONIQUE **HALPERN**

Monique Halpern has been engaged in gender issues since 1975. She has served as a civil servant within national public authorities, including the Ministry of Labour and the Women's Rights public administration and as a gender expert for numerous European Union bodies, such as the Women's Bureau, the European Social Fund, and the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training. For the EU Women's Bureau, Halpern published reports on the enforcement of the 1976 Directive on Women's Working Conditions in the Public Sector in both France and the EU countries, on women's entrepreneurship in France and other EU member states and on the overall evaluation of the EU Women's Local Employment Initiatives Programme, which she led in France. She also provided analysis of training needs of women entrepreneurs, the emergence of women's self-help organisations, and women factory workers' working conditions for the CEDEFOP, the OECD, the ILO training Center and the French authorities. Halpern works with numerous NGOs, including the European Women's Lobby, and the Women's World Banking Institute, and currently for the Institut Emilie du Châtelet. She has directed a European twinning project on gender mainstreaming in Slovakia, and has been involved with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Jean Jaurès Foundation.

PAOLA **CECCHI-DIMEGLIO**

Dr. Paola Cecchi Dimeglio is a reseacher jointly appointed at Harvard Law School (Program On Negotiation and Center on the Legal Profession and Harvard Kennedy School (Women and Public Policy Program). Her research interests include the role of lawyers and the evolution of the legal profession in the 21st century and the effects of gender, culture and organisational behaviour on international strategic alliances. In parallel to her academic career, she is working with the Hon. Daniel Weinstein at JAMS on complex mediations with aggregate values of multimillion dollars and consults for various firms on investment transactions and international strategic development. In 2011, she received the Weinstein Fellowship from the JAMS Foundation. Dr. Cecchi Dimeglio is Co-chair of the ABA International Committee on the Future of ADR and has been nominated as Expert Coordinator for several EU and UN funded projects on Gender, ADR and Lawyers. She is also a research affiliate at UC Hastings College of the Law and Stanford University (Gould Center). Paola earned her JD, LLM, and her Magistere-DJCE degree in Common and Civil Law and a Ph.D. in Social Sciences (*summa cum laude*) while studying at universities in France, Belgium, and in the United States.

LINDA **C. MCCLAIN**

Linda C. McClain is a Professor of Law and Paul M. Siskind Research Scholar at a School of Law, Boston University. She is widely known for her work in family law and feminist legal theory. Her books include *Ordered Liberty: Rights, Responsibilities, and Virtues* (Harvard University Press, 2013) (with James E. Fleming); *Gender Equality: Dimensions of Women's Equal Citizenship* (Cambridge University Press, pbk. 2012) (co-edited with Joanna Grossman); and *The Place of Families: Fostering Capacity, Equality, and Responsibility* (Harvard, 2006). Prior to entering the legal academy, she practiced litigation at Cravath, Swaine & Moore. A former faculty fellow at the Harvard University Center for Ethics and the Professions, she has been a visiting professor of law at Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Virginia. Professor McClain is on the executive committee of the Association of American Law Schools Section on Family and Juvenile Law and is a member of the Council on Contemporary Families.

ALIKI **MOURIKI**

Aliki Mouriki is a sociologist, working as a researcher at the National Centre for Social Research in Athens since 1983. She has been involved in a number of national and international projects on a variety of topics. Her research interests and publications focus mainly on employment, gender, social cohesion and industrial relations issues. Her current research is on labour market deregulation, precarious employment, gender equality, and discrimination. She has been a member of the experts' network set up by the Institut des Sciences de Travail, Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgium) on "Social concertation and Negotiation in the EU countries" (1998-2006), of the DGV Expert Working Group on "Flexibility and Work Organisation" (1994) and of the European Trade Union Institute research network on collective bargaining trends in Western Europe (1994-1998). She has also worked as an adviser at the Labour Minister's cabinet and participated in the drafting of the Greek *National Action Plan on Employment* (2001 & 2002).

NICOLETTA **PIROZZI**

Nicoletta Pirozzi is Senior Fellow in the European Affairs area at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) and Adjunct Professor at the "Roma Tre" University in Rome. She works mainly on EU foreign and security policies, EU civilian crisis management and EU relations with other organisations – United Nations, NATO and African Union - in the field of peace and security. She regularly contributes to the IAI's publications, both as author and editor, and has published a number of articles and book chapters in peer-reviewed journals and edited volumes. In 2012, she served as Seconded National Expert by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at the European External Action Service, where she worked on civilian capability development for crisis management. Previously, she has been research fellow in the European Foreign and Security Policy Studies Programme and visiting fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris. She graduated in Political Science at the University of Pisa and at the Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies in Pisa. She also obtained a MA Degree in European Political and Administrative Studies from the College of Europe (Bruges, Belgium) and a PhD in Institutions and Politics from the Catholic University in Milan.

PNINA **LAHAV**

Pnina Lahav is a Professor of Law at Boston University. She is a graduate of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Yale Law School and Boston University. She earned several prestigious fellowships including a Rockefeller Fellowship, a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioural Sciences at Stanford, CA and a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. She also served as a Religion Fellow at Boston University's School of Theology. Professor Lahav has published numerous articles on constitutional law, freedom of expression and women's rights. Most recently she has been working on the issue of women's prayers in Judaism and Islam. She is the author of the acclaimed biography *Judgment in Jerusalem: Chief Justice Simon Agranat and the Zionist Century* (University of California Press, 1997) and the editor of several other volumes. Presently she is working on a biography of Golda Meir through the gender lens.

ANDREA **PETÖ**

Andrea Pető is an Professor at the Department of Gender Studies. She edited twelve volumes in English, six volumes in Hungarian, two in Russian. Her works appeared in different languages, including Bulgarian, Croatian, English, French, Georgian, German, Hungarian, Italian, Russian and Serbian. She has also been a guest professor at the universities of Toronto, Buenos Aires, Stockholm and Frankfurt. Her books include: *Women in Hungarian Politics 1945-1951* (Columbia University Press/East European Monographs New York, 2003), *Geschlecht, Politik und Stalinismus in Ungarn. Eine Biographie von Júlia Rajk*. Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns, Bd. 12. (Gabriele Schäfer Verlag, 2007). Presently she is working on gendered memory of WWII and political extremisms. She was awarded by President of the Hungarian Republic with the Officer's Cross Order of Merit of The Republic of Hungary in 2005 and Bolyai Prize by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 2006. She is serving as co-president for AtGender, European Association for Gender Research, Education and Documentation.

IVANA **BARTOLETTI**

Ivana Bartoletti is the Chair of the Fabian Women's Network (FWN), one of Britain's most thriving women's organisation, and a London Labour MEP candidate for the 2014 European elections. She founded Fabiana magazine in 2011. Ivana is in charge of information governance at the NHS Counter Fraud and Security Management service; previously, she spent three years implementing new national policy in the NHS, to better protect frontline staff from nuisance and disturbance behaviour. For this she received the 2012 Best Business Award for Best Personal Achievement in the Public Sector. Ivana is building on many years of experience in the PES and equality movement in Europe including as a policy adviser to the Romano Prodi government in Italy. She is the Vice-Chair of the Fabian Society and chairs the Research and Editorial sub- committee.

VIVIEN **SCHMIDT**

Vivien A. Schmidt is Jean Monnet Professor of European Integration, Professor of International Relations and Political Science at Boston University and Founding Director of BU's Center for the Study of Europe. She received her PhD from the University of Chicago). Schmidt has published widely on European political economy, institutions and democracy. She has been a visiting professor or scholar at Sciences Po in Paris, Free University of Berlin, LUISS in Rome, Free University of Brussels, European University Institute, Oxford, Cambridge, and Copenhagen Business School, and is past head of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA). Recent books include: *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy* (co-edited, 2013), *Debating Political Identity and Legitimacy in the European Union* (co-edited, 2011), *Democracy in Europe* (2006), and *The Futures of European Capitalism* (2002).

MAARI **PÕIM**

Maari Põim is a Junior Policy Adviser at FEPS. She has a MA degree in Gender Studies at the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary and BA degree in Adult Education in Tallinn University, Estonia. Previously, she has worked as a project manager in the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre in Tallinn, as well as a freelance youth trainer in the field of gender issues. In addition, she has been involved in the activities of several international and local feminist initiatives. Her recent writings at FEPS include "*EU leaders sideline gender parity at summit.*"

JUDIT **TÁNCZOS**

Judit Tánczos is Policy Advisor at FEPS, where she started working in August 2008. Among other responsibilities, she is in charge of the research programme on progressive feminism, entitled "Woman up!", which includes a network of over 150 engaged academics, politicians and civil society representatives, reaching out to more than 1500 participants. She is the editor of the FEPS book "*Woman up! Women's representation in politics, business and academia*" and co-edited two issues of the FEPS scientific magazine – Queries. She also leads FEPS research on political and social dimensions of EU enlargement and migrant integration. She is co-coordinator of the FEPS Young Academics Network (YAN). She graduated at the Faculty of Law of ELTE University, (Budapest) and spent one semester at K.U. Leuven, Belgium. She completed her obligatory internship in Brussels at the Progress Lawyers Network, working mainly on asylum requests and social and labour law cases. Her recent FEPS publications include "*Why not triple? Three pledges towards a progressive migration policy*" and "*Parity agenda: reclaiming ownership*".

FOREWORD

FOREWORD TO "WOMAN UP 2"

By **Ernst Stetter**

S ocial justice can only be achieved when gender issues are taken into consideration. Yet it is important to understand that gender equality does not only belong to the domain of traditional "women's issues" but is dependent on various areas from security to technology, from religion to civil activism. The Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) together with the Fondation Jean Jaurès and Boston University have raised these crucial debates in the framework of the transatlantic gender dialogue which includes a series of conferences, now in its fifth year.

This publication aims to take a further step from the points raised during conference debates, with a perspective to strengthen strategies, offer inspiration for future discussions and spread the word about the outcomes of this important ongoing dialogue. From each of the themes detailed below, key debates are presented in this volume through an academic intervention, reflecting the course of the specific dialogue.

The idea behind the transatlantic dialogue on gender issues is based within a shared political momentum present both in Europe and the US. There is a need to create a credible progressive alternative as a response to the financial, economic, and political crisis. All of the following addressed topics are crucial in the context of tackling the main theoretic, strategic, and policy challenges concerning gender equality that progressives face in the long-term on both sides of the Atlantic:

1. The (in)visibility of women in the left: a historical perspective

To better understand that while there has been a current setback in the success of the progressive strategy, it makes sense to analyse the trend which has led—with a few exceptions—to the invisibility of women in the left. Formal equal treatment and equality in opportunities was useful in the past to act as a driver of societal change, but have reached its limits. As a result, women were largely embraced by the movement as activists but then could hardly advance in higher positions within the party structure.

Available instruments, such as trainings and quotas, have also increased the number of women in higher levels of politics but did not address the core issue of the missing new narrative. A rerouting is needed so that progressives can break away from their reactive rhetoric and can once again claim ownership over the parity agenda. In the meantime, conservatives could continue successfully with their approach based on biological differences. They were successful in shifting the paradigm towards rebiologisation, where societal differences are presented as direct consequences of biological differences. Hence, addressing the structural inequalities that still persist also requires a differentiated approach from the progressives.

For this reason, the dialogue seeks to answer the following questions:

How have progressive political forces changed from norms-setters to reactive followers concerning gender equality?

How can the progressives address structural inequalities and increase women's visibility to enlarge their societal basis through parity?

2. Changing the narrative on gender issues: from struggle to emancipation

After the historical analysis, the second dialogue aims to contribute to establishing a positive progressive narrative on the role of women within the society. Instead of focusing on the struggle toward equality, the discussion should develop an alternative vision which enables women to fulfil their aspirations.

Therefore, the main question here is: *Against the crisis, how can we develop a positive story of emancipation?*

3. Revisiting the core policy: gendered analysis of the new welfare state

The objective of this topic is to examine how the new narrative translates into policies. It is commonplace that some elements of the welfare state are reinforcing gender inequalities instead of decreasing them. The ongoing discussion on the post-crisis welfare state offers an exceptional possibility to reshape policies in a more egalitarian manner.

This momentum defines the focus of the debate: *How can progressives shape a more gender-equal post-crisis welfare state?*

4. Strengthened commitment to the international dimension: gender, peace and security

Defence and security have traditionally been issues dominated by conservatives. However, following the adoption of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and security and related resolutions, and through its implementation process, progressives

could grasp the occasion to become agenda setters on this field. The first years of existence of the European External Action Service (EEAS) call also for a constructive evaluation of its actions in this specific sector. In this framework, the enhancement and a gendered analysis of dispute settlement, conflict prevention and resolution, mediation and arbitration should be advocated.

With security being one of the main electoral issues, one should ask:

How can progressives advocate a gender sensitive peace promotion as part of the global governance?

How can progressives promote effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions within regional organisations and through national action plans?

5. Addressing current challenges: gender and new forms of political activism

They may be revolutionary in their narrative and harshly critical toward the established political structure. Nevertheless, the attitude of current social movements, as new forms of political activism toward gender issues, raises many concerns. On one hand, the criticism toward neoliberals and the fight for more equality and a fairer society might indicate that these forms of political activism could become allies of progressives. On the other hand, the rejection to take on board any kind of gender dimension within their debate might bring progressives back to square one. As it has been pointed out earlier, structural inequalities require differentiated solutions.

Against this background the following questions arise:

What is the relationship between gender and new forms of political activism?

How can progressive political parties embrace these new forms of political activism while safeguarding their distinctive narrative on gender issues?

6. Sharing effective strategies: mobilising women for the progressive cause

To unfold its entire prospective, the process of revitalising the progressive narrative, policies, and strengthening relationships with potential allies should be accompanied by accordingly inspirational communication and campaign strategies. The rapidly changing new technologies offer an enormous potential from this perspective. Hence, there is a need to share concrete examples of motivating women to become politically engaged for the progressive cause.

The discussion is organised around the question:

How can we combine traditional means of communication with new technologies in order to mobilise more women for the progressive cause?

All the content of this publication is based on the discussions of the fifth transatlantic gender dialogue conference in Boston in 2014 "Celebrating Women of Character, Courage, and Commitment". I wish to express my gratitude to all the participants and speakers as well as Ghislaine Toutain, Judit Tánczos and Maari Põim.

STRENGTHENING WOMEN'S VOICES

By **Zita Gurmaï**, **Pia Locatelli**, **Judit Tánczos**

While many have perceived austerity measures as a set of economic means, we argue that it is in fact a strategy to promote a conservative, inward-looking vision of society. The best piece of advice for all those fighting for parity is the following: to break structural inequalities, you must start by breaking austerity.

In many countries, the majority of those having serious debt issues are women. In the UK, for example, 64% people bearthis burden. As women are more numerous in higher education, cuts affecting this domain will mean that this number will only increase.

Investment in childcare is at risk, destroying the possibility of building a fairer society through offering affordable early childcare education for all. Even though we live in an aging society, elderly care facilities are under destruction. Due to existing gender stereotypes, these trends prevent many women from

returning to the labour market, or force them to take on extra, unpaid care activities at home. As a vicious circle, in return, this will merely reinforce those stereotypes. In the domain of time, analysing the trade-off between economic, care and other social activities, the EU27 has achieved merely 38.8 points out of the possible 100 indicating full equality.

The number of reports on gender discrimination at work has increased. Still, due to the dismantling of the gender equality infrastructure, women can hardly claim their rights. Simultaneously, conservatives have taken over the cultural agenda of parity as well. Achievements in science are misused to re-biologise the issue of gender equality. According to this view, structural inequalities should be accepted as unchallengeable, due to biological differences between men and women. Conservatives give a false illusion of empowerment and emancipation. They are portrayed as being strong and powerful contributors to the success of the nation by becoming mothers with the primary task of raising good citizens.

In the meantime, political and economic power remains the privilege of men. Women's capabilities to publicly influence their own future will slowly fade away. The most extreme example of this worrying trend is the backlash on sexual and reproductive health and rights. Spain's Minister of Justice, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón tried to justify restrictions on the abortion law by evoking all women's rights to become mothers, free from any pressure.

This is a surrealist interpretation of being pro-choice – by not offering choice at all. The Hungarian government presented similar hypocritical reasoning, when the process was rendered less accessible and more burdensome. Hence, the backlash in gender equality is not a mere side effect of the crisis. It is part of a conscious strategy to create a conservative society with the support of austerity policies.

But there is an alternative to this vision and there are policy alternatives to austerity as well. A fair society offers an enabling, empowering environment for all its citizens. We made a pledge to consciously denounce and continuously combat the limitations imposed by structural inequalities. The inspiring law on equality between women and men introduced by France's socialist government made the country a pioneer in this process.

With the gender gap widening at a global level after the crisis, this law is a model beyond Europe's borders as well. Towards this vision, we have been all inspired by the exciting discussions taking place within the network of progressive think tanks and the exciting process of the Transatlantic dialogues on gender issues.

In the light of these considerations, we would like to fight the deepening feeling of disillusion and disempowerment that reigns among citizens as a worrying consequence of the crisis. As it was pointed out after the elections in 2009, women already tended to vote in smaller proportions than men. This is a continuous risk trend.

We would like to raise awareness of this risk and encourage our sisters to mobilise to vote. Women cannot allow their future to be left entirely up to decisions made by others. There are several paths that Europe can take, and it all depends on the conscious choice of all its citizens. We cannot allow women's voices to be lost in the crowd – your vote can become your loudspeaker.

WOMEN TAKING ON DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY

By **Ghislaine Toutain**

The persisting inequalities between men and women now lie within the relatively new context of the digital economy and the development of information and communication sciences and technologies (ICST). Questions need to be asked regarding the impact of this "revolution": on the place and role of women in the expanding ICST sector, on the use by women of these new technologies in order to continue the fight for equality and gender parity, and on the way in which the progressive parties, via these digital tools, can mobilise women around their values.

The economic and financial crisis that affected the United States and Europe in 2008 highlighted even further - if proof were needed - the strength of the resistance of American and European societies to the realisation of equality and gender parity. Progressive political parties which, historically, in both Europe and the United States, have most furthered the "cause of women" by enacting laws, directives, regulations and action plans to implement gender

equality, are today seen by citizens - and women in particular - as representing this value less, due to the persistence of inequalities especially with regards to employment, even when said parties are in power. For their part, in Europe and the United States, the conservative parties are continuing - and even intensifying - their retrograde approach to gender relations and, where possible (as is the case in Spain), reverting to what they already know, particularly in the field of reproductive rights[1].

These persisting inequalities between men and women now lie within the relatively new context of the digital economy and the development of information and communication sciences and technologies (ICST). The "revolution" represented by the arrival of computers, followed by the Internet and social networks (Facebook, Twitter etc.), resulted in new professions and new types of communication questioning the old traditional patterns, but it is also leading to the emergence of new economic and societal practices. Questions need to be asked regarding the impact of this "revolution" on the place and role of women in the expanding ICST sector, on the use by women of these new technologies in order to continue the fight for equality and gender parity, and also on the way in which progressive parties can mobilise women around their values using these digital tools: something these formations are not yet entirely in the habit of doing, especially in France[2].

● The place of women in information and communication sciences and technologies (ICST)

As we know, in Europe and, to lesser extent, across the Atlantic, there are generally fewer women than men in the sciences. From a very young age (at the crèche, nursery school, kindergarten), children integrate sexual stereotypes that will then be conveyed at school by textbooks, the teaching profession, parents, girls and also boys. These stereotypes are reproduced over the generations. Among them is the persistent idea in all OECD countries that scientific and technological disciplines are not suited to young girls, despite numerous reports[3]and studies designed to eradicate this prejudice.

1. An academic orientation of girls towards subjects relating to the private sphere

Consequently, although girls are now outperforming boys, their academic orientation continues to differ significantly since they are mainly guided, most often with their consent, towards subjects assigned to them by society, i.e. those linked to the private sphere: health, education, medicine, the arts and, more recently, law[4]. In Europe, only 30% of girls on average take the plunge and opt for scientific subjects, mathematics, IT and new technologies. Although the same phenomenon exists in the United States, it is less marked. There are more girls studying so-called "masculine" subjects, which has enabled the segmentation of the labour market to diminish more quickly than in Europe. This is perhaps because the mechanisms generating these inequalities have been identified and studied in the United States since the 1970s, whereas in Europe this happened much later, from the 1990s onwards.

Furthermore these studies, be they American or European, point in the same direction. They explain that the engendered nature of the study/career interests of girls - but also of boys - is due as much to a social, economic and political issue as it is to a projection and assertion of identity. Young girls are less confident in their mathematical skills than boys because they are not expected to succeed in this field. Similarly, they specialise in medical and literary subjects or education because they feel more able to succeed due to their status as a future mother. Moreover, as French sociologist Françoise Vouillot notes[5], "social demand on this question is low, and so it does not encourage the political level to be more radical and daring in order to produce major transformations within our educational system". Especially because it is only the orientation of girls that seems to be a problem, with society considering it "normal" that boys do not specialise in literary subjects.

We should also point out that even when they have chosen scientific subjects, women find themselves in a position of inequality with regards to men. The same applies to the field of global research. A study quoted in the newspaper *Le Monde* of 22 December 2013[6] shows that "for each article where the principal author is a woman, there are almost twice as many studies where the principal author is a man". Furthermore, there are more female researchers in scientific fields linked to treatment and relations with others whereas there is a majority of

men in engineering, mathematics and robotics. The same gender situation exists with regards to engineering qualifications. A document produced by Women's Forum within the scope of the 2008 SciTechGirls project, entitled "Portrait of Women Engineers in France 2008"[7] shows that qualified female engineers account for 17.7% of the total number in France, and 22% of those in Europe. They are most represented (42%) in agronomy, food-processing, life sciences, bioengineering and chemistry, where unemployment reaches 8%. They are in the minority, notably, in mechanical engineering and industrial automation. On average, they make up only 12% of all qualified engineers in the "information and communication sciences and technologies" (ICST) specialisation[8]. A report by the European Commission[9] published in October 2013 specifies that, in the European Union, out of 1,000 women with an undergraduate degree only 29, or 2.9% (compared to 95 men, or 9.5%) graduated in the ICST sector. Only four of them would eventually work in this sector.

In the United States, things are changing more quickly than in Europe in this field. Even if stereotypes are still powerful and restrict the number of girls studying scientific subjects, it seems that a movement has recently been developing for them to specialise in these studies in greater numbers. Consequently, in 2013, 41% of the "computer science" majors at Harvard (Cambridge, MA) were female. Similarly, some university programmes are beginning to be set up in support of this trend, such as those at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania)[10], reputed for the quality of its IT programmes and which, over the space of only a few years, has increased the number of female students in this discipline from 7% to 42%. In this way girls are perhaps reconnecting with the mathematician Grace Hopper, born on 9 December 1906, and considered across the Atlantic as a pioneer of computer science. She witnessed the first computer "bug" of the machine - a computer - named Harvard Mark II, the bug being caused by a moth caught in a relay. On 9 December last year, 107 years after her birth, the search engine Google paid homage in a "Doodle" (original illustration) to this rear-admiral in the US Navy, who designed the first "A-O System" compiler (computer programme) in 1951 and in 1959 COBOL, a third-generation programming language similar to English, and which was widely used during the 1980s.

2. Women in ICSTs in Europe and the United States: a different evolution with some similarities

If the place of women in ICSTs appears to evolve differently in the European Union and the United States, there are however some similarities and common areas.

● A different evolution

In Europe, there are now fewer women (less than 25%) than men[11] in the ICST sector compared to the 1980s, particularly in the sub-sectors of computer science, software engineering and applied mathematics (9.3%), electronics and telecommunications (7.8%), automation, electrotechnics and electricity (3.4%). As the above-mentioned "Mutationnelles" study carried out by Global Contact (page 3 footnote) showed, computer science in France in 1985 attracted a significant proportion of women, since they accounted for approximately 20% of female graduates.

● Major inequalities

It was therefore hoped that this innovative sector would escape the segregation of the labour market and the socio-cultural stereotypes that define it. However, the study continues, "this progression ended brutally in the 1990s, when there was a reappearance of the same type of split as can be seen elsewhere, between subjects where women become the majority and those where they represent fewer than 12% of computer engineers". This negative evolution is not unique to France, and this phenomenon can be found notably in Germany and the United Kingdom[12]. Isabelle Collet[13] questioned the reasons behind the masculinisation of ICSTs over time which, she believes, is linked to the arrival of the microcomputer in the 1980s, giving a different social image of the computer scientist[14] to the one previously conveyed.
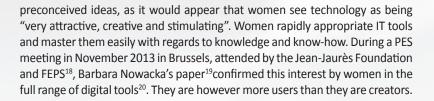
In any event it must be acknowledged, as did Isabelle Collet in 2011, that "unequal access of women and men to information and communication sciences and technologies (ICST) has been noted both on a European and global level". The ICST sector has not only failed to change the traditional approach towards female employment that permeates all economic sectors - and particularly the scientific world - but it would also appear that inequalities between men and women have become even more marked. As a result, only 2% of the general management of digital economy companies are women, but they account for two thirds of those working in the research sector (only 2% in fundamental research). There are also very few women in the expanding areas of the Internet and multimedia, but they are in the majority in disciplines such as content creation or community animation - the least well-paid of the ICST disciplines.

Only 10% of technological company creators are women (compared to 30% all sectors combined), and they encounter financing issues since the majority of investors are men. As is the case elsewhere, men's salaries are systematically higher than those of women (30% on average)[15], even if the women working in this sector earn almost 9% more than those in comparable positions in other sectors. Finally, as the European Commission report mentioned on page 5 remarks, they leave this sector earlier than their male counterparts: only 9% remain after the age of 45 (compared to 20% for those in their 30s).

Faced with this situation, is it true to say that European women are incapable of mastering ICTs? Like Grace Hopper, Ada King, Countess of Lovelace and daughter of Lord Byron, born in 1815, is an example that refutes this assertion. She is effectively known in Europe for having translated and annotated the analytical machine of Charles Babbage (1791-1871), one of the main trailblazers of computer science and the first to formulate the principle of the computer. Moreover, this machine is considered to be the forefather of the modern computer. The English poet's daughter can be considered to be the first female programmer in the world[16] for in her notes was the first algorithm intended to be carried out by a machine.

● Preconceived ideas

Closer to home, a field study conducted by the Work and Technology Research Centre of the Fondation Travail-Université in Namur[17] contradicts certain preconceived ideas, as it would appear that women see technology as being "very attractive, creative and stimulating". Women rapidly appropriate IT tools and master them easily with regards to knowledge and know-how. During a PES meeting in November 2013 in Brussels, attended by the Jean-Jaurès Foundation and FEPS[18], Barbara Nowacka's paper[19] confirmed this interest by women in the full range of digital tools[20]. They are however more users than they are creators.

The study specifies that demanding working conditions in the ICST sector do not appear to discourage women, who are aware that in this sector it is a lot easier for them to organise their working hours even if, as in other economic sectors, they would like a better family/work balance. The fact remains that the presence of European (and notably Western European) women in ICSTs is insufficient, "despite the fact that a digital wave is breaking over the planet [...] and that its magic removes the barriers of time and distance"[21].

In the United States, it seems that following the 2008-2009 economic crisis female employment in the ICST sector returned along with growth and with an underlying trend stated over the last ten years. The French economic newspaper *La Tribune* remarked in an article of 20 November 2013 that "of ten jobs created in Silicon Valley in new technologies over the last year, six were given to women". This represents 36,000 jobs out of 60,000, according to the American statistics office. It is not however mentioned if these posts are for technicians or engineers; nonetheless these figures do show a positive trend. According to MBA Online, the number of women in the computer industry jumped by over 28% between 2011 and 2012. This positive evolution is perhaps due to the example given by the very few women at the head of major digital groups (cf. below), and in particular Sheryl Sandberg, CEO of Facebook who, in her book *Lean In*[22] calls on "women of all ages to buckle down for the sake of their careers" and "to overcome, with the help of men, the current social order as dictated by the hierarchy of the sexes".

● Similarities: the glass ceiling and prevailing sexism

That said, even if the above-mentioned studies question the exclusively masculine nature of the ICST culture, it must be noted that in the United States,

as in the European Union, the "glass ceiling" and sexism certainly exist in start-ups and the major digital groups. A recent study from 2012 by IT Manager Daily and Girl Scouts of America on new technology companies (start-ups) in Silicon Valley in California revealed that their staff consists of only 25% of women, with this percentage falling to 11% for managerial posts. Moreover, on average they only employ 12% of women over all engineer positions. Even though there are slight differences within the major groups, it should however be noted that only a very small number of these groups are managed by a woman[23]. Examples that are always cited are Meg Whitman, head of Hewlett-Packard (HP) since 2011, Marissa Mayer, appointed CEO of Yahoo! a year later in 2012, and Sheryl Sandberg, CEO of Facebook. Finally, in December 2013 Twitter, the online social network, appointed a woman to its board of directors for the first time; Marjorie Scardino, former CEO of Pearson, the British publishing group. This arrival was hailed as a major event in the social networking world.

Apart from these inequalities with regards to employment, European and American women working in the sector regularly denounce the male chauvinism and sexism to which they are exposed on a daily basis. In the United States, the sexism of the Silicon Valley start-up culture was recently denounced[24], giving rise to a lively debate on the male chauvinist culture "poisoning" the entire sector. On both sides of the Atlantic, the Web itself is invaded by sexist and insulting remarks[25], clichés and calls for violence against women (cf. below). That is why, in France, the minister in charge of the digital economy, together with the minister for women's rights, commissioned the French Digital Council[26] to conduct a study on the negative image of women in ICSTs and on the Internet, with the aim of arriving at proposals to significantly alter this image. Moreover, it is considered that this prevailing sexism and the persistent glass ceiling that is so hard to break continue to discourage girls from committing themselves to this sector.

● Competitiveness at stake

This reticence of European women to appropriate training and professions in the area of information and telecommunications - unlike women from Asia-Pacific countries[27] - explains in part the fact that, for several years now, the European Commission has been drawing the attention of the Member States to the shortage of engineers (and female engineers in particular) within the EU in the field of high-tech. The October 2013 study by the European Commission,

mentioned previously, specifies that this situation undermines the Union's competitiveness, especially since the world of tomorrow will be governed by digital technology[28]. Increasing the number of women in the digital economy sector is essential in order to ensure long-term growth and the durability of the European economy. Moreover, according to the study, it would boost the EU's annual GDP by 9 million euros.

In this context, the men and women armed with excellent skills in the digital world will benefit from major employment opportunities. The Commission's study therefore specifies that "the world of digital industries and telecommunications is a more than favourable environment for women [...], and [they] are less susceptible to unemployment (by 2015, there will be 900,000 unfilled ICT positions in the EU)". A recent report by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU)[29] reaches the same conclusions. It affirms that "engaging women and girls in ICT sector work is not only the right thing to do from the point of social justice. It is also smart economics. Gender balance in high value ICT jobs in both management and on company boards has been proven to improve business performance."

● What can be done?

Many countries, both developed and developing, are faced with the issue of low numbers of women in ICST professions as described above. This has been the case for over 20 years in the majority of the European Union Member States and, to a lesser extent, in the United States. The force of the stereotypes described previously does not appear to be diminishing rapidly despite, as we have seen, numerous reports, studies, and awareness campaigns reiterated over time on a national, European and international level[30] in an attempt to eradicate them. We can however hope that, under the pressure of the realities and irreversible development of the digital economy and the "information society"[31], the need for highly-qualified staff will lead American and European companies in particular to depart from the old world and build more modern, more equal - in other words, fairer - and ultimately more democratic societies.

All of the actors who have taken part in these evolutions - public bodies, teachers, parents, girls and boys, businesses, associations of female engineers or mathematicians - must be part of this society project, which is vital for the

future. The campaigns and measures carried out to encourage girls to opt for scientific subjects and ICSTs in particular must be directed at these actors and carried out by these actors themselves. Many countries in the world are taking various measures in order to favour the presence of women and their career development in information and communication sciences, technology, engineering and mathematics through practical training, mentoring, work experience and by creating Internet networks of those women and young girls interested in ICTs. For the time being, they only seem to have a limited impact.

● Example: the European Commission's action

Over the last few years, the European Commission has launched a certain number of initiatives - occasionally somewhat clumsily - to encourage young girls and women to become involved in ICTs. And so, in 2007 it launched its "shadowing" operation (a kind of sponsoring programme). It involves arousing the interest of a greater number of schoolgirls and students in professions in the ICST sector. These young girls accompany a female engineering manager during a typical working day and discover the world of ICTs. A video clip "*Les TIC, c'est chic*" (ICTs are great) has been shown in European schools. This operation is taking place in 20 major European companies from over 15 Member States. The companies are also encouraged to employ "*cyber-Cinderellas*" (a somewhat "astonishing" nickname to describe women trained in ICTs!).

In March 2009, a European good practice code in favour of women in the ICT sector was implemented by the Commission in order to encourage young women to continue with their studies and to choose careers in ICTs. It is centred on education and jobs, with days devoted to young women, sponsorship programmes, flexible working hours and other innovative activities to help raise awareness and attract women towards technology. Since the code was launched in March 2009, 28 organisations[32] have signed up to it, notably big businesses, SMEs, consultancy firms, universities, NGOs and telecommunications regulatory bodies. In the same vein, in June 2012 the Commission launched a campaign entitled "Science: it's a girl thing!" which moreover was criticised for its use of the colour pink in its visual.

Finally, on 4 March 2013 the Commission launched its "Grand Coalition for Digital Jobs", a partnership involving the various parties interested in filling the large number of vacant ICT specialist jobs. For the Union and all of the Member States, it involves reinforcing the teaching of sciences, technologies, engineering and mathematics and promoting the corresponding professions, especially to women[33], by giving the sector a new image, giving women working there more responsibility and better working conditions and by increasing the number of female company directors. This "coalition" is part of the seven initiatives fixed by the European Digital Agenda, developed within the scope of the digital strategy for Europe, which is at the heart of the 2020 strategy for growth and jobs adopted by the European Council in 2010. It proposes better use of the potential of information and communication technologies (ICT) in order to favour innovation, economic growth and progress[34].

These measures are intended to enable the Union, which aims to become a great digital power (even though it has still not equipped itself with a single digital market[35]**),** to increase its competitiveness, particularly with regards to the United States and Asian countries (notably China, South Korea, Japan)[36].

Even though they are in a better position than the European Union, the United States is confronted with the same necessity of training girls in ICSTs. As we have seen, the main American universities are doing this via massive training programmes. The major companies in the ICT sector are also committed to it: Larry Page, CEO of Google, explains that his company provides scholarships available only to women so that more of them take an interest in new technologies. Similarly, Alethea Lodge-Clarke, programme director, explains that Microsoft organises public-private partnerships in order to attract more girls to ICT professions.

In support of all of these actions, on both sides of the Atlantic, associations of women scientists are also trying to overturn stereotypes and are taking action in order to attract girls to the sciences and information and communication technologies. In France, associations like "Femmes et mathématiques", "Femmes et sciences" and "Femmes ingénieurs" are also fighting to inform girls about working in ICSTs, to improve their clarity and further knowledge about their diversity, highlight the attraction of novelty and creativity, and provide them with models with which they can identify. In France, these three associations have joined forces and drawn up 20 proposals in preparation for the future. Among these proposals: compile national gender statistics on public

research researchers on an annual basis; make a national issue of informing pupils, career guidance professionals, teachers and parents about scientific and technological careers by showing that they suit girls as much as boys by de-constructing pre-conceived ideas concerning women and science; finally, favour and encourage the development of networks of female engineers and scientists, which are still too few in number, to give greater visibility to those who are successful, such as the French network "Girlz in Web" or the "Professional women's network" (PWN) on a European level.
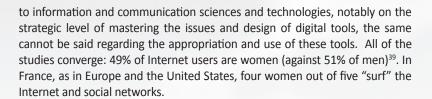
All in all, using all possible means to encourage young girls and women to choose training and careers in the field of information and communication sciences means both making a choice for the future for gender equality and contributing to the economic growth of Europe and the whole world. As Lakshmi Puri, deputy executive director of UN Women said in April 2012: "In today's world, ICTs matter immensely for gender equality and the empowerment of women. They provide new avenues for learning, sharing knowledge and education. ICTs are a force multiplier for girls' education, enabling them to build their future on a level-playing field with their male counterparts. They bring a means of economic development".

ICTs also constitute a revolution in the way in which a fight is conducted, in this case the fight for equality between men and women.

● The use of ICTs by women in their fight for equality and parity

Over the last ten years, digital tools have dramatically changed our relation to the world and communication between people. They have led to the emergence of a digital society that now integrates the vast majority of Europeans and Americans in particular. In the Europe of 27, INSEE specifies[37], in 2012 on average 75% of people aged 16-74 used the Internet (83% in France). Nevertheless, Internet use varies between Member States. In 2012 although 94% of Swedes were connected, there were only 50% in Romania[38]. In the United States, 81% use digital tools.

If there is an insufficient number of women in training and professions relating to information and communication sciences and technologies, notably on the strategic level of mastering the issues and design of digital tools, the same cannot be said regarding the appropriation and use of these tools. All of the studies converge: 49% of Internet users are women (against 51% of men)[39]. In France, as in Europe and the United States, four women out of five "surf" the Internet and social networks.

1 Like language for Aesop, is the Internet the best and the worst of things?

It therefore appears that ICTs can constitute a privileged means of continuing, under other forms, the fight for gender equality, even if these technologies propound tons of misogyny[40], violence and hatred towards women, who are often the target of digital voyeurism and cyber-harassment[41], be it sexual or not, or even victims of calls for rape[42]. Similarly, sexual images, degrading texts and stereotypes are regularly conveyed. ICTs are also used in the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation and in the development of adult and child pornography. Unfortunately, none of this is surprising for, if the Internet is a virtual world, it is also the reflection of the real world. The Web is certainly not a completely lawless place. Many of the world's countries have adopted laws against cybercrime and provided Internet users with sites in order to report any illicit content or behaviour on the Internet[43]. In the European Union, a European Cybercrime Centre (EC3), located in the Europol premises in The Hague, was inaugurated in January 2013. Its aim is "to give a strong boost to the EU's capacity to fight cybercrime and defend an Internet that is free, open and secure". For their part, the United States has also reinforced its measures to fight Internet crime and delinquency over recent years. Nonetheless, the transnational nature of offences committed in cyberspace, characterised by the absence of physical borders, requires international police cooperation in order to ensure an effective fight against these offences, and to prevent them from actually happening. "It is therefore essential", declared the director of the European Cybercrime Centre, Troels Oerting, to "enhance cooperation between countries and international legislation if we want to effectively tackle cybercrime", as Europol and Interpol committed to themselves during a conference on cybercrime in The Hague in September 2013[44].

2 Making women in ICTs visible

The purpose of this study is not, however, to conduct a full analysis of what is "the worst" on the Internet and on how to tackle this problem, but to analyse how women can use this tool to take their fight for gender equality even further. In other words this section will be devoted to "the best".

As women's history has taught us, women have had to fight hard over the centuries in order to become "visible" as fully-fledged actors in all areas of social life, and notably in the world of politics, communication and the media. And yet today, despite important advances over the last 60 years, no society in the world can claim to be totally egalitarian and fair[45]. In general, the "visibility" of women in management posts in companies and in the highest functions of the political sphere remains largely insufficient. The same applies to the "traditional" media where, even if there are numerous female journalists (they produce 40% of subjects on the mainstream channels), they only account for 18% of the experts or witnesses questioned and on average are only given 30% of speaking time during on-set magazine programmes. This rate remained unchanged between 2009 and 2013[46], despite the 2010 commitment by a large number of channel bosses to rectify this situation. As highlighted by Michèle Reiser and Brigitte Grésy in their report, "the image of women in the media needs to change as, despite the progress that has been made, they still suffer from a lack of social recognition".   In other words, women remain, to a certain extent, "invisible" in the media, as the media continues to reproduce an inegalitarian and stereotype-ridden representation of women[47].

The same phenomenon exists in Europe, notably in the UK, and the United States. A study by the Women's Media Center[48] shows that in 2012, year of the presidential election, a majority of men were quoted in the written press (69.4%), on television (77%) and on public radio (69.4%). As Françoise Héritier advised[49], in order to end what she called "the differential valency of the sexes", it is important to analyse the representation of women conveyed in the media.

From now on we need to do the same - and maybe even more - in the new information and communication technologies sector. In effect, these new communication tools have created an "open and inclusive" virtual public space that women must occupy in order to gain in strength and legitimacy, and therefore in visibility. Not only must they be vigilant and not allow men to take

over the Net, but they must use it in order to defend their rights and ensure the emergence, in the real world, of a more egalitarian society between the sexes. European and American women[50] use their computers, mobile phones and email in pretty much the same way as men but they must also use these tools in order to act upon the content they convey, to affirm their vision of the world and fight stereotypes, violence towards women, sexism and male chauvinism. Thanks to the renewed possibilities of dialogue and exchange provided by information and communication technologies, women have the opportunity to be an integral part of the developing digital society and to have influence over real societies – American, European and beyond.

Studies on the sexual nature of information and communication sciences and their content have risen in Europe, and particularly in France, from the year 2000 (with some exceptions)[51]. They are more developed in the United States where, during the 1980s and 1990s, Donna Haraway[52] was behind "cyberfeminism", a concept she described in her essay published in 1991, *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. This text is part of a reaction to the feminist approach of the 1980s that insisted on the intrinsically masculine nature of techno-science. In it she develops a neutral utopian world in which users were capable of leaving their sexual bodies and be equal androgynes in cyberspace. This movement is losing pace, as the American sociologist's utopia has not (yet?) become a reality - far from it - with the inequalities and discrimination that exist in the real world, as we have seen, continuing to plague the virtual world of ICTs.

If, however, current European and American studies relating to ICTs and the place of women in this field note a more "technical" approach to the Internet by men and a more "relational" one for women, the fact remains that women use them to "*create new solidarity and interactions between themselves, including a greater opportunity for participation in public and civil life*"[53]. This approach was, moreover, strongly recommended by the UN during the Fourth World Conference on Women which took place in Beijing in 1995[54], supported notably by UNESCO and UNIFEM. Since then, the creation of local, national and international female networks has developed rapidly in Europe and the United States, as it has in the whole world, with major differences notably with regards to women depending on the country. It is evidently impossible to list them all here. They cover the entire social spectrum (professional online networks[55] to strengthen women's technical and management capacities and to expose the existence of the glass ceiling; networks to share knowledge and information in all fields including public policies and electronic administrative and governmental

services; networks of female mayors to share their experiences and strengthen their skills; to fight poverty and reinforce economic development; to encourage the political and economic empowerment of women, particularly - but not only - Black women; to create content that is pertinent and adapted to marginalised female populations, such as rural women, etc.).

● A feminised blogosphere

In addition to online networks, women have also gradually appropriated the "blogosphere". According to the official blog of Ebuzzing France from December 2012, over half of all blogs are written by a woman. "From 7 to 77", states this site, which specialises in blog rankings, "anonymous or famous, left or right wing, professionals or amateurs, female bloggers are blooming on the Web"[56]. It is the same situation in Europe. In the United States, there is an increasing number of "mommy bloggers"[57] - who also exist in Europe - talking with humour about their role as a new mother. If the majority of themes relate to the private sphere (house, beauty, cookery, childcare, brands and products), the number of those concerning society issues or the political sphere is progressing, even if political blogs written by women remain in the minority.

If the actions of all of these blogs and networks are, in a certain way, contributing to the protection of women's rights and their "visibility" in social, economic and political life, where ICTs can also play an essential role and support the action of these networks is in the field of gender equality and the dissemination of information on women's rights (legal, reproductive, human).

3 The renewed fight for gender equality

As we have seen, information and communication technologies change the way in which women can mobilise themselves and others in order to drive their fight for gender equality. This mobilisation has expressed itself in different ways over the years. During the 1970s[58], the feminist movement in Europe used pirate radio stations to reinforce the visibility of the problems facing women. In France, at the start of the 1980s, free women's radio stations were the first to raise the issue of abortion which, at the time, was a taboo subject.

Today, the mobilisation of women on the Internet, the strategic and creative "network of networks", takes various forms: getting the message across regarding the need for gender equality on the Internet and social network forums; building online women's networks enabling greater dialogue between the world's women via online bulletins and email exchanges; exchanging points of view between researchers and politicians; informing people about experiments conducted by women around the world and making them public; informing people about the violence - domestic violence in particular - and discrimination faced by women and girls almost every day and fighting it; conducting long-term campaigns, such as the one led by the Association for Progressive Communications (APC)[59] "*Take Back the Tech!*", launched in 2006 and relayed by the European Women's Lobby in 2010 in order to raise awareness on the issue of violence towards women. This campaign started a world-wide movement.

● Immediate mobilisation for the right to a termination in Spain

Digital tools also serve to organise direct political action and to mobilise women instantly to defend a right or oppose the infringement of a right, thanks to the quick and powerful impact social networks can have on an event. There is no shortage of examples. We can quote the movement, in October 2013, of feminist militants in Saudi Arabia on Twitter and Facebook in order to obtain the right to drive a car, or the way in which women used the Internet and social networks to assert their rights to equality during the "Arab spring".

An example on this is the European mobilisation of women against the bill of Mariano Rajoy's conservative government revoking the 2010 law voted under Zapatero's government legalising abortions up to 14 weeks of amenorrhoea. In under three weeks, thanks to Twitter, Facebook and emails[60], men and women wanting to preserve the fundamental right of women over their own bodies used social networks to prevent a step backwards in Spain.

This mobilisation to support Spanish women in their fight against the threat to their right to abort came to a head on 1 February 2014. On that day, in addition to the demonstration in Madrid, major demonstrations of solidarity

took place in many cities in France[61], Europe and further afield[62]. French associations[63] were the driving forces behind this movement, which very quickly took on a European dimension, especially as it is part and parcel of the debate currently being discussed in the Union on this issue - as evidenced by the rejection, in December 2013, of Edite Estrela's own-initiative report[64] on "Sexual and reproductive health and rights" and which proposed that the European Union make the right to abortion a European one. Despite this rejection, the European Commission[65] was led to deliver a statement, on Thursday 16 January 2014 at the plenary session of the European Parliament in Strasbourg, on "non-discrimination within the framework of sexual and reproductive health".

● A relay in the real society

The aim of this study is not to cover the abortion issue on a European level but to show how, thanks to new technologies and the "network of networks", women can undertake actions to defend their rights in an effective and quick manner. The fight for the right to an abortion is a symbolic marker of the fight for the freedom of women, on both sides of the Atlantic, and which explains in part the incredible success of the European demonstration on 1 February 2014. If, however, the mobilisation via the Internet was a success, it is because it was relayed in the real society, which organised the demonstrations in support of Spanish women.

Indeed, the creation of this virtual public space - the Internet - whose ease of access, low cost and freedom of expression give it a democratic character, is certainly at the origin of a grass roots movement that has enabled women to disseminate their demands and to promote their egalitarian initiative, notably via blogs and the creation of networks (this was made even easier with the arrival of Web 2.0[66]). Nonetheless, this movement alone is not enough to make either the information society or the real society an egalitarian one in Europe or the United States, let alone the rest of the world. As we have seen, ICSTs remain dominated by men with regards to training and jobs in this sector.

The information society overall also remains an area where stereotypes and the dominating masculine cultural model persist and resist. As highlighted by Anita Gurumurthy, "*this empowering process has the potential to destabilise existing gender relations. However, an enabling environment is a must if women are to*

enjoy equal access to the benefits of ICTs." During its board meeting to define the broad guidelines of future operational plans which took place in Geneva in June 2013, the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) approved the organisation's policy relating to gender equality and the integration of the principle of equality into all of its programmes and operational plans. This approach is to be adopted at local, national and European level.

For their part, all actors of the civil society campaigning for gender equality must use the incredible movement developing on the Web in order to put pressure on governments, play a part in the elaboration of public policies in the field of information and communication technologies and alert and secure public opinion regarding the important role of ICTs in the promotion of gender equality - something that is still far from being the case despite the intense virtual and real activity of women and feminists, notably via blogs, to achieve that aim.

Consequently, blogging, taking part in social networks, using the full range of digital tools to defend "the cause of women" and denounce inequalities, discrimination, and the violence to which they are still subjected: do these acts constitute an alternative to the traditional activism present within an association, political group or NGO? Is it as effective as a mass demonstration in the streets? How can these two action methods be made more complementary? Many women are asking themselves these questions.

These questions are also being asked within the European political formations, who have not yet, unlike their American counterparts, all entered into the "cyberdemocracy" to run their electoral campaigns.

● The use of ICTs by progressive political parties and the female vote

The sudden emergence of ICTs in our daily lives could but have an effect on political parties, notably progressive parties, in their way of operating and their mode of activism. That is why, before analysing the way in which progressive parties can use the Internet in order to convince women to give them their vote, it is necessary to see how these political formations use ICTs in their daily

actions and in running their electoral campaigns. An example of this last point comes from the United States and, in particular, Barack Obama's presidential campaigns in 2008 and 2012, which revealed the role of the Internet as a means of renewing the Democrat party and forming a political weapon in the search for victory. Europeans are trying to imitate - without complete success - this movement of political renewal and innovation; the political cultures of American and European parties differ significantly due to their different political history.

1   What ICTs have (or have not) changed in the operational and activist methods of the progressive parties

After a gradual (and late, compared to the English-speaking world) appropriation of information and communication technologies from 2000 onwards [67], European political parties - progressive and conservative - are now using the Internet (each in its own particular way as Clémence Pène[68]points out), especially during electoral campaigns. In Great Britain, for example, the local nature of legislative elections limits its expansion. In France, each party is appropriating the Internet according to its tradition and sociology.

Furthermore, they all have a website where they display their positions, programmes and campaigns. They also use digital tools in order to modernise their way of operating, strengthen internal cohesion and ensure better coordination between national and local teams. Almost all politicians have a blog, Twitter account and Facebook pages. As is the case for "cybercitizens", who use ICTs to get information, express themselves and exchange with others, ICTs provide political parties with the same facilities to launch online membership campaigns and involve members and sympathisers in defining their stances. They also enable them to reach a far greater number of citizens who get their information from the Internet, and to disseminate their analyses and proposals to a larger audience. Thanks to online discussion forums, parties can gauge public opinion in order to elaborate their campaign programmes in a more precise manner prior to publishing them online. Similarly, the Internet facilitates fund-raising among sympathisers in order to finance electoral campaigns (in

compliance with political party financing laws). Each candidate in an election now has a more or less elaborate website[69] that can be consulted by voters in order to discover his/her political profile, programme and activities during the campaign (meeting places, scheduled meetings, TV appearances etc.).

2   Participative democracy in the digital age?

Consequently, faced with this - still ongoing - evolution of the information society, the distribution of flyers and encounters with the people at the local market, sticking up posters, meetings in school playgrounds, party newsletters posted in letterboxes; is everything that has traditionally formed the basis of informing people about the stance of the progressive parties on any given issue or in order to run an electoral campaign now out-of-date? As is frequently stated, are we witnessing, thanks to the Internet, the emergence of a "participative democracy" that will come to the aid of the "representative democracy" which, today, is being undermined by the citizens themselves? In France, a survey[70] revealed that only 8% of French people say that they trust the political parties, be they left or right wing. For some time now, spontaneous movements have been springing up - "Les Bonnets Rouges" in Brittany, the "Manif pour tous" against same-sex marriage and alleged content of, what is called, "gender ideology" - on societal themes or diverse demands lying outside the traditional political arena and which aim to have a direct influence on the political powers in place.

At the European Union level the situation is no better, for example in Greece and Italy - the Forconi movement (brandishing pitchforks)[71] - or in Spain, the "Indignants" in 2011 and, more recently, that of Spanish women mobilised against the bill aiming to end their right to abort (cf. above). All of these local, national and even transnational movements - such as the global day of action "March against Monsanto" in May 2013 - mobilise people, and some of them are expanding via the Internet and social networks. They all express, on diverse subjects, a certain defiance towards the traditional political forces. The United States is also familiar with this type of spontaneous social movement outside the two main institutional parties with, notably, the "Occupy Wall Street"[72] movement and the emergence of the Tea Party in 2009-2010.

Two months before the most recent European Parliament elections took place, polls in almost all of the Member States showed a upsurge by extremist and

Euro-sceptic political formations[73], demonstrating the loss of confidence in the traditional European parties and the Union in general which, in the eyes of a large majority of Europeans, is incapable of managing the economic and financial - and therefore social - crisis that has been undermining it for over five years[74]. It could be predicted already then that the European Parliament resulting from the May 2014 vote was to be the most Euro-sceptic in its history. In Europe, in particular, the parties have not yet managed to respond to this crisis of legitimacy, made worse in certain elections - notably that of the European Parliament - by a rise in the number of abstentions[75].

Consequently, can ICTs alone restore the confidence of Europe's citizens in politics - and notably that of the younger generation who seem to be turning their backs on it[76] - and help the political parties, in particular the progressive parties, to follow the societal transformation resulting from these new forms of communication and of participation in the public debate? Admittedly, they allow for a more open public debate since a greater number of citizens, both male and female - compared to the more limited sphere of members and sympathisers - can obtain information, express themselves, debate, and even make proposals, which is something that can lead to renewed interest in the "res publica" (or "the public thing"). They can therefore constitute a link factor between citizens and the political powers. Some authors even see in this phenomenon the emergence of a real opposing force that should, eventually, result in a "cyberdemocracy", led by "cyberparties" replacing the traditional political parties.

We are not there yet. Even if these parties need to modernise themselves, they are not yet dinosaurs on the point of extinction. On the one hand American society, and European society in particular, are not yet "all-digital" societies. It would be wrong to believe that the advent of ICTs has put a definitive stop to the "old media" of television, newspapers and radio. A BVA poll of March 2012 for *01net* revealed that 75% of Europeans find out information about politics on the television, 42% through newspapers and "only" 36% via the Internet[77]. Nonetheless, the pollster remarks that "*the Internet is already in the top three, despite its recent arrival*".

3 Progressive parties, the Internet and the female vote

Moreover, ICTs are not yet accessible to all populations. Statistics show that those participating in the public debate on the Internet and social networks are primarily the educated middle and upper classes. Moreover, certain categories of the population, in particular the elderly, are not all connected; it is the same case for those on a low income. Finally, if exchanges and even debates are possible on the Web, it is difficult to use it for the development of summaries and the elaboration of political programmes. It therefore remains necessary, for the time being, to have "real" progressive political formations at our disposal, which are capable of summarising all of the debates and new proposals put forward on the Internet and on which they can build a political project confirming their vocation of transforming society in the direction of social justice and the fight against inequalities, particularly those between men and women. They must then utilise all of the means of communication available in order to persuade voters to vote for them, as the "traditional" roads reach the non-connected public (and the others); Internet, social networks, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Dailymotion, Vine and Google Plus and targeted emails facilitating and amplifying the dissemination of their proposals amongst the different audiences who also seek information on the Net, the younger generation and in particular women who, as we have seen, use digital tools to the same extent as men (cf. above).

It is worth recalling that, in the perception of the American democrat party - which made a comeback with the success we know following its stinging defeat at the 2004 presidential elections - ICTs are a tool that can accompany a party's renewal by providing an openness of unprecedented proportions to all voters. During electoral campaigns, ICTs serve a "traditional" campaign strategy carried out on a grass roots level and based on a clear political message. The importance of door-to-door campaigning, carried out by a reinforced and mobilised militant organisation, is well-recognised in the democrat victory. It was a case of ensuring the highest possible turnout of key voters such as young people[78] and women, and therefore persuading them to register on the electoral lists and vote. That is how, in 2012, Barack Obama received 55% of women's votes.

It is precisely these key voters, i.e. women, who must not be neglected by European progressive political parties, since they represent 52% of the world's voters. This is therefore a very important issue as, on both sides of the Atlantic, an increasing number of women are leaning towards extreme left or extreme right political parties. In the United States, the Tea Party has recruited a high number of women, with emblematic figures such as Sarah Palin or Michele Bachman. In Europe, women are now voting for these formations in the same way as men especially as, here too, they have women leaders, such as Marine Le Pen in France, Krisztina Morvai in Hungary, Pia Kjaersgaard in Denmark and Anke Van Dermeersch in Belgium.

Within the European Union, the task is made even more delicate for progressive formations and the European Socialist Party (PSE) since women are expressing greater scepticism with regards to European construction than men. Thus in France only 33% of women, as opposed to 47% of men[79], want a more integrated Europe. It was predictable already before that the European Parliament elections of 2014 would be a concern turnout, especially that of women. Progressive parties must therefore use all means possible with regards to communication and information in order to persuade women to vote, and to ensure they vote for them. It is essential that, on the website of all progressive parties and of each candidate standing for European election, who moreover have a Twitter account, the issue of gender equality is clearly present and that, in particular, they are reminded of the actions of the European Union in this domain ever since its creation.

This study does not aim to cover this issue in a comprehensive manner[80]. Let it be noted that the European Union is one of the most advanced political entities in the world on this issue, and that gender equality is a constitutive value of the Union. Over the years it has elaborated a very comprehensive egalitarian legal corpus which nonetheless is taking a long time to become a reality, even if significant progress has been made. With women nor men still not familiar with all of the directives, recommendations, action programmes implemented in order to ensure equality notably in the professional arena and the emergence of an egalitarian and equal European democracy, it is essential that they are reminded of these issues.

One of the main lines of the European campaign was to revolve around the promotion of gender equality as an ethical and democratic requirement and on the action conducted by all of the Union on electoral programmes and manifestos; proposals that go beyond what already exists, particularly with regards to the question of gender and reproductive rights. In order to appeal to women, progressive parties, in each of the 28 Member States must combine "traditional" militant action[81] and a move towards information and communication technologies, as analysed above. These digital tools constitute a useful additional measure in order to inform and persuade women - feminists and housewives, older women or younger only slightly politicised women who "surf" daily on the Internet - not to lean towards formations advocating a totally conservative, or retrograde, vision of women in society, notably in the area of reproductive rights and free choice regarding abortion. During the 2012 United States presidential campaign, the abortion issue was one of the determining themes in the vote of American women, who were extremely mobilised on social networks in order to defend their right to abort; something the Republican candidate intended to call into question should he be elected.

● Support from feminine and feminist networks

There is no doubt that a large number of online feminine and feminist European networks will mobilise themselves separately to defend women's rights and equality at work, particularly with regards to pay, and the fight against violence. Armed with their influence in the public debate, feminine networks can assert themselves through blogs, tweets and emails in order encourage the turnout of this key female electorate to elect a large number of women[82] to the future European Parliament and favour gender parity in all of its institutions, something that is still far from being the case.

On the Internet or in the school yards, women must show a massive commitment to the European campaign; the slogan selected by the European Parliament *"Act, React, Impact"* in order to raise the awareness of Europeans on the issues of the upcoming elections is ideally suited to the project for the transformation of society with regards to women, which must be embraced by all of the Union's progressive parties.

● Conclusion

At the end of this study on the issue of the place of women in the information and communication sciences and technologies sector, we can measure to what extent the issue of gender equality and the "visibility" of women is at the heart of the developing information society. As Monique Halpern explains in her communication, progressive parties have, historically, not always been the most eager to make fully-fledged citizens out of women. The French socialist party in particular has shown fierce resistance to granting them the right to vote, fearing that it would benefit the right more than the left. Women had to wait until 1944 to be able to vote and be elected, and then the year 2000 for a (socialist) law to make gender parity on electoral lists compulsory.
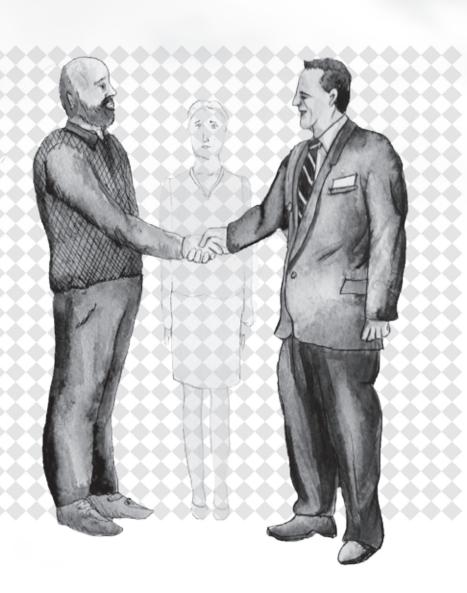
Today, in the European Union in general, even though girls outperform boys throughout their studies, the persistence of sexist stereotypes hinders their visibility in the world of science and ICSTs in particular, where they remain very much in the minority; a situation that is holding up the EU's economic development. Even though they have appropriated the use of ICTs in pretty much the same way as men, their visibility in the digital society remains blurred by the sexist, male chauvinist and violent messages conveyed on the Web.

A new public arena has however opened up with the emergence of ICTs in real life, and it is something women must not abandon; quite the contrary. Even if the same excesses can be found on the Internet, the horizontal links that women the world over can create between themselves gives them unprecedented strength and power. This was seen notably during the demonstrations of support for Spanish women for the protection of the right to abort in their country. Faced with this large-scale societal transformation, and in order to prevent history from repeating itself, progressive parties, particularly in the United States and Europe, must support this global societal movement and participate in the emergence of the "visibility" of women on the same level as men in this virtual world – a world which will increasingly dominate the real world. As we have seen, if they wish to modernise themselves and continue their action for greater democracy, they must use digital communication and information tools to amplify the dissemination of their message and especially to prevent themselves from being cut off from the men and women they claim to represent whilst ensuring, via the Net, the transition from pyramidal power to a horizontal organisation of society. The issue of gender equality is the

most pertinent marker of this evolution, which must lead progressive political formations to renew themselves and, like the American Democratic Party, open up to a society in the process of organising itself into networks.

The feature in French newspaper *Le Monde* of 28 December 2013 mentioned previously remarked that "*The Internet is shuffling the decks of power*". Dominique Rousseau, a French constitutionalist, noted that "*unlike the 18th century, where Voltaire and Rousseau were extremely connected and produced theses which were reflected in society, equivalent books on the current period have not yet been published. This will doubtless take place on social networks, which will produce what the elite do not see. From there will come the intellectuals who will give words to the world of the future*". And among these words are those of women.

THE (IN)VISIBILITY OF WOMEN OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE:

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF ITS EVOLUTION CENTRED ON THE OUTBURST IN 1968 OF THE 2ND WAVE OF FEMINISM

By **Monique Halpern**

The "betrayals", the missed appointments and clashes between feminism and progressive movements and the left belong to History [83].

● Foreword

First, we must clarify what is meant here by forces of the left before we engage in this presentation. Indeed, one may be surprised by the fact that this reference to the inclusion or exclusion of women's issues in the left in France will deal not only with militants of the Socialist and the Communist Party, but also take in account political forces that one might consider minor, from the point of view of numbers, of effective political responsibility, concrete governance and accountability.

Since these leftist radical forces were born at the same time as the feminist second wave, it seemed interesting to examine whether they were natural partners and, as they came up with all-over progressive, albeit revolutionary demands, weren't they objective allies of the early 70s feminism which "politicized everything it touched", which challenged the established order and morals, custom, and culture?

Therefore, before dealing with the mainstream left - Socialists and Communists - we will start by taking a look at the place overtly given to women - or taken by women - in the radical left organisations, *today*. Then we'll take a look back towards the early 70s, to look at the capacity, or incapacity, of left radical movements first, to recognise, identify, and acknowledge the transformative power of the women's movement, then, to support it, to integrate it into their political platform and demands, and finally, to use it as a forefront to signify their commitment to progress and change.

And as for the question of women's visibility or invisibility in the "old left", which will follow in this presentation, we will need to go much further back in time...

I. Women's issues, an essential part of the programs and events of the radical left today

> *December 2013: Women NGO's and leftist political parties assembled in Paris to protest against the threat on Spanish women's reproductive rights.*

As 2013 was coming to an end, a few major women's NGO's, as well as all political parties from the left, called for a demonstration in front of the Spanish embassy in Paris to protest against a project to ban the right to abortion, which had recently been released by the current right-wing Spanish government.

All the women NGO speakers asked that the French authorities vigorously express their criticism of this policy, and send an address to the EU requesting that reproductive rights[84] be included in EU fundamental rights. They demanded that it be part of the EU domain of responsibility, law-making and enforcement watching, and not left entirely to the field of subsidiarity of country members. In view of the European elections that were taking place next spring, they also called on all political parties to include this demand in their political platforms. Then the political parties of the left addressed the demonstration. They too vigorously condemned this negative political turn, and straightaway qualified it as an attempt to camouflage the Spanish right-wing party's failure to improve the economic situation and, more broadly, the damage brought by capitalism, financialisation and European "ultra-liberalism".

Clearly, for these political spokesmen and spokeswomen, the Spanish ban on abortion was, above all, an event to be fought in the context of a broader war. Not much time was spent on the measure itself, on what it entailed from the point of view of women's rights, women's empowerment, capacity and freedom of choice. This was particularly clear in the speech of the Communist Party speaker, and as one listened to him, it was difficult not to recall the

"neutrality" of this party regarding issues related to women's rights to their bodies or their sexuality, when these questions arose in the 50s and late 60s, as we shall examine later.

When an extreme left party chose to back a Muslim woman's right to wear the Islamic veil as a way to promote the party's commitment to women's full citizenship and autonomy.

The other left-wing party that similarly gave the impression it was "using" women's issues to serve other "wider", "more important" goals, was the NPA (Nouveau Parti Anticapitaliste)[85] as revealed by such comments in regional party leaflets (Tarn region), for example: "Let's just hope that the reaction against the extreme right (in Spain) does not limit itself to restore to power a social liberal government whose limits can be seen daily, as well as its renouncements, in France, Greece, Brazil, etc.".

Actually, referring to women and this extreme-left party, the NPA, a recent development comes to mind, one that may not have attracted international attention[86] but one that is interesting to recall in a reflection on the place of women's issues within organisations of the left. For the regional elections, in May 2011, the NPA Vaucluse section asked Ilham Moussaid, a woman wearing the Islamic veil, to stand as a candidate in the forthcoming regional elections. In the French context created by the March 15, 2004 law prohibiting wearing ostensible signs of religion affiliation in public schools – the schools of the Republic - and in view of the large debate it created, to take such a political decision was far from being neutral, or banal, which is why it is interesting to examine this decision and its consequences.

Secularism or "Laïcité" is a core value of the French Republic, enshrined in its constitution. Not only does it formally separate church and state by a law passed in 1905 but it firmly pushes religion into the private sphere. "Religion is a private concern and has no place in the public sphere" is an argument that you will hear again and again. The problem is that in fact the 2004 law quickly became seen as the law against the Islamic veil, i.e. targeting certain women: Muslim women. Consequently, the fight against Islamophobia waged by progressive milieux included the right for Muslim women to wear the Islamic veil. The figure of Ilham Moussaid became a focal point in the balance between the defence of secularism and the fight against racism and Islamophobia.

When the NPA decided to ask *a woman* to stand up for elections, it wanted to show that it was committed to the promotion of women's political responsibilities, i.e. politically correct; furthermore, promoting *a woman wearing the Islamic veil* was conceived by the organisation as being "doubly" progressive, as at the same time it also meant promoting the right of women to wear the veil. The NPA wanted to show it was progressive, and radical, by publicly taking position on a hot society debate centred on women's issues. One may look at this as an example of instrumentalisation of feminism for political purposes by a radical organisation of the left. But we must keep in mind that other forces, not necessarily left or progressive, were also using the case of the Muslim woman deprived of her right to wear the Islamic veil, to charge French society of Islamophobia and sexist discrimination.

Moussaid's candidacy was considered all the more surprising because she was running for a party with far-left leanings traditionally seen in favour of women's rights and secularism. It was argued that Ilham Moussaid was free to practice her religion in private, but that when she was wearing a religious symbol on her head and delivering overt statements about her religion she was taking her religion into the public sphere - a practice considered taboo - and could not become a representative of the French state. This decision of the NPA was in complete opposition with that of most French feminists, for whom the Muslim veil is incompatible with feminism.

Here are some reactions of feminists, starting with that of Caroline Fourest[87]:

> "The paradox does not come from the fact that a young woman of 22 years sees no contradiction between the decision to veil herself for God and to belong to a party of Trotskyist inspiration struggling against sexism. .. what about policy coherence beliefs of Party leaders? Anti-sexist and firm against the Christian fundamentalist anti-abortionists, but understanding the religious reaction when it wears a veil. … … the veil is not the emblem of progressive Muslims, but .. the flag of traditionalist and reactionary Muslims …

... To have a candidate who wears the veil shows that the NPA "fits" in popular neighbourhoods .. Would the veil have become the emblem of these neighbourhoods? Do Feminists of Muslim culture who wish to resist the veil still have their place within the NPA?

... there would be an "Islamic feminism", which, unlike the unbridled sixty-eighters of "Western feminism", wants to preserve the body and the modesty of women.. Of course, this religious feminism is not inconsistent with the fight against capitalism. However, it is in contradiction with the progressive and secular feminism with which it is at war... Still, there are activists who refuse to betray the spirit of May 68 and the Women's Liberation Movement under the pretext of chasing the voter in popular districts ...

One of the three other women candidates resigned, not wanting to be on the same list as Ilhan; she said: "It was unbearable.., for me, there was an incompatibility of being a secular feminist faced with a conspicuous religious symbol, the symbol of a form of oppression of women."[88]

Here are some other comments from feminist milieux:

the blog of the NGO Pélénope was headed like this:

"Pénélope refuses and fights sexism!"

"Ilham Moussaïd is not feminist because she agrees with patriarchal values, Ilham Moussaïd is not secular because she wears her veil religiously, Ilham Moussaïd is not anti-capitalist as she plays the game of capitalism!"

MP89 Aurélie Filippetti advised the NPA leader to "reread Marx" in order to understand why the Muslim veil was unacceptable. Martine Aubry said that, in the name of secularism, she would never have let a veiled woman stand for election.

A protestation even came from a male NPA comrade, member of the national executive, (Pierre-François Grond): *"We are a feminist party, emancipatory and secular. The representation of the party should be too."* A leading feminist group announced it would file an official complaint against the NPA's list of candidates in the Vaucluse département to protest against what it called an "anti-secular, anti-feminist and anti-republican" stunt, but then Ilham decided to leave the

organisation and this complaint fell. As it happens, the political consequences of this decision were very negative for the NPA.

First of all, the move did not win the NPA the expected votes from Muslim communities and neighbourhoods, and the final score of the NPA at these elections was very disappointing. Secondly, the women members of the organisation, for whom being progressive meant being attached to secularism, protested against this decision and many of them left the party.

More on current signs of allegiance to women's issues by leftist parties.

Going back to the political parties that demonstrated in front of the Spanish Embassy last December 27 it should be noted that the Front de gauche[90] was there too. This party was created more recently than the other radical left parties mentioned in this paper. Its message regarding the Spanish threat on abortion rights resembled those of the other radical leftist parties in its denunciation of an ultra-liberal, non-progressive policy, with, in addition, a forceful statement that women's rights are definitely a component of any progressive stand.

This posture echoes a recent occurrence that is significant about the way this newer leftist political party has integrated women's issues, and will put them forward in numerous and diverse circumstances.

It occurred in 2012, during the presidential electoral campaign.

A TV debate took place between two presidential candidates, Jean-Luc Mélenchon, President of the Front de Gauche, and Marine Le Pen, the female leader of the Front National[91] (FN). In the platform of the FN, there are indeed many issues that Mélenchon could have brought up regarding the economy, migration policies, racism, etc. But he chose to attack his opponent on women's rights issues, namely women's rights to work or their reproductive rights, their right to keep control over their body. And up to this day the Front de Gauche leader has continued, in each public debate, whatever the subject, to place women's issues at the forefront in his comments; here is some food for thought, as we examine the visibility/invisibility of women on the left...

II. What was it like, in radical left organisations in the late 60s/early 70s?

After these glimpses of recent occurrences, it is time to turn back 40 years ago, to the position of these parties on women issues in the early 70s. How did they respond to the emergence of the women's movement, to the call, and the fights, for women's rights and a fairer share of power, responsibilities and opportunities, in the aftermath of the 1968 social movements?

To what extent did the forces of the Left link with and lean on women's rights issues, to support their views and actions, and how?

The late 60s indeed saw the appearance of a large, diversified, very active and creative host of new organisations "of the Left" that corresponded to the "New Left" on the other side of the Atlantic. They were not reformers and were not interested in politics of the major parties; they wanted new forms of life, new politics. Some of the French radical movements deliberately avoided structuration, hierarchy, organigrams, choosing 'spontaneity', i.e. acting and reacting spontaneously.

For that very reason their action and doctrine were less visible, less efficient and their position towards women's issues more difficult to appraise. However, when VLR (Vive La Révolution) collapsed, in 1974, its leaders said: "it's the departure of the women that killed us!": indeed, their women had left, to join women's organisations.

However, on the contrary, some radical leftist organisations were very strictly controlled, putting forward the value of discipline and respect of the party line. This was particularly the case for the organisations of Maoist inspiration, such as the Gauche Prolétarienne (GP) and the Marxist-Leninist Party of France (PCMLF). Both were very rigid Marxist-Leninist revolutionary organisations, prioritising the working class role towards the establishment of an "authentic" communist society. It is interesting to note that these stern militants had a very traditional practice of the family and the couple: strict monogamous heterosexual relations were the norm, and extramarital affairs were "petty-bourgeois decadence", which makes it quite interesting to interview feminists who belonged to these movements in the early 70s.

In those years, **Josiane** shared everything with her comrades: their living quarters, her salary, her car. When the first fights to de-penalise abortion broke out, and a feminist organisation called the MLAC (Mouvement pour la Libération de l'Avortement et de la Contraception) started performing illegal abortions, the women comrades of the GP were at first forbidden to participate in this movement, which was not seen as part of a progressive, revolutionary drive, but as an issue concerning bourgeois women wanting to have a good time... The prevailing and unique life-style model in the organisation was the monogamic heterosexual family norm. When the GP women argued that the MLAC was waging a legitimate battle because many working class women could not afford having a third or fourth child, then they were allowed to join the fight. Josiane understood then that she would never be able to pursue a feminist quest while being a GP militant. To become the feminist she wanted to be there was no choice but to leave the organisation, seek her path within herself and in society, outside the leftist group.

In the same years, **Annick** happened to be living with a leader of the PCMLF. When she had an affair, she was called by the political bureau of the organisation, in front of which she was summoned to "explain herself".

Caroline Fourest, whom I have already quoted, also mentions an interesting occurrence: "In its time, the MLF[92] (Women's Lib Movement) fight was also deemed "petty-bourgeois" and "secondary". In 1976, a feminist activist, who had reported a rape by an immigrant "comrade", was submitted to a real Moscow type trial. Her leftist "comrades" accused her of stigmatising popular classe."

The following comments, about women in the "New Left", could as well apply to these French radical organisations:

"The women measured their invisibility as leaders to the fact that the debates were dominated by men and that their words were not listened to. Oppression was analysed by taking social class into account. Sexism was a subject of jokes and it did not fall within the theoretical debates. Although women felt that the issues affecting their lives in a more direct way (sex, sharing household chores, oppression ...) should be part of the political discussion, their comrades failed to do so. ...The first policy decision of feminism was to organize autonomously, to separate from men. Thus the Movement for the Liberation of Women was formed." [93]

The interesting point is the necessity expressed by these feminists of the 70s, who belonged to political organisations of the Left, to leave them, to separate and seek elsewhere and through other means the possibility to develop their quest and find appropriate ways of fighting for their goals. It comes as an echo of what had happened at the end of the 19th century and between the two world wars, between feminists and socialists: they also found out they had to organise outside the party, for there was no attention to their needs and priorities in the party, as we shall now see as we leave the radical, albeit marginal, parties of the Left, and turn to the "Old Left".

III. The visibility/invisibility of women of the mainstream left

In Parliament, in places where decisions are taken and new laws are passed, we find another Left[94]: Social Democrats and Communists, representatives of political formations for which women's issues were far from a new issue when the feminist second wave broke out in the late sixties.

The heritage of early socialism.

For this "Old Left", the references to equality between men and women date back to the second half of the 19th century. The Socialist International Women's recording of *The First Hundred Years* recalls how Karl Marx viewed the inclusion of women in the First International:

"Women play a very great role in life: they work in the factories, they take part in the strikes; they fought in the Commune. They have more fervor than the men".[95] But these strong words remained… words that for many years that took a very long time to be translated into resolutions in political platforms, and even those were contradicted by the behaviours of leftist militants.

There are numerous and well known examples of the difficulties met by the first feminists in their unsuccessful attempts to get the socialist parties to incorporate women's issues in their programs, or even to allow women

militants to take a stand on common major issues, such as Peace and War. The above Internationale Socialist Women document recalls how severely Clara Zetkin, Head of Socialist Women in Germany, was criticised in 1915 by Friedrich Ebert, who reproached her for organising the Berne Peace Conference «behind the back» of the German Socialist Party: "This is not a task for women".

When you subordinate the struggle of women to the struggle against capitalist exploitation in the field of production, you postpone the solution of these problems for a later stage. There are major contradictions and secondary contradictions as Lenin outlined in his discussions with Clara Zetkin.

This early socialist heritage is shared by the French Socialist[96] and Communist Parties, as the two organisations were one until the Tours Congress in 1920. For a detailed and precise account of the handling of women's questions in *early* socialist times, I also largely refer to Ghislaine Toutain's April 2010 report to the FEPS, named "La social-démocracie européenne et les femmes".

This part of my presentation refers a lot to her report, and I will quote her again when I deal with the way the Socialist Party handled women's issues after 1920.

> "As early as the first half of the 19th century, socialist thinkers were writing about the place of women in society. They did it, however, in contradictory ways. Some - as Saint-Simon, Fourier, Engels and August Bebel - recognized the need for equality between women and men, while others, especially Charles Fourier and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, refused any emancipation of women. "Women can only be housewives or courtesans," felt the latter. This position significantly marked the French labor movement for a long time.
>
> … As for women, they organized, but with different strategies. On the one hand, the "bourgeois feminism", was marked by republicanism, secularism and anti-clericalism. Its battle focused on the field of civil rights, and yielded some success, particularly in the areas of education[97], labor law, access to professions and the easing of the Civil Code that was established in 1804[98]. On the other hand, the "socialist feminism," claiming the right to vote and political emancipation before civil emancipation. These two strands of feminism did not join up, they were marked by fragmentation into small groups, break-ups and disagreements until the First World War.

…While the followers of the class struggle believed that women should have the same civil, economic, social and political rights as men, they did not believe that "the unjust social wealth holders ever agree to give them." Clearly, only the emergence of a socialist society would achieve equality between women and men".

Here we find the classic relationship of the labour movement vis-à-vis feminist causes. Most of the time the hegemonic group believes that the achievement of its claims will necessarily benefit all oppressed people. The classic labour movement argued that it would solve sexism by pooling the means of production, by socialisation of housework and by ending divisions within the proletariat.

Socialist women were left to rely on themselves. This led to the establishment in July 1899 of the Socialist Feminist Group (GFS), the only group of its kind to be independent of any party, defending both women as women and women as workers, highlighting the double oppression of women "exploited on a large scale by capitalism, subjected to men by laws and especially by prejudice".

They followed in that Clara Zetkin, who had affirmed the principle of the incompatibility between socialism and feminism at the conference of the Second International in 1907. This group never encountered much success and failed to survive the Socialist Unity Congress in 1905. In 1913, it was replaced by the GDFS (Groupe des Femmes Socialistes); that was composed of socialist women exclusively, and established *within* the Socialist Party.

Between 1905 and 1920, it is, still as per Ghislaine Toutain, "the impossible socialist women's movement".

This inability to create a great socialist feminist movement like other major European social democratic parties is explained by a certain indifference of men towards women's issues, and also by two other factors that for a long time marked the history of socialist women: first distrust of socialist leaders against women's suffrage suspected of not being able to extract the influence of the Catholic Church and therefore likely to give a conservative vote, and in addition, the socialist women gave priority to the fight against socio-economic inequalities before the feminist claims, resulting in indentation of female identity among women activists who define themselves as «socialists like the others.»

The French Communist Party, born in 1920, had its own references and ways concerning women's issues.

These socialist roots are shared by the current French Socialist and Communist Parties - as well as by some of the more recent Marxist new left organisations already mentioned - but after the Tours Congress of 1920, the newly born French Communist Party had an additional reference for a policy inclusive of women's issues: that of the Soviet Union "big brother" model.

This was a model that went through diversified phases: the Kollontai's early radical claim for free love and the re-foundation of family was quickly put aside, but, still, until 1935, the Soviet Union issued measures to legalise divorce, abortion, de-criminalise homosexuality…

In 1935 came the "conservative revolution": the construction of socialism required a stable family, and the politics of the French Communists went through an evolution parallel to that of the Soviet state: "Using one's forces for the love of sex meant robbing the revolution".[99]

As a result there came a time in the Soviet state when the attention to women's rights was narrowed down to the right to work (also in traditional male jobs), the right to education, support for children care, to shared political responsibilities (formally at least), etc., and these politics were copied by the French Communist Party.

During the Second World War, the French Resistance movement counted many women on its side. Charlotte Delbo[100], one of them, told the women's stories and wrote about their impressive courage, up to the moment when they were put into concentration camps.

Many of them were Communists. New representations of women were to come out of this, as well as a stronger legitimacy to claim full citizenship, which inevitably weighed when the issue of the vote for woman reappeared after the war. (It is through the amendment of a Communist MP[101] that the women's right to vote was passed in April 1944, but the initiative came from Général de Gaulle, who, out of London, had already stated in June 1942, that, after the war "all our men and women will elect the National Assembly").

Focusing on the Communist Party's stand on sexual and reproductive rights of women.

Regarding women's issues, the position of the French Communists went through very diversified phases over the years when it came to sexuality or reproductive rights.

Following the huge blood-shed after the First World War, a 1920 law banning abortion and contraception was adopted because a strong natalist reconstruction was needed. At that time, and until the mid-thirties, the Communists were opposed to this policy, calling for the rights of women to contraception and abortion[102], indicating that under capitalism maternity should not be developed, as all forces should aim at the revolution. These were also times when articles supporting tolerance towards extra marital relations and even homosexuality were published.[103]

In 1935, a turning point came within the French Communist Party after the Soviet Union, towards a "conservative revolution" that took its references in Clara Zetkin's writings about Lenin, who expressed the utmost reproval of women's meetings "where preference was given to discussions about sexuality, while the first proletarian state was fighting the counter-revolutionaries of the whole world! But the female militants discussed the sexual situation and forms of marriage, in the present, the past and the future! This is rubbish!". [104]

A conformist vision of family and sexuality was thus installed which would last for quite a long time, as is clearly evident when one looks into the position of the Communist party towards contraception (birth control), abortion and chosen maternity during the first decades following the Second World War. The tone was given by MP Jeannette Vermeersch, the companion (and later the wife)[105] of Maurice Thorez - who was General Secretary of the Communist Party. This couple of militants and leaders of the party ruled and set the line in a way that was not quite in tune with the country's progressive forces.

Jeannette Vermeersch's violent opposition during the 1955-56 debate on contraception and repeal of the 1920 law became famous. She had remained faithful to the old idea that the emancipation of women would not be the emancipation of women from the status of women, but emancipation from oppression and exploitation imposed on the proletariat work of both sexes.

"But since when are women proletarians struggling for the same rights as the ladies of the bourgeoisie? ... Since when would working class women demand the right to access the vices of the bourgeoisie? Never ..."[106] She was engaged to preserve "what working class women were passionately attached to and that would shortly be pulled away from them without them realizing what it was: motherhood (not just the "happy motherhood", this "quick and well" appearance of maternity, this lightweight and very fleeting obligation to which, maternity is reduced, the manner in which frozen and microwave-oven dishes have reduced cooking)".[107]

That brought her to stand against contraception, even against the new painless childbirth methods that Professor Lamaze, himself a Communist, had brought back from the Soviet Union in 1951.

Obviously there was no understanding of what control over their bodies could bring to women and later, in 1968, the Communists understood neither the outburst of the Women's Liberation Movement nor the May 68 movement as a whole.

It will take the Socialist Party 50 years to move from indifference to active recognition of the political and social outcomes related to women's issues.

Referring again to Ghislaine Toutain's report, "..in the end, from 1905 to 1940, both the socialist women and women's issues suffered quasi *invisibility* in the socialist party". Up to 1940, women remained a minority, never representing more than 2% to 3% of the militants, the lowest percentage in Europe.

For sure, in 1931, a National Committee of Socialist Women (CNDFS) was created. But like the previous women's organisation, it was placed inside the socialist party; its leaders tried to "acknowledge the specificity of women's issues and to define the conditions of full equality within the party and in society"[108], but these women militants actually put their party above their commitment to women and denied them the right to organise independently. It did not seek to obtain full rights for women but rather to protect them against feminist subversion: "Feminism is a matter for bourgeois women"[109].

For election campaigns, they wrote arguments towards women voters, analysing specific problems and proposing socialist solutions. They thus came up with leaflets on "The Socialist Party, defender of women and children", or "The socialist program and women".

However, socialist women encountered difficulties in integrating working class women into their groups and even in the Socialist Party, while the "bourgeois" feminists mobilised against Union and working class leaders to defend the rights of women to work. Men were very reluctant, even hostile, because they considered that women's work was a usurpation of men's work. In addition, they believed that women's place was in the home or that women were "by nature" less combative than men[110]. This was a feeling shared by many socialists, unwilling to focus on the problems of working class women.

At the 1935 Socialist Party Conference, a quarter of the votes were against the vote for women. And Leon Blum himself, who had long been a supporter of women's suffrage, refused to carry out this promise; even the women's committee (CNDFS) "made no effort to ask Blum women's suffrage"[111]. And later on in 1938, there were no women in the second Léon Blum government[112] .

During the Second World War, many socialist women, as well as communist women, took part in the Resistance. After the war, as already mentioned, French women were given the right to vote and equality between women and men was written in the Constitution and guaranteed by law. But this advance quickly came against the persistence of dormant anti-feminism in the political world, including from within the Socialist Party which maintained its traditional distrust of women's suffrage always suspected of being close to the catholic movement. However, a new situation was created and the party had to quickly develop some programmatic proposals to face the coming elections as it was ill prepared to convince the new electorate.

The party then created a Secretariat for Women's Affairs with a mission clearly defined in the statutes: to ensure the propaganda and to recruit - in other words, make women aware of the socialist doctrine and entice them to join the party. Its founders quickly found out that neither the socialist leaders nor the militants had any interest for women's issues, and election results were disappointing.

The party leadership continued to reaffirm the principle of universalism, which implied gained equality between women and men, between male and female

militants. During the period 1948-1958, the feminist themes were still not a priority for the Socialist Party. The interests of the party for women manifested itself only during election time. Women were isolated in the party and very much in the minority in the boards. In 1958, women represented 16% of the Party members, whereas they made up 55% of the electoral body.

Thus, at the time when Simone de Beauvoir published *The Second Sex* (1949), triumphant familialism and natalist ideology were to mark a backlash for feminism, also among Socialists.

> *The turn of 1965 and the commitment of the Socialist Party to the liberalisation of women's reproductive rights prepared it to be in phase with the emergence of the second wave of feminism.*

However, Socialist women (and men!) participated in the social movement that was gaining momentum in favour of contraception in the late 50s and throughout the 60s. A great number of Socialists led the movement for family planning, which raised a major debate in French society.

In 1964, the Socialist group in the National Assembly deposited a private bill to end the 1920 law banning contraception. In 1965, the presidential campaign marked a turning point: François Mitterrand, the only candidate of the left in this election, declared himself in favour of contraception. In 1967, the Neuwirth law that allowed it in France was finally passed after heated debate and with the help of the socialist MP's.

The movement of May 1968 and the rise of the "second wave" of feminism with the birth of the MLF in 1970 created a new context. The Women's Committee of the Socialist party looked with scepticism and with misunderstanding at the emergence of this "new feminism" which remained relatively foreign, even though some socialist women were involved in it.

In total during this period, the Socialists remained still estranged to women's issues. Still some of them were elected to Parliament and a few women belonged to their leadership. It took the 70s to hear demanding voices in the Socialist Party.

In 1971, at the Epinay Congress, a new Socialist Party was born, with François Mitterrand at its head. Did this renovation also concern the role of women in the party? On this issue, a testimony from Yvette Roudy, who would be Minister of Women's Rights after the election of François Mitterrand in 1981, is indicative of the state of the party facing women's issues in 1971. In an interview in 2006 she said: "When I joined the PS in 1971 with François Mitterrand, I found out. .. a small closed world where feminism was considered an avatar of the bourgeoisie ... The Women's Committee was unaware of the feminist movements that began to shake society after May 1968, including the manifesto in favor of abortion[113] ".

In 1971, women bringing new blood entered the SP. Still, the years 1971-2000 were "no quotas, no parity" years, but in 1975 an exclusively male SP parliamentary group voted for the bill allowing abortion in France.

Even though the Socialist group in the National Assembly after the general elections of 1978 still had no women in it, a "Manifesto of the Socialist Party on women's rights" appeared that same year, which amounted to a formal recognition of feminism by the SP.

This brief overview of one hundred forty-four years of struggle for socialist women to exist in their party can measure the fierce resistance of socialist leaders, men of all ages and generations, and their determination to contain access of women to political responsibilities as long as they could.

This situation is not the result of chance, and it extends far beyond the Socialist Party, for reasons well analysed by research.[114]

In addition, feminist movements of the 70s/80s did not fight on the grounds of political responsibilities. Their demands focused on society issues and emancipation of women: the right to abortion, the right to divorce, to cohabit outside of marriage, and so on. It is only relatively recently that demands to political equality were put forward by a feminist movement that has evolved over the last twenty years. It should be stressed that it was the Socialist Party - headed then by Lionel Jospin - that passed the first law on parity[115] which began to unlock a system that seemed unable to move by itself. This completed a long period of reconciliation between socialism and feminism, at least in principle.

And here is Ghislaine Toutain's ending word: "Today it is the responsibility of the Socialist Party not only to continue its internal transformation by becoming a true joint party at all levels of responsibility but also by taking this essential requirement to 'reformulate a social contract between the sexes'[116] more into account".

IV. In conclusion: The visibility of the issues of women of the left – A shared responsibility!

We just saw that within the mainstream left, the Socialists were more ready than the Communists to face the new women's issues raised by the second wave of feminism and to take them on board, one reason being that the two parties were in a different situation, the Socialists having little to lose and much to gain in branching on these new strands of society.

Actually, within a few years many political forces opened up to the new needs revealed by the 68 movement, and namely the coming of the 2nd feminist wave, or the women's lib movement.

As for the Socialist Party, when it came to power in 1981 it voiced loudly and strongly its commitment to women's rights, actually setting up what some named a "State feminism": adopting and defending women's rights - namely through the creation of a specific, dedicated, administration - fighting sexist prejudices and discrimination, calling on the social partners to do their part, encouraging the building of a strong and ambitious female image... all this was seen as part of new state responsibility and mission.

And concerning political parties and women citizens, the law on parity in public and political responsibilities was a strong move, with effects that go far beyond its precise domain of enforcement, yielding broader "parity effects" that tend to spread largely (the trickle-down effect).

As a result of this can we keep considering that we have women on one hand, and the left on the other, and wonder about the degree of visibility or invisibility of women's issues in the left?

Is it acceptable to keep assessing them as distinct, separate units?

In other words, aren't women more and more "at home" in politics, aren't they part of it, and aren't they also accountable for the way in which women's issues are handled?

There was a time, remember, when feminists had to leave their organisation to pursue their objectives.

Today, aren't they fully part of the "stuff" that political and social life is made of?

It may seem naïve to express such truisms, but every day we come across contrary statements. Here is one,below which comes from a well-known "historical" French ultra-leftist feminist which I have picked up because it is provocative and smartly put - a reason why it's all the more important to challenge it!

> *The 70s were marked by a crisis of legitimacy of the ruling class .. to overcome or at least mitigate its crisis, the ruling bloc had to assimilate resistances which were opposed to it. The incorporation of elements of criticism in the rhetoric of the ruling class was achieved by the arrival of the Socialists in power in 1981. It resulted in concessions of the authorities at legislative and symbolic levels (like the 1983 law on equal opportunities at work at the initiative of the Ministry of Women's Rights).*

> *Hence the disconnection of these reforms from the movements that carried them out:*

> *''But if the system moves by itself, to fight it is as ridiculous as running beside a conveyor belt: one gets out of steam to get to the same place, just for nothing. Thus can our past and present struggles be used against future struggles, they can serve the system even better than no struggles at all, if the system is able to form a picture of intrinsic mobility by robbing us of our achievements, providing we let it seize them as an adornment''* [117]

If we step back to the Spanish backlash on abortion rights with which we opened this presentation, and if we consider the threats on women's rights in many progressive, democratic European countries to-day, can we agree with the passivity, and negativity, that Christine Delphy is proning? Don't we feel the need to protect anddefend our achievements and past struggles? When rightist parties attract their fair share of women, shouldn't feminists of the left fully hold their own, occupy the space, keep their rank, face their responsibilities and *make* history?

This job suits everyone!

LEGAL EDUCATION AND GENDER EQUALITY

By **Paola Cecchi-Dimeglio**

● Abstract

Studies have documented an increase in the number of women's faculties in academia and in the number of women students across academic disciplines. However, women that follow a legal education continue to face unique challenges of gender inequality during law school and in their legal careers. The numerical gains of women students have apparently not yielded equivalent increases in power and opportunities and have not translated into a stronger presence of women in leadership roles.

In other words, women's broadening educational paths, including attending law school, have not yet led to a proportional increase in female leaders in the legal profession. This immediately raises the question of why the gender gap still exists even if the pipeline seems to provide a sufficient number of women capable of rising to leadership positions?

This article aims to provide both an explanation for the gender gap as well as direction in closing the gender gap by reviewing gender (in)equality in legal education, and by highlighting the lessons learned. It also focuses on what role legal education can play in helping law students, especially women, to reach leadership positions.

● Introduction

The awareness of gender-gaps has increased around the world and the theme of gender inequality now occupies a more prominent position on many policy agendas. However, there is still much work to be done.

The current evolution of gender-gaps, especially in the U.S. is subtle but no less pernicious. For instance, in legal education from a first impression point of view, it seems as if gender gaps may have disappeared, but reality shows that, in fact, they have not. Since the mid-1990s, new information on gender gaps in legal education and in the legal profession has become available but through a predominately descriptive and functional research lens. This article attempts to shift the perspective towards a more strategic lens.

At its base, (legal) education has a duty to teach law students how to create, recognise, and seize opportunities in graduate schools and beyond. Legal education is an environment in which students further assert their identity of today and tomorrow. Recognising and acknowledging that the educational experiences of students in graduate schools are of substantial influence on their legal careers, especially in law school, is a pre-requisite to closing the gender gap.

Over the last three decades, there has been a disproportionate increase in women gaining degrees in law, business, life science, physical sciences, and engineering (UNESCO, 1998 (a), 1998 (b), 1998 (c), 2005, 2009, 2012). Several rationales can explain this phenomenon but all have stemmed from the idea that full and meaningful participation by all segments of society is vital in a democracy. Women certainly have an important part to play (World Economic Forum, 2010, World Bank, 2012). Law students as future lawyers are playing a central role at the heart of many economic and social endeavours (Abel and Lewis, 1989). Even if the majority of men and women going to law school will

have a traditional career path, a large number of them are going into other economic sectors that significantly influence our democracy. Law students will clearly have a role and function in society (Childress, 2007). These non-state actors even seem to influence the creation of authoritative rules for social and business relationships (Mnookin et al, 1999).

People thought that women's broadening educational path, including attending law school, would lead to a proportional increase in female leaders in the legal profession. The truth is that it did not. "The passage of time, for years cited as a reason for hope, has failed to put a major dent in the huge disparities" in both career advancement and leadership position for women (Levison and Young, 2010).

These gender gaps are still very much present in the legal profession. For instance, research has found that women's opportunities continue to be limited by several factors, such as gender stereotypes and inadequate support and mentoring networks (Rhode, 2002, Sanderfur, 2007).

Over the years, legal education has made important steps forward in filling the gender gaps, but it still fails to fully and adequately prepare law students for a diverse professional world. It fails as well in providing a platform for female students to succeed in law school and well beyond, including helping women law students to reach leadership roles. This immediately raises the question of why the gender gaps still exist even if the pipeline seems to provide sufficient numbers of talented women to rise to leadership positions?

This article aims to provide direction in closing the gender gaps by reviewing gender (in)equality in legal education (I), and by highlighting the lessons legal education learned (II). It also addresses the role of legal education in terms of leadership and in helping women to reach the top (III).

● Legal education, women and career opportunities

In the last half of the twentieth century, women's access to education has grown and the very nature of available employment has given women more

opportunities (Woryk, 2011). Today, in the U.S., women constitute nearly 50 percent of the country's work force and comprise 50.8 percent of the population (Women in the Labor Force, US Bureau of Statistic, 2013).

Studies have documented an increased number of women students across academic disciplines. Overall, women currently constitute more than 60% of all bachelor's and master's cohorts and almost 50% of professional degree graduates (Women in the Labor Forces, US Bureau of Statistic, 2013). Yet, in areas that have been historically male dominated, gender-gaps exist and although subtle, they are no less pernicious. The law is an example of such an area.

For a long time, women have been excluded from the legal sphere. It is only with the passage of time that greater numbers of women were admitted to law school and then entered the legal profession in the U.S. It took almost a century of struggle for women, both at the state and federal level, to gain the right to be admitted to practice law and it is only relatively recent that they are admitted at approximately the same rate as men into law school (Schwab, 2003). [118]

Overall, the past 50 years has known a substantial increase of women in key educational disciplines such as law schools and even more so in business schools. Clearly, this is a positive development and an important precondition for women's presence in the legal profession and beyond.

Most commonly, legal education provides the path for law students to become lawyers, judges, law professors, and law deans. However, a considerable number of law students, approximately 30%, will eventually move into non-legal jobs in the private or public sector (Catalyst, 2001). For instance, about 10% of the CEOs of S&P 500 companies are lawyers (Curriden, 2010). Law school graduates are also likely to join governmental and political institutions (Gross, 2004, Smith, 2008). For example, lawyers encompassed approximately 59% of U.S. Presidents and are the most dominantly held positions of both houses in the U.S Congress (Amer, 2006, ABA, 2010).

As a result, lawyers occupy an important segment of the legislative body and influence policy for businesses as well as protect the interest of citizens.

Without any doubt, the more that the legal education and the profession itself are diverse, the more society will ensure the representativeness at the political, economic and legal levels. Clearly, even if the pipeline of women in graduate school is promising, such as in law and business, we still do not reach gender equality at the top.

● The lessons learned from gender and legal education

Even though legal education has made important steps forward in filling the gender gap, it still fails to fully and adequately prepare law students for a diverse professional world. Legal education is not yet at the forefront of gender equality (Wald et al, 2013).

One of the most significant deficiencies identified in legal education that remains is that men seem to be the primary recipients of legal knowledge and classroom attention (Moore, 2007). Experiences in law school for men seem to be significantly different than for women and minorities. Scholars have attributed this phenomenon to a mismatch between goals of law schools, individual law students and/or distinct groups of students (Guinier et al, 1994, Wilkins and Kaufman, 2009, Rhode, 2010 (a), 2010(b)).

One other identified fundamental problem is that law schools constitute a workplace founded on a culture of masculinities (Neumann, 2001, McGinley, 2009). In the shadow of a system that seems to be gender-neutral, the inequalities result from "unconscious biases" and structures that fundamentally and disparately affect women (Subontik, 2011). In this vein, some legal scholars report that individual courses are gendered both in the male/female proportion of the faculty teaching the subject and in the nature of the course (Meritt and Reskin, 1997).

In her seminal, empirical study on gender and law school, Professor Marjorie Kornhauser demonstrated that 80% of law school courses she examined suffered from a gender disparity. She defines this as a "statistically significant gender distortion" (Kornhauser, 2004).

The nature of the class is more or less perceived as inherently gendered. For instance, students are more inclined to perceive corporate finance as a gendered male course compared to family law, which is more likely to be perceived as

gendered female. Consequently, this may influence the career choice and options of law students well beyond law school, especially for women (Milton and Aiken, 2014).

Furthermore, most of the theorising and research on women's experiences in law school demonstrated that women in law school seem to be disproportionately alienated and intimidated by their experiences (Guinier et al, 1994, Bowers 2000, Schwab, 2003, Yale report, 2012). The competitive classroom environment in law school significantly discourages women to participate in class (Morrison et al, 1998, Neufeld, 2005). Overall, women are less comfortable with the classroom experience – particularly with the use of the Socratic method (Mashburn, 2008).

The adverse impact of the Socratic method on female students exists and is widely recognised in startling contrast to the impact on their male counterparts. Women in law schools also reported to be less confident in their abilities (Weiss and Melling, 1988, Montoya, 2000, Neufeld, 2005). As a result, women consistently underperform in law school in terms of grades compared to men (Sturm, 1997, Bashi and Iskander, 2006).

All in all, these experiences affect women's options and choices within law school and beyond. Indeed, research has repeatedly demonstrated that experiences in law school are indicative of future careers options and experiences in a legal career (Guinier et al, 1997) as well as leadership roles and opportunities that will arise along their careers (Beiner, 2009, Mullins and Leong, 2011).

Legal education is struggling to find the right mechanisms to tackle these problems. Several proposals to deal with these issues have been offered. They range from changing the form in which legal education is delivered, including introducing more women and women's issues into school curricula, to restructuring the current adversarial law school model by collaborative techniques, and by increasing individual feedback. Other propositions related to the infrastructure of legal education have been offered to eradicate these problems affecting women and more deeply the legal education itself. It includes increasing the number of (women) role models in the faculty body.

Apparently, this effort seems to have succeeded, but in reality it has not. Some legal scholars suggest increasing both, the sheer number of female law professors and the number of female professors in positions of seniority (Dowd et al, 2003). By doing so, it would increase role models options as well

as bringing a greater diversity in pedagogy and perspectives to the classroom.

To date, clear advancement has been made in the position of women as role models in legal education. Women constitute 65% of instructors and 61% of lecturers – both non tenure-track positions that represent lower status academic appointments in law schools (AALS, Statistical Report on Law Faculty 2009, ABA, Commission on Women 2013). On the other, only 20% of law school deans are women and less than thirty percent of the full professors at law faculties (Padilla, 2007, AALS Statistical Report on Law Faculty, 2009, ABA, Commission on Women, 2013).

However, even if the number of role models has increased in the last decade, it is important to ask what kind of role model is proposed to women law students? As Professors Ibarra, Ely and Khob observed, such phenomena have subtly kept second-generation biases in place (Ibarra et al, 2011).

Most of the women in the legal education are still in temporary and unstable work situations without the option to be on tenure-track positions. Men continue to occupy the vast majority of high-paying and high-prestige positions compared to women (McGinley, 2009).

This phenomenon is certainly not the result of a lack of qualified women or a lack of interest but of a more gendered structure of law school education. "Gender is embedded into the structure of organizations" (McGinley, 2009, McGinn and Milkman, 2013). Gender is enacted in varying and complex ways through organisational behaviour including hiring, retention and promotion (Rees, 2006, Rake, 2008, Sturm, 2010, 2011).

The representation of the faculty in law school also informs the way students will perceive their future work environment and what they think is possible for them to do. Socialisation plays a major role in the way differences between men and women evolve and what women can expect for them in the future labour market. This undoubtedly affects women as they enter a male-dominated profession like law. The learning environment exerts a powerful influence on student and is the first step toward remedying what might look like a dispositional lack of will in providing direction for women into legal leadership.

● Legal education and the leaders of tomorrow: Where are we?

Overall, there is a singular focus on legal analysis almost to the exclusion of other skill sets and knowledge bases (Alexander, 2011, Rhode, 2011). As lawyers play a significant role in the various spectra of our society, it is problematic that some skills seem to be overemphasised whereas other essential skills seem to be underemphasised in the legal curricula, especially if law school aims at developing the lawyer – leader of tomorrow (Howell, 2008, Rhode, 2010(a), 2010(b), 2012, Alexander, 2011). Leadership skills or knowledge-based exercises such as the interaction with the business world are often times not present at all in legal education.

As part of the professional pedigree, legal education aims to educate future lawyers to adopt a certain view of the world often forgetting the interaction with other disciplines and realities. As a result, law is frequently viewed by outsiders, and sometimes by insiders, as an autonomous discipline. Law students learn a specialised language and a specific mode of reasoning.

The objective is to help law students to appreciate problems and defend them from different angles with a degree of specificity. Most of the time, this process is at the expense of other disciplines. Legal analysis lies essentially into a two-way flow between lawyer and client toward a decision that solves the client's problem (Hadfield, 2011). The task of the client-centred lawyer is to assist the client to make her own decision in the best way she/he can. The lawyer's job then is to help carry out that decision, of course within the limits of the law (Regan, 2000, Wilkins, 2001, Hadfield, 2012(a), 2012(b), Cummings, 2013).

In fact, law students will be, later on in their practice, driven to work routinely with multiple factors encompassing the various concerns of business (Rhode, 1998, Rhee, 2011, Strine et al, 2013). Lawyers will also have to handle different professionals from various firms who continuously form and disband as needed (Rhee, 2011, Cecchi-Dimeglio and Kamminga, 2014).

Legal education currently misses the opportunity to train law students in skills such as leadership that will play an important role in their future career. Law school can certainly equip students in their abilities to "think like a lawyer" by focusing the teaching attention towards the learning process of analytical reasoning, substantive knowledge, research and writing skills (Sullivan et al, 2007). Yet, leadership is not part of legal education and currently fails at preparing the lawyer – leader of tomorrow – to deal with the real world (Howell, 2008, Rhode, 2010(b), 2012, Rhode et al, 2012, Alexander, 2011).

There are many definitions of leadership and what makes an effective leader (Kouzes and Posner, 2007). However, for the purpose of this discussion, Professors James Kouzes's and Barry Posner's definitions will be retained. In their important contribution to the literature on leadership development and training, they identified five practices of exemplary leadership: Leaders 1) model the way for others, 2) inspire a shared vision for change or movement, 3) challenge the status-quo, 4) encourage and enable others to act toward change or gain, and 5) encourage the heart of those who follow them.

One of the core ideas in leadership is that it is really a competency or set of skills and traits that can be learned and practiced by anyone (Gill, 2006, Broderick, 2010). Leadership skills can certainly be developed and cultivated in everyone as long as one is willing to learn (Bennis and Namis, 1997, Arvey et al, 2006, Dweck, 2006). The good news is that lawyers can learn leadership skills if law schools and legal practices offer them the tools to do so.

Lawyers are called upon to demonstrate their leadership skills in different settings and ways as they occupy a large spectrum of positions across sectors and industries. Lawyers play a dominant role in both public and private spheres, including in political and governmental institutions.

Their ability to inspire others to work towards positive and ethical change is critical in every society. Developing leadership skills in the legal curricula will certainly enhance the success of organisations, businesses, communities and other groups as well as the success of our political and governmental institutions. Leaders are inspiring people and guiding them toward positive changes and in achieving success.

Law schools are the initial gatekeepers of those entering the profession and the educators of future lawyers. They must teach and help law students, especially women and minorities, to develop their leadership skills. Law students need to think strategically about their goals, talents, and needs, as it is an essential leadership capability for their career (Boyce, 2011, Rhode, 2011). Law schools

need to offer training to law students, so they can act on their aspirations and seek experiences, positions, and assignments that develop leadership skills when entering the labour market (Hill, 2001, Ready et al, 2010).

Professor Wilkins rightly argued that "career progress in law is perhaps less a matter of innate talent and dedicated effort and more a function of gaining access to valuable, but limited, opportunities - opportunities that are "invariably mediated through relationships" (Wilkins, 2000). Law schools have many ways to assist potential leaders in the process, and this should remind us of that responsibility (Rhode, 2011).

Role models, mentoring relationships, and networking opportunities are critical to launch successful careers and, at a minimum, necessary to adequate career development in law. Consequently, law schools have the duty to help law students, especially women, to learn how to develop and sustain their leadership skills in order to succeed beyond law school.

How people become leaders and how they take up leadership roles stems from identity (van Knippenberg et al, 2004, Lord and Hall, 2005, DeRue and Ashford, 2010, Ibarra and Petriglieri, 2010). (Higher) education is certainly a place in which one fosters his/her identity as the choice for graduate schools are externalising one own sense of purpose.

● Conclusion

It cannot be denied that today the opportunities and prospects for woman in 2014 are far better than in 1975, especially in accessing graduate schools such as law school, business school and engineering school. And the number of reform proposals advanced by scholars and analysts to improve the wellbeing of individuals, especially women, have certainly blossomed. Yet, higher education, as a gatekeeper and institutional model, needs to provide tools and mechanisms to help students, especially women, to recognise and seize opportunities in graduate schools and beyond.

Legal education has made important steps forward in filling the gender gaps, but still fails to fully and adequately prepare law students, especially women, for a diverse professional world and leadership role. Legal education plays a

major role in understanding both the successes and failures in reducing gender gaps both at the graduate level and beyond.

Finally, it is important to note that interest and support for gender-based educational policy changes are not unique. There are, of course, substantial numbers of (American) scholars, practitioners, commentators, and policy analysts who hold similar views, hoping that contemporary (legal) education will further pursue its goals of justice by closing the gender gaps and training better leaders.

THE FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE ACT, WORK/FAMILY POLICY, AND FAMILY VALUES IN THE CLINTON AND OBAMA ADMINISTRATIONS:

A STORY OF PROGRESS AND UNFINISHED BUSINESS

By **Linda C. McClain**

● Abstract

This essay considers the evolution of federal family law and policy in the United States from the Clinton to the Obama Administration, with a specific focus on how rhetoric about family values translated into the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 and other federal policy addressing work/family conflict. It traces continuity and change. "Clintonism," the political philosophy associated with the candidacy and presidency of William Jefferson Clinton, propounded a progressive (or Third Way) "New Covenant" of opportunity, responsibility, and community. The Obama administration's approach to family policy has shown continuity with the basic tenets of Clintonism, but also introduced new and distinctive tenets, including making the personal political in the context of work/family conflict and insisting that work/family issues are "not just women's issues." Both the Clinton and Obama Administrations sound the theme of unfinished business: the FMLA was a necessary but not sufficient step towards a federal family leave policy; unfinished business remains to provide workers with paid family leave and workplace flexibility.

● Introduction

This essay considers the evolution of federal family law and policy in the United States from 1992, upon the election of William ("Bill") Jefferson Clinton, to the present-day, amidst the second term of President Barack Obama.[119] It focuses specifically on how rhetoric about family values during the Clinton campaign translated into the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 and how the Obama Administration built upon Clintonism while also adding distinctive themes. "Clintonism" refers to the core political concepts associated with the candidacy and presidency of Bill Clinton.[120] Clinton and other members of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) developed a "Third Way" political philosophy with three key themes: opportunity, responsibility, and community. Clintonism's New Covenant appealed to values such as work and family.[121] Signing the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) was an important translation of rhetoric into policy. In Part II of this essay, I argue that the Obama administration's approach to family law and policy shows a continuity with Clintonism, but has also introduced new and distinctive tenets. These include making the personal

political in the context of work/family conflict by using the example of the First Family's own struggles and insisting that work/family issues are "not just women's issues."

Studying political rhetoric about the need to translate talk about family values into policies that value families (such as the FMLA) reveals the prevalence of an important premise that I have addressed in other work: there is an important relationship between the state of the family and the state of the nation, and families matter not just to the individuals in families but to society and the polity.[122] The story of the FMLA and federal work/family policy is one of progress and unfinished business, a fact acknowledged by the Clinton and Obama Administrations. When President Clinton signed it in 1993, the FMLA was a necessary and important first step toward a federal family leave policy. It was not, however, sufficient; unfinished business remains. This essay concludes by considering recent proposals for paid family leave and greater workplace flexibility to meet the needs of caregivers and workers in the twenty first century economy.

I. Family values and family policy during the Clinton residency: The practical and symbolic importance of the FMLA

A. Basic trope in Clintonism: Linking family values to family policies

In linking *family values* and *family policies*, Democratic presidential nominee Governor Bill Clinton and his running mate Senator Al Gore successfully harnessed values talk in a way that challenged the idea that concern for family values was the domain only of the Republicans. Clinton called for a "New Covenant." Its basic elements included linking governmental opportunity to personal responsibility, rebuilding the American community, restoring "our basic values," empowering

citizens, and addressing the plight of the "forgotten middle class" who "worked hard, played by the rules, and took responsibility for their own actions," but, under Republican regimes, fell behind and lived a "life of struggle."[123] Melding "basic American values of work and family"[124] with new ideas; linking opportunity to responsibility;[125] and rewarding families who "work hard and play by the rules"[126] are distinctive features of "Clintonism, " a "centrist, progressive"[127] political vision elaborated by Clinton, the DLC, the Progressive Policy Institute, and other New Democrats who characterised this philosophy as a form of "Third Way" politics.[128] Such politics includes "an ethic of mutual responsibility that equally rejects the politics of entitlement and the politics of social abandonment."[129] Clinton articulated a "'third way to approach the American family—beyond the . . . [Bush] Administration's cheerleading for family values on the one hand, and on the other hand, the old big-government notion that there is a program for every social problem.'"[130]

B. Relieving a forced choice between work and family: The Family and Medical Leave Act

On February 5, 1993, President Clinton signed—as promised—the FMLA to relieve a forced choice by workers between family and work.[131] Clinton referred to the changing demographics of the American workforce: the dramatic rise in the percentage of mothers with children under eighteen in the labour force; the rising cost of living, making two incomes a necessity; the rapid growth in single-parent families; and, as America's population ages, the greater need for working Americans to take time off to care for elderly parents.[132] He stated that failing to give sufficient family and medical leave "has come at a high cost to both the American family and to American business," noting a "direct correlation between health and job security in the family home and productivity in the workplace."[133]

The FMLA served as a powerful symbol of linking family values to actual family policies by helping employees who were parents (and other caregivers) to balance work and family. Moreover, in establishing gender-neutral "family" leave, rather than "maternity leave," Congress

passed a law that allowed men—as well as women—to take leave.[134] The FMLA sought to minimise sex discrimination by framing family leave as seeking "to balance the demands of the workplace with the needs of families"—rather than, say, the needs of working mothers,[135] even though, typically, it is upon mothers that the primarily responsibility for care taking falls. In upholding the constitutionality of the FMLA, the U.S. Supreme Court observed that Congress passed the law to address the problem of the continuing hold of "mutually reinforcing stereotypes" about women's domestic roles and a "lack of domestic responsibilities for men."[136] Such stereotypes "created a self-fulfilling cycle of discrimination that forced women to continue to assume the role of primary family caregiver, and fostered employers' stereotypical views about women's commitment to work and their value as employees."[137]

Beyond its symbolic importance, the FMLA was a significant practical step toward achieving work–family balance, as evidenced by the millions of workers who have taken leave under the FMLA.[138] Indeed, in his memoirs, Clinton recalls: "In the next eight years, and even after I left office, more people would mention it to me than any other bill I signed," sharing their stories of how the FMLA helped them reconcile work and home obligations.[139]

Upon signing the FMLA, Clinton declared that the United States, by enacting a national leave policy, would join the ranks of other countries.[140] Placed in a cross-national, comparative perspective, whether in 1992 or today, the United States actually appears "exceptional" in its "laggard" status—its lack of support for employed parents.[141] Thus, in Congress, some lawmakers pointed out that "the United States is the only industrialized country without a national family leave policy" and that most policies went beyond the proposed FMLA in terms of the duration of leave and income replacement.[142] Indeed, Clinton recounts that, upon their daughter Chelsea's birth, while he was governor of Arkansas, "Hillary told me that most other advanced countries provided *paid* parental leave to all citizens."[143] Hillary Clinton's observation has even more force today, given the evolution of paid leave policies in other countries since 1993.[144]

C. Unfinished business

Twenty-one years after Clinton signed the FMLA, it is evident that the FMLA alone has not solved the problem of work-family conflict. Even by the end of Clinton's presidency, its limits were clear. First, because the FMLA authorises *unpaid—not paid*—leave, some workers who need leave and are eligible for it do not take it because they cannot afford to take unpaid leave.[145] Second, the FMLA only covers twelve weeks.[146] Third, it does not apply to private employers who have fewer than fifty employees;[147] approximately 40% of workers are not covered.[148] Fourth, despite the FMLA's gender-neutral language, comparatively fewer men than women actually take leave under it and, when they do, it is for shorter periods of time.[149]

One explanation for this gender difference in leave taking is that, when leave is unpaid, it makes more economic sense for the lower-paid worker (more typically, the mother) to take it rather than the higher-paid worker (typically, the father) to forego income.[150] Other factors include continuing societal expectations (including those of employers) about men as breadwinners and women as caregivers and the relative perceived costs to each of taking leave.[151]

By the end of his second term, President Clinton acknowledged unfinished business concerning the FMLA. He called for "extend[ing] family leave to [the] 10 million more Americans working for smaller companies."[152] His administration issued a rule that would have permitted the use of unemployment insurance funds to provide for paid family leave.[153] However, no state enacted the rule, and the Bush administration repealed it.[154] In his final State of the Union address, Clinton proclaimed: "We've helped parents to succeed at home and work with family leave, which 20 million Americans have now used to care for a newborn child or a sick loved one."[155]

But he also urged that the nation pledge that, in the twenty-first century, "[e]very family will be able to succeed at home and at work."[156]

II. The Obama era: continuity and change

A. Basic themes of family policy during the Obama administration

The 2008 Democratic Platform on which Barack Obama ran for president deployed Clintonism's familiar rhetoric about the need to value families and not just talk about family values. The section on "Work and Family" paid tribute to achievements of the Clinton era, such as the FMLA, while pointing to the FMLA's limitations and the need for paid leave. The Platform supported encouraging "employers to provide flexible work arrangements."[157] It also took a step beyond earlier Democratic platforms by saying more about caring for family members as "real and valuable work," women's disproportionate responsibility for caregiving, and the need to accommodate the care obligations of workers (including caring for aging parents).

The Obama Administration's approach to work/family issues also has some distinctive features. One feature has been to make the personal political by highlighting the challenges the First Family faces in balancing work and family as emblematic of the broader challenges Americans face, with far fewer resources than the Obamas possess. A second distinctive element is President Obama's focus on women and girls in designing federal policy even as he insists that workplace flexibility and work-family conflict are "not just women's issues," but issues affecting men, families, the economy, and the broader society.

B. Making the personal political

President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama have used their own struggles with work-family conflict as a template for the broader issue and as a personal narrative that informs the case for institutional reform. On the campaign trail, in an interview with Katie Couric, Michelle

Obama stated that one cause she planned to adopt and pursue was work-life balance.[158] Even as she used her own struggles to speak of the more general struggle, she noted her greater position of privilege and access to resources to make balance possible and expressed concern for women with fewer resources.[159]

C. Workplace issues as "not just 'women's issues'"

A second theme of the Obama administration is that workplace flexibility and work-family conflict are not just "women's issues" but issues affecting the economy, families, and, ultimately, the nation. On the one hand, there is an evident tension between this theme and the emphasis in the 2008 campaign on addressing women as a group in need of a comprehensive work and family agenda because women disproportionately bear the burden of work-family conflict and face the costs more than men.[160] On the other hand, the Obama Administration also insists that these issues affecting women have broader significance, as I discuss below.

D. The White House Council on Women and Girls

On March 11, 2009, President Obama announced the creation of the White House Council on Women and Girls (the Council), charged with ensuring "that American women and girls are treated fairly in all matters of public policy" and that all federal agencies "take into account the particular needs and concerns of women and girls."[161] Obama stated that making progress on a number of issues, including work-family balance and economic security, would be an important measure of whether we are truly fulfilling "the promise of our democracy for all our people."[162] In effect, the issues the Council will address "are not just women's issues," but also family and economic issues.[163]

Both the President and First Lady have stressed the role of women as the foundation of communities and the economy. Thus, the First Lady explained that the Council's goal is "to ensure that young girls have

no limits on their dreams and no obstacles to their achievements."[164] She and the President believed that "communities are only as strong as the health of their women" and that strong women often make the difference between both a "struggling" and "healthy" family and a "broken" and a "thriving" community.[165]

E. Workplace flexibility

The Obama Administration's distinctive themes about work/family conflict are also evident in its efforts on workplace flexibility. In March 2010, the Council on Women and Girls hosted a White House Forum on Workplace Flexibility,[166] coinciding with the release of a report by the Office of Economic Advisors, *Work-Life Balance and the Economics of Workplace Flexibility*.[167] The report notes the dramatic change in the workforce in the past half century, particularly due to women's growing entrance into labour force and families' increased reliance "on more than one earner to make ends meet." Children, the report continues, still need care, as do elderly parents. The report concluded that we need to organise the twenty-first century workplace for the twenty-first century workforce.[168]

The report detailed what workplaces currently do and do not do in terms of areas of flexibility, such as "flexibility in the scheduling of hours, the place of work, and number of hours worked."[169] Not surprisingly, white collar, more highly educated, and professional workers tended to have work environments with more flexibility than blue-collar workers and workers with less than a high school degree.[170] The report stressed both the business case—the economic benefits to employers—of creating greater workplace flexibility and the tangible benefits to employees.[171]

At the Forum, President Obama commented that "[w]orkplace flexibility isn't just a women's issue. It's an issue that affects the well-being of our families and the success of our businesses. It affects the strength of our economy—whether we'll create the workplaces and jobs of the future we need to compete in today's global economy."[172] First Lady Michelle Obama insisted: "[F]lexible policies actually make employees more, not less, productive—because instead of spending

time worrying about what's happening at home, your employees have the support and the peace of mind that they desperately need to concentrate on their work."[173] She referred to her own efforts to juggle work and family prior to life in the White House, commenting that, even with "very accommodating jobs" and "understanding bosses," she felt that she was not keeping up enough with work or at home. The First Lady welcomed the pioneering companies at the Forum, whose best practices would help show ways to support employees and also boost companies' "bottom lines."[174]

What practical policies flow from this conviction about the importance of care taking and the need for a better fit between twenty-first century workplace and workforce? Some ideas discussed at the forum included: expanding the FMLA to cover more workers and other needs; encouraging states to experiment with paid leave; providing more funding for childcare and a higher child-care tax credit; supporting people caring for aging relatives; and providing more workplace flexibility in when to work, where to work, and how long to work.[175]

F. The FMLA and unfinished business: Has the time come for paid leave and other policies that "value families"?

The Obama Administration, like the Clinton Administration, has acknowledged the FMLA as a vital and necessary but not sufficient step toward helping workers address family responsibilities. On February 5, 2013, the twentieth anniversary of its signing (by President Clinton), the Obama administration celebrated with a press release stating: "[T]his law helped level the playing field by extending protections to both women and men, so that more workers could meet their responsibilities to themselves and their families without jeopardizing their livelihood."[176] More work, however, remained to be done, since "[n]ot all employees are covered by the law" or can "afford to take unpaid leave."[177]

The 2012 Democratic Party Platform sounded the familiar rhetoric that we must "stop talking about family values and start pursuing policies that truly value families," among them "broadening the Family and Medical Leave Act, and partnering with states to move toward paid leave."[178] Reflecting President Obama's evolved stance on families formed by gay men and lesbians, the Platform also states: "We believe that all parents and caregivers—regardless of gender—need more flexibility and support in the workplace."[179]

During Obama's first term, the Department of Labor released a study finding that "[e]mployers generally find it easy to comply with the [FMLA], and employees generally do not abuse it."[180] However, a series of paid leave bills introduced during Obama's first term failed[181] and the prospects for making any headway in the current Congress seem slim. One encouraging difference between 1993 and 2014 is that several states, beginning with California, followed by New Jersey and Rhode Island, have now experimented with paid family leave.[182]

Perhaps the prominent media attention given, in the last several years, to the challenges of women "having it all," diagnoses of "the end of men," and of the need, in light of the changing economy and the demands of work and home, for society to support new conceptions of masculinity will generate sufficient public conversation about the desirability of paid family leave that there will be consensus that the time has come for such leave.[183]

Indeed, some scholars argue that the primary barrier today to equalising gender roles at home and work is not people's attitudes; instead, "structural impediments"—such as the lack of any federal initiative since the FMLA "to help workers accommodate their work and family demands"—"prevent people from acting on their egalitarian values, forcing men and women into personal accommodations and rationalizations that do not reflect their preferences."[184]

Noting that working fathers report feeling more work–family conflict than working mothers do, Liz Mundy has recently argued that evidence from other countries indicates that paid parental leave is a "brilliant and ambitious form of social engineering" that "has been shown to boost male participation in the household, enhance female participation

in the labor force, and promote gender equity in both domains."[185] Perhaps more states may move in California, New Jersey, and Rhode Island's direction of paid family leave or the federal government may—finally—expand the FMLA.[186] One thing is clear: the discussion of work-family conflict and balance now addresses a broader range of issues, including women's overall role in the economy.

G. Beyond the FMLA: Women as key to a new economy

In April 2012, the White House Council on Women and Girls released a lengthy report, *Keeping America's Women Moving Forward: The Key to an Economy Built to Last,* which exemplifies the Obama administration's tenet that economic issues affecting women also affect families, men, the economy, and the nation. This report leads with the "central role" women play in the American economy.[187] It notes that women are "nearly 50% of our workforce, are a growing number of breadwinners in their families, and are the majority of students in our colleges and graduate schools," and also own 30% of small businesses.[188] The problem, the report continues, is that "women still face barriers to participation in the workplace and marketplace."[189] This "is not just a 'women's issue.'"[190]

It is striking that there is no mention whatsoever of the FMLA in the report. The report does mention workplace flexibility, declaring: "Safe, flexible, and fair workplaces are critical for the success of all employees."[191] It also references its earlier White House Forum on Workplace Flexibility and the "first ever" published report by the Council on Economic Advisors on the economic benefits of workplace flexibility (discussed above).[192] It also reports that the Department of Labor Women's Bureau "launched a National Dialogue on Workplace Flexibility in ten cities across the country."[193] The report, however, does not indicate any imminent proposal for paid family or parental leave.

● Conclusion

This essay has surveyed themes of Clintonism's "Third Way" political agenda surrounding workplace leave. It has examined the symbolic and practical significance of the Family and Medical Leave Act. It assessed the ways in which the Obama administration has carried forward themes from the Clinton era but added distinctive themes, situating the FMLA in a broader discussion about workplace flexibility and women as an engine of the economy. By now, some states have taken the lead with paid family leave as federal efforts continue to falter. What may be needed is a more comprehensive look at federal family policy as gender roles evolve and adapt to changing economic realities. Time will tell if progress in this area will allow the United States to join most other industrial democracies in providing more generous support for workers trying to succeed in work and care responsibilities or whether this area of United States policy on workplace will continue to be unfinished business.

REVISITING THE CORE POLICY:
GENDERED ANALYSIS OF THE NEW WELFARE STATE

By **Aliki Mouriki**

● Contextual information

T he outbreak of the world financial crisis in 2008, and its trajectory thereafter, has had an uneven impact on each EU country. In the countries of the European periphery, in particular, the financial crisis brought into the surface long-standing fiscal and debt problems that had not been previously addressed.

As a result, the outcome has been particularly severe, resulting into bailouts, fiscal consolidation programmes and harsh austerity policies. Although policy responses have varied significantly, there are, however, similar patterns across the countries that had to enter into some form of support mechanism, as regards

the heavy toll of austerity packages on household incomes, employment and social cohesion and the undeniable fact that the people paying the highest price are those who had no part in the decisions that led to the crisis.

All available evidence suggests that the policies pursued to address the serious economic and financial problems of the countries facing fiscal or/and sovereign debt problems have only partly delivered the required results in macroeconomic terms, whilst they exposed large segments of the populations to the threat of poverty and social exclusion, widened social inequalities, further deteriorated the labour market conditions and undermined the welfare state.

The developments in the European periphery are, however, an exacerbated version of the neoliberal and monetarist policies followed in most EU countries since the 1970s, resulting into the gradual erosion of the welfare state and putting into question not only the European Social Model and the post-Second World War social contract, but also the democratic legitimisation of many of the policies pursued.

An additional threat to the sustainability of the European Social model is posed by Europe's shrinking international competitiveness, the result of the gradual shift of economic power away from the EU towards the Pacific and Asia areas.

● Issues at stake

The socio-economic challenges that the EU and individual countries are facing are daunting:

- demographic ageing is not only a time-bomb waiting to explode, but it also constitutes a violent form of wealth transfer from the younger generations to the older, while constructing an unequal social order along generational lines;

- the demise of the male breadwinner model that was a core underpinning principle of most European welfare models (full employment, unemployment insurance, social security contributions, health and pension schemes) puts into question the link between employment-social policy-welfare regime;

- inequalities and disparities within and across the EU countries (North/South, core/periphery) are increasing rather than vanishing, despite EU integration policies and the channelling of EU funds to the periphery;

- there is a gradual or abrupt (depending on the national context) reduction in benefit generosity of social transfers, owing to tight budgets, public deficit control and the implementation of austerity programmes;

- unemployment levels, and in particular youth unemployment, have risen to unprecedented levels, whilst particularly worrying is the growing number of NEETs;

- emergence of new social risks, especially affecting those least able to cope with them, because of volatility of earnings, low pay, uncertain length of employment, etc.

● The gender perspective

Women are particularly hard hit by the crisis, and the austerity programmes have cancelled out much of the progress achieved in the last 30 years in upgrading women's position in society. In particular:

- the cuts in social services have put a heavier toll on women; reduction in public sector employment has also affected women disproportionally; the pension reform has hit women harder; the gender dimension has not been taken into account by the fiscal consolidation programmes

- one can observe re-traditionalisation tendencies, as well as a resurgence of out-dated values and attitudes regarding gender roles, gendered domestic division of labour and unpaid care work remain dominant

- labour market inequalities and highly gendered structure of employment not only persist but, in some instances, have also increased: occupational segregation, pay gap, over-representation of women in low-paid and precarious jobs (in-work poverty), different employment trajectories from men (discontinuous participation patterns, shorter working hours/years), less predictable earnings, lower employment rates, all leading to lower pension rights

- there is a high incidence of informal work and non-standard employment among women, limiting their earning potential and depriving them of core social protection

- as a result of changing employment structure, women are increasingly exposed to new social risks

- paid work and unpaid care work must be incorporated in the analysis of the welfare regime; at present, unpaid care work is still largely viewed as non-productive and falls outside the scope of social protection.

● Challenges ahead: some really hard choices

European governments and policy makers are confronted with a number of hard choices regarding the future of the welfare state. The need to provide high quality social services to those most in need at a reasonable cost that would not create budget deficits seems almost like an impossible task. The increasing tensions between the objectives of social protection and available resources originate from the widespread belief among governments that social policies are residual policies and do not produce wealth. As unemployment increases and becomes a structural problem, welfare strategies are further impoverished.

An additional challenge that needs to be addressed regarding the future of the welfare state relates to the issue of inter-generational solidarity and the growing dichotomy of interests between the young and the elderly.

Over 95 million of young people under 30 will have to address the tensions originating from demographic ageing and globalisation, at a time when the employment prospects are bleaker than ever. So far, generous funding from the EU to combat rising levels of unemployment has not produced the desired outcome: despite the 77 billion EUR channelled from the European Social Fund since the beginning of the crisis to combat unemployment, the number of people out of work has increased by 9 million or 56% (from 2007 to 2012, now even more).

Should we expect a better result with the 74 billion EUR to be spent during the new programming period 2014-2020?

At present, EU policies are focussed on devising tools for financing the welfare state. The main tools include:

- the "Social Investment Package" launched by the EU (see annex)

- the encouragement of public/private partnerships

- the growth of social enterprises

- the development of the second and third pillars.

Is that enough, however, or is it just another example of doing "too little, too late"?

● The response of the different welfare regimes to the crisis
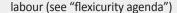
Owing to significant social and cultural differences, as well as distinct historical circumstances, we cannot speak of a single European welfare system, but rather of national diversities. While it is unlikely that such a unified system will emerge in the near future, one can observe a convergence between

the different welfare regimes in many areas, as a result of gradual or drastic cuts in welfare spending: reductions in social budgets, higher retirement age thresholds, stricter eligibility criteria, more means-tested rather than universal benefits, etc. The common pattern also extends to labour market trends, as well as to the long-term implications and threats.

(a) Different response to the crisis of each welfare regime (see below):[194]

- **Bismarck Systems**: no drastic cuts during the crisis, but deep structural reforms

- **Beveridge Systems**: erosion of welfare provisions after 2008, far reaching welfare reforms (retrenchment)

- **Nordic Systems**: rising inequalities, emphasis on the labour market for providing social protection but better coping with the crisis and public finances, still high standards of social transfers and support for gender equality

- **Mediterranean Systems**: larger burden of the social well-being on the family; dramatic cuts in social spending; no measures to address poverty; privatisation of social services (migrant labour) → dismantlement of the already residual welfare state

- **Central and Eastern European countries Systems**: a mix of the 3 first systems, still evolving, few common characteristics

(b) New **trends** emerging in the welfare regimes:

- demise of male breadwinner model on which earlier welfare regimes were constructed

- changing structure of employment: rising levels of unemployment, growth of non-standard and precarious working patterns (where women and young people are over-represented), downward pressure on wages → increasing number of workers deprived of basic labour and social rights; redistribution of risks from capital to labour (see "flexicurity agenda")

- tendency to de-link social benefits from employment and move towards citizens' entitlements ("safety net of last resort" for the most vulnerable); the link between social and economic policies becomes weaker

(c) Dangers and long-term **consequences**:

- entrenchment of non-standard and precarious employment during the recovery period, with far reaching implications for the welfare models

- in the under-financed welfare states of **Southern Europe**, the on-going recession and harsh austerity policies have undermined the vitality of the family-centred welfare system and of its traditional aspects,[195] thus excluding more social groups from basic social functions. The reduced capacity of family networks to provide assistance and protection to their members hinders the reproduction of the South European familialist welfare model. As a result, new forms of social exclusion are on the rise and more people fall outside the family safety net

- in the absence of successful policies, cyclical unemployment may become structural unemployment.

● What role for progressive forces in achieving a new model of social protection?

For a long time, progressive political forces in the European countries, especially the socialist and social-democratic parties that came into power, have to varying degrees endorsed the neoliberal agenda and followed unpopular and conservative policies.

The on-going reform of the welfare state in particular has been a testing ground for most progressive forces. Some have half-heartedly or keenly adopted the neoliberal consensus, whilst others, like the Nordic countries, have resisted the common wisdom view that the welfare state contributes to the crisis, suggesting instead that, as a stabiliser for the economy, it is rather a solution out of the crisis. Unsurprisingly, the majority of National Reform Programmes have 'omitted' poverty and social exclusion from their agenda, mainly focusing on macroeconomic considerations.

As the recent crisis and the austerity policies pursued have inflicted a further blow on social policies, in what directions should the progressive forces of Europe concentrate their efforts, in view of re-vitalising the welfare state? In order to address the demands of ordinary citizens for affordable and good quality social services, whilst ensuring the sustainability of the system, the priority of progressive forces should be to:

- work for the strengthening of the social dimension of the EU project;

- advocate the establishment of minima social and welfare standards in every EU member state (e.g. basic income, minimum wage), without jeopardising EUs international competitiveness

- reconsider the assumption that further labour market flexibility can serve as a "shock absorber" for financial collapse

- campaign in favour of a greater regulation of the financial markets to address volatility and uncertainty (introduction of the "Tobin tax")

- promote a **new social contract** adjusted to the realities and the needs of the 21st century.

● Pre-requisites for a new social contract ("New Deal -2")

What are the pre-requisites of this new social contract?

- Progressive forces must realise that they need to unequivocally abandon the neoliberal and monetarist policies followed in many EU countries over the past 30 years –and the austerity programmes since 2008- policies that have limited labour demand and contracted consumption, with important implications for the nature of the welfare regimes. It is well established, beyond any doubt, that the best performing economies are those that are the most far removed from the neoliberal model, and that have a generous welfare system, i.e. the Scandinavian countries.

- Progressive forces also need to acknowledge that social policies contribute to macroeconomic performance and that the development of welfare regimes cannot be separated from labour market policies.

- Efforts must concentrate on convincing the EU decision-making authorities and national governments: (a) to adopt macroeconomic policies that generate employment and (b) to bring fiscal policies in line with broader employment objectives. This implies that the **unemployment rate** must be included among the macroeconomic indicators that guide EU's economic policies, in par with the rate of inflation, the fiscal deficit and the sovereign debt ratio (as is the case with the US Federal Bank). This will allow national governments to follow more expansionary policies and thus boost employment. At present, the economic orthodoxy of the neoliberal approach has been driven by the implicit perception that unemployment is an "external" phenomenon dissociated from the economy, a social drama, due to labour market rigidities and individual characteristics. Thus the individuals who fail to get a (decent) job are driven to internalise the results of the failures of the economic policies. However, high unemployment in Europe is the result of austerity policies being followed, that have shrank the disposable income of middle class

households and reduced consumption (internal demand), and not the result of individual failure.

- A new alliance of progressive forces, "absolved" of their neoliberal "sins", needs to emerge, in view of putting forward and realising a more progressive alternative agenda.

- None of the above pre-requisites can be fulfilled without a *revision of the Maastricht criteria and of the European Treaties*: this is a far from simple task. However, if this difficult decision continues to be put off for the future and the situation deteriorates further, the ambitious Europe 2020 target for a sustainable and "smart" Europe and the future of the European Social Model will be undermined from within.

● Appendix: the Social Investment Package

The Commission's Social Investment Package is an integrated policy framework which takes account of the social, economic and budgetary divergences between Member States. (SIP):

- guides EU countries in using their social budgets **more efficiently and effectively** to ensure adequate and sustainable social protection;

- seeks to **strengthen people's current and future capacities**, and improve their opportunities to participate in society and the labour market;

- focuses on integrated packages of benefits and services that **help people throughout their lives** and **achieve lasting positive social outcomes;**

- stresses prevention rather than cure, by reducing the need for benefits.

That way, when people do need support, society can afford to help;

- calls for **investing in children and young people** to increase their opportunities in life.

The social investment package focuses on:

- **Ensuring that social protection systems respond to people's needs** at critical moments throughout their lives. More needs to be done to reduce the risk of social breakdown and so avoid higher social spending in the future.

- **Simplified and better targeted social policies**, to provide adequate and sustainable social protection systems. Some countries have better social outcomes than others despite having similar or lower budgets, demonstrating that there is room for more efficient social policy spending.

- **Upgrading active inclusion strategies in the Member States**. Affordable quality childcare and education, prevention of early school leaving, training and job-search assistance, housing support and accessible health care are all policy areas with a strong social investment dimension.

STRENGTHENED COMMITMENT TO THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION:

GENDER, PEACE AND SECURITY

By **Nicoletta Pirozzi**

The gender dimension must be understood as an essential element of a comprehensive rethinking of the concept of security. In order to achieve this objective, the role of women as agents of change should be promoted at all levels and the gender perspective should be incorporated in all strategies, planning and interventions. Progressives have a specific role to play in this direction. In the following paragraphs,I will try to explain why

and put forward some recommendations on how to do it by addressing three main priorities: (1) Framing a new understanding of security, (2) Numbers do count, (3) Implementing concrete measures to turn gender sensitive peace approaches into reality.

● Framing a new understanding of security

It is fair to say that defence and security issues have been traditionally dominated by conservatives. Nevertheless, the evolution of the concept of security emerging from the end of the Cold War period has opened up a number of opportunities for a progressive agenda in these fields. The Yugoslav crises, and in particular the tragedies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo, showed to the international community that effective intervention should not only address the immediate security concerns in a conflict situation, but also respond to a broader and inclusive strategy that refers to the entire crisis management cycle. This new thinking was modelled on a concept of security that cannot be understood in purely military terms and encompasses economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratisation, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rule of law. Unlike traditional conceptualisations of security that aim at securing national borders from external military threats, the human security doctrine advocates that the individual should be the main focus, and its security should include everything that constitutes freedom from want and freedom from fear.[196] Within this new framework, progressives can make the difference by focusing on issues that have always been in their political agenda and by advancing proposals on a new approach to crisis management.

In line with this approach, crisis management has to range from the identification of the root causes of conflicts in order to prevent them; to the implementation of civilian tasks aimed at facilitating the de-escalation of a crisis and its transformation, to the building or reconstruction of democratic and stable institutions that can ensure resilience in the long term. This requires an adaptation of the capabilities of international actors in three main direction: (1) developing a variety of instruments that can function together effectively and be mutually reinforcing; (2) involving a wide range of actors to deal with the diverse groups and security aspects of the affected society; and (3) creating different kinds of expertise so as to address the basic social needs of the population. In this direction, women have to play an increasingly important role – both individually as i.e. decision-makers, mediators and members of the armed forces and collectively as i.e. women's groups, associations and grass-root organisations – by supporting the democratisation process, the establishment of the rule of law, the respect of human rights, the participation of civil societies and the settlement of viable administrations. Progressives are also crucial in promoting a gender sensitive crisis management, through which the specific impact of conflict-related violence to women and girls is properly investigated and addressed.

United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Resolution 1325 (2000) and related resolutions represent a formidable instrument for progressives in order to achieve these objectives. It stresses the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in the preventions and resolution of conflicts, peacebuilding and peacekeeping. It calls on Member States to ensure women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspective in all areas of peacebuilding.

As a follow-up, a number of other relevant Resolutions have been adopted by the UNSC: 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013) and 2122 (2013). In particular, Resolution 1889 calls for further strengthening of women's participation in peace processes and the development of indicators to measure progress on Resolution 1325. Resolution 2122, adopted in October 2013, sets in place stronger measures to enable women to participate in conflict resolution and recovery, including the development and deployment of technical expertise for peacekeeping missions and UN mediation teams supporting peace talks; improved access to timely information and analysis on the impact of conflict on women and women's participation in conflict resolution in reports and briefings to the UN SC; and strengthened commitments to consult as well as include women directly in peace talks. It puts the onus on the UN, regional organisations and Member States to dismantle barriers, create space, and provide seats at the table for women. It also places gender equality and women's empowerment as critical to international peace and security, underlining that the economic empowerment of women greatly contributes to the stabilisation of societies emerging from armed conflicts.

● Numbers do count

Increasing the number of women at decision-making level is crucial in order to promote gender mainstreaming in peace and security policies. Referring to the Beijing Declaration of 1995, women in politics and decision-making positions contribute to redefining political priorities, placing new items on the political agenda that reflect and address women's specific concerns. In the field of security, these specific concerns relate especially to exacerbated vulnerability of women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, including human rights violations and gender-based abuses, threats to sexual and reproductive health.

As far as the presence of women in the armed forces is concerned, political rhetoric is slowly changing from considering the female military participation not solely as a way to solve the resource problem or to ensure equal opportunities, but also as a response to the need for recruiting people with qualities and experiences which will better meet new security challenges. It is important to recall that today's conflicts cause 90 per cent of casualties among civilians, and 70 % of those are women and children.[197]

The 2013 annual report of the UN Secretary-General on women, peace and security (S/2013/252) shows some progress and underlines good practices developed and applied over the past year. There is a marked increase in the deployment of gender advisers and experts to UN mediation teams or in post-conflict panning. Historic appointments of women leaders to senior peace and security positions at the UN, such as Aichatou Mindaoudou Souleymane as the first woman appointed UN Chief Mediator (for Darfur) and Mary Robinson as thje first woman appointed as UN Special Envoy (for the Great Lakes Region of Africa), but also at regional and national level.

NATO currently counts the largest number of women defence ministers to serve at one time since the 28-nation alliance was founded in 1949. The latest woman to join the ministerial ranks is Roberta Pinotti, who has been recently sworn as Italy's first female defence minister by the new government led by Matteo Renzi (Democratic Party). She joined Albania's Mimi Kodheli, Germany's Ursula von der Leyen, Norway's Ine Marie Eriksen Soreide and Jeanine Hennis-Plasshaert of the Netherlands.

Yet, overall results remain uneven and insufficient. Only 20.9 per cent of national MPs were female as of 1 July 2013, a slow increase from 11.6 per cent in 1995. The average percentage of women MPs in Europe excluding Nordic countries is 22.7 per cent, compared to 42 per cent in Nordic countries 24.8 per cent in the Americas. As of June 2013, 8 women served as Head of State and 13 served as Head of Government. As of January 2012, only 17 per cent of government ministers were women, with the majority overseeing social sectors such as education and health.[198]

● Implementing concrete measures to turn gender sensitive peace is becoming a reality

However, having more women in decision-making and armed forces does not solve the question *per se* and must be accompanied by a global rethinking of key policy initiatives in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. This can be ensured only by a clear commitment of political parties, national governments and regional organisations to adopt effective strategies and plans for action aimed at gender promotion in peace and security.

To date, there are only 43 countries that have adopted a National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security. Europe counts 23 National Action Plans and is the region with the highest number of in the world. Moreover, not all the National Action Plans adopted include the main elements that could ensure their effective implementation, which have been identified by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security as the following: (1) the use of gender audits and surveys to assess the current state of affairs on gender mainstreaming in national governments and peacekeeping efforts; (2) the formation of cross-government working groups to promote cooperation and collaboration across government departments, and between the government and civil society; (3) the establishment of concrete mechanisms for monitoring and accountability and (4) the allocation of sufficient resources to give substance to the relevant policies.[199] At the regional level, the European Union has adopted a Comprehensive Approach for the Implementation of UN SC Resolutions 1325 and 1820 (15671/1/08 REV 1) and

has developed Indicators (11948/10) that are periodically reviewed (9990/11). A recent study conducted by the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) revealed that, even if National Action Plans often contain references to EU level commitment, the lack of common priorities between EU and Member States leads to the fragmentation of activities or duplication of efforts.[200]

NATO has put a lot of efforts in the promotion of gender mainstreaming in its strategies and operations: (1) by adopting a policy on implementing UN SC Resolutions 1325 and related Resolutions in 2007, which is reviewed every two years; (2) by creating the position of a Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security in 2012 and (3) by nominating gender advisers at the Strategic Commands for Operations and for Transformation, as well as in Afghanistan and Kosovo. In recognition of the improvements realised on integrating women, peace and security into NATO operations, Anders Fogh Rasmussen received the annual Hillary Rodham Clinton Award for Advancing Women and Peace and Security, along with British Foreign Secretary William Hague and Dr. Denis Mukwege, founder of the Panzi hospital in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

● A progressive agenda for the promotion of women, peace and security

The primary objective of a progressive agenda should therefore focus on the promotion of a gender-sensitive approach to security, which is rooted in an evolving concept of security and considers the specific position of women both as agents of security and victims of insecurity. According to the considerations above, specific points for a progressive transatlantic agenda should include:

- Increasing the number of women in decision-making positions, especially in the executives, which are still the main actors in peace and security matters, and in particular as ministers responsible for foreign, defense and interior policies;

- Supporting the active participation of female parliamentarians in parliamentary committees on foreign, security and defence policies;

- Identify women candidate for top level positions at national but also at regional level, including for the incoming renewal of EU leadership, elections of the European Parliament and appointment of the new NATO Secretary General;

- Promoting a multidimensional approach to security, which goes beyond the purely military aspects to entail economic development, social justice, environmental protection, democratisation, disarmament, respect for human rights and the rule of law, and takes into consideration the disproportionate impact of conflicts and insecurity on women and girls;

- Advocating for the inclusion of grassroots women's organisations, associations and groups in the planning and implementation of gender-sensitive strategies to address security challenges;

- Campaigning for the adoption and improvement of National Action Plans that match overarching policy elaboration with concrete indicators, monitoring mechanisms and financial resources;

- Linking the national and regional dimensions of gender mainstreaming in peace and security matters by exercising political control and pressure on national governments and their positions in regional organisations dealing with peace and security.

WOMEN OF THE WALL

CURRENT CHALLENGES:
GENDER AND NEW FORMS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM [201]

By **Pnina Lahav**

I want to tie religious activism to concepts of citizenship. By political activism I mean the action taken by women of various religious communities in the United States, in Europe and elsewhere, to push the boundaries of their respective religious laws, so that these religious laws embrace gender equality. They do so by endeavouring to interpret religious law and religious order in ways that are more in keeping with notions of equality and equal citizenship, interpretations that are more inclusive. I will then connect this kind of activism to the concept of citizenship. Let me begin with a story. In the year 2014, in the grand mosque of Paris -- La Grande Mosquee de Paris -- some major changes were introduced concerning the prayer of women.

Until very recently, Muslim women who came to pray at the mosque were praying behind the men, in the same grand hall. A curtain divided the sexes, but both sexes were sharing the space for prayer. Recently, a decree was passed which required the women to avoid the hall and move to the basement. Besides being a basement, that space also serves as a café. The declared purpose for the move to the basement was to restore the separation of the sexes during prayer.

Women who felt indignant about this change of policy and who protested were labelled as provocateurs, feminist women who are not pious and God fearing, but rather bad apples, women who put Western secular values above Islam. To challenge them, or perhaps to put them to shame, or perhaps to tell the world that all is well in the Grande Mosquee, other religious Muslim women were presented who declared that they were quite comfortable with the new arrangement.

Now let us go from Paris to Jerusalem. Religious Jewish women who wish to pray at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, behind a fence that separates men and women as is customary in Jewish Orthodoxy, are prevented from exercising their free exercise of religion. A group of women, known as "The Women of the Wall", has been fighting for its right to pray communally at the Wall for the last thirty years.

Note the following distinction. If a Jewish woman wants to pray as an individual, she is welcome to at the Western Wall. No one will stand in her way. But if an orthodox Jewish woman wants to form a group and pray communally, as a group, in the same way that men do, she is labelled – guess what – a provocateur and a feminist, in precisely the way women are stereotyped at La Grande Mosquee de Paris. As I speak, the matter is still subject to great controversy and considerable animosity.

Just like the developments in Paris, pious Jewish women in Jerusalem, who oppose the Women of the Wall, volunteered to testify that they rejected feminism and that they did not wish to pray communally. In short, like some of the Muslim women in Paris, some of the women in Jerusalem insisted that they were perfectly happy with their traditional segregated status.

Why the denunciation of the women as feminists, in both orthodox Islam and Judaism? A feminist, the orthodox literature suggests, is a person who flagrantly discards or bends the religious tradition in favour of secular Western values. One who arrogantly follows her own law rather than God's law. One who abandons the cardinal value of modesty.

Now let us move to the United States. Nine years ago, in March 2005, in the City of New York, Professor Amina Wadud led a group of Muslims, like-minded progressive Muslim men and women in the Salaat al Jumua – the public Friday prayer. Two aspects of this event were astounding. First, Professor Wadud is a woman. Until then the idea that a woman would call for the communal prayer was unheard of. Second, the men and the women eagerly and excitedly responding to her call stood together, next to each other. They followed an egalitarian model rather than the traditional one of women standing behind the men or in another space. Wadud is a scholar of Islam, and her research revealed that nothing in the sacred sources prohibited gender equality. As she observed, custom and tradition were patriarchal, but the fundamental sources were not.

Since then the Wadud example has been followed and replicated many times and in many places. At the same time, Wadud too encountered tremendous opposition. She was called a provocatress and a feminist, a person out of tune with Muslim religion.

Going still further back, to the 1980s in New York City, a pious Jewish woman, Rivka Haut, was wondering why women were excluded from the communal prayer under Jewish Law. Her husband was a rabbi, and sympathetic to her questions, and upon studying the matter he came to the conclusion that in fact gender equality is not prohibited. Nothing in the fundamental sources of Jewish law in fact prohibits women from praying as a group. Only custom and tradition, rooted in patriarchal order, were responsible for the otherisation of women. Haut found her courage and assembled like-minded orthodox women who together formed "Women Tefilla groups", groups of women who, in a space separated from men but in keeping with Jewish law, were leading the group prayer. In fact, these women were the trigger and influence for the activity of the Women of the Wall in Jerusalem. So it is evident that this is a global issue, taking place in many parts of the world.

It is this American example that I wish to explore and offer as a path for collaborative activism between the United States and Europe.

Of course, there are differences between Islam and Judaism. They manifest themselves in the rules applying to prayer. But Islam and Judaism also have in

common certain features that I have already highlighted elsewhere and which I would like to emphasize and summarise here too:

- Both traditions are deeply patriarchal. In both, men lead the prayer. Let me emphasise the fact that women in both religions are required and encouraged to pray. But they are not expected to lead, to take a public role. Rather they are both segregated and expected to be led.

- The complex rules, in each religion, creating and perpetuating the patriarchy, are rooted in customary law. They do not appear in the foundational texts themselves. Thus, neither the Quran nor the Torah explicitly prohibits women from actively participating in group prayer. Custom does.

I now come to what I identify as a bridge between the religious way of life and secular society. Secular society is also rooted in patriarchy, and this conference is yet another manifestation of the struggle of women to accomplish equality. If you will excuse me for ignoring the complexity of secular society for a moment, I would like to focus on those aspects of the secular which permit and facilitate the empowerment of women. The feelings are that they have arrived, that they belong, that they are entitled, but also that they are empowered actively to perform public roles and thereby take leadership roles in their community. In this world view there is a link between theories of feminism, which excavate and expose deeply held patriarchal values and which impede the progress and integration of women and notions of citizenship that inject a sense of belonging, agency, and empowerment in the individual woman.

Secular society is not always sympathetic to religious communities, particularly to religious women. Some feminists who uphold gender equality are sometimes frustrated by what they perceive as the submission of religious women to patriarchal values. The fact that these religious communities are often rooted in non-western histories and cultures exacerbates the situation. The religious woman is doubly misunderstood, as a religious being and as one emerging (generally) from a third world history and culture.

The French approach is instructive here and brings us back to the Grand Mosquee de Paris. A lot of ink and a lot of controversy have surrounded the French prohibition on women to wear the burqa. The legal campaign was rooted in fear of the foreigner, hiding her face behind a veil. But it was also an effort to encourage the woman clad in the burqa to become a part of secular society, at least in the public realm. Be like everyone else. Encouragement through coercion, but still encouragement.

In order to accomplish this goal, of secularising the religious Muslim woman, at least in public (leaving her to her own devices in the private realm), some French religious leaders used Muslim law itself. Upon consideration of the sources of Islam, they concluded and decreed that the burqa is not a necessary part of Muslim law; only the scarf or hijab is.

For example, Dalil Boubakeur, the President of the Conseil Francais de Culte Musulman, the state agency known as CFCM, decreed that the burqa was not required by Muslim law and was rooted in traditions preceding Islam. He distanced himself from the 2011 statute banning the burqua, pointing out that such banning would conflict with French civil liberties, and recommended opening a dialogue with those who insist on wearing the burqa. Still he gave a veiled blessing to the ban, by saying it was not a required religious artifact. This statement made it easier for the supporters of the law to conclude that they were not violating freedom of religion.

The same Mr. Dalil Boubakeur, in his capacity as rector of the Grande Mosquee de Paris, presided over the decision to exile Muslim women from the prayer hall where they prayed behind the men, and into the basement where they can pray next to a secular café. Thus he was picking and choosing which customs to bless as Islamic and which to discard. The burqa could be discarded as a relic of pre-Muslim cultures. The segregation in prayer was to be re-invented (note that it was only recently instated) and enforced, as an honourable and binding Muslim tradition.

I would like to suggest an alternative form of action, based on the work of Amina Wadud and progressive Muslims in the United States, but also on the work of progressive Orthodox Jews in the United States. The idea, in short, is to cultivate a form of religious citizenship for and among women, a feeling of agency and empowerment, whether Muslim or Jewish, that make them feel equal to men in the eyes of their tradition and the eye of God. My argument is that once they understand themselves as equal to men in the eye of God and as a consequence of the will of God, they will slowly liberate themselves from the tyranny of reified patriarchal laws and begin to think freshly about their religious practices.

I suggest that a formative process may be encouraged whereby the achieved gender equality in the religious sphere would translate into agency and equality in the secular sphere. The bridge should be constructed from inside out, not only from outside in.

I believe and hope that the notion of religious citizenship will heal the rupture they experience between their original tradition and their adoptive secular society. I don't know what form it will take in the future, if implemented, but I do believe that it will facilitate the building of bridges between the two cultures.

Based on the American experience, what are the necessary ingredients for building such bridges? First and foremost, as Foucualt taught us, knowledge is power. Until very recently, religious learning was unavailable to religious women in Islam or Judaism. They were passive recipients of the laws, not active students and interpreters of the normative structure. In the U.S., on the heels of feminism, women began to study the sources. It was then that they discovered the gap between fundamental law and patriarchal custom, and could develop a normative and well-reasoned theory of the status of women in the respective religion. It takes access, it takes knowledge, and it takes a feminist sensibility in order to cut through the custom and develop alternative, more progressive versions, of the law. This is what Amina Wadud and other women learned in Islam have done, and this is what Jewish women have done. The job has just begun, and continues as we speak.

The other ingredient that is needed (and this list is not exhaustive) is courage. Courage to profess commitment to your religious community in the face of secular pressures, while at the same time understanding that it does not sentence you to the ghetto. Courage not to exercise the right of exit and say goodbye to religion, as many of us have mostly done, but rather to stay put and work on changes from within.

In certain ways it is much easier to exercise the right of exit. We should caution ourselves against insisting that this should be the only solution. An evolutionary adjustment that takes in secular culture but still professes loyalty to the fundamentals of the religion may encounter much less resistance, may encourage the women to make the necessary adjustments, and at the same time empower them to feel equal and dignified within their own communities. The past and the future, thereby, will find softer, more common ground to tread upon.

I should also add, and unfortunately cannot elaborate upon, that the fact that in France religion is centralised, through the consistories for the Jews and the CFCM (the Conseil Francais de Culte Musulman) should not be viewed as an impediment. A centralised administration recognising the value of gender equality may push forward women's citizenship and agency. The power is there. What is needed is the will.

Which takes me back to the present situation in the Grande Mosquee de Paris, or the Western Wall in Jerusalem.

In the name of fidelity to the old time religion, men refuse to recognise the right of women to perform as equal before God, to be equal religious citizens. They vilify these women as provocatresses, infidels, and feminists.

What we learnt from the American experience is that there is nothing wrong about being a religious feminist. There is nothing wrong about thinking critically and wishing to experience agency. This is true for secular society, and equally true for religious society.

This is where we can help. We need to recognise the communal public prayer as a transformative process. It nurtures a sense of citizenship and belonging. Based on the American experience, we in the United States should recognise the contribution our religious communities have made and offer the fruits of our learning to our sisters in Europe and elsewhere.

GENDER EQUALITY AS RE-ENCHANTMENT:

POLITICAL MOBILISATION IN THE TIMES OF "NEO-PATRIARCHAL NEO-LIBERALISM" AND POSSIBILITIES OF BIPARTISAN DIALOGUE

By **Andrea Pető**

R ecent years have brought unprecedented civil activism in Europe. From France to Istanbul, tens of thousands of protesters were rallying to support progressive politics independently from political parties. In post-democracy (Collin Crouch) new political programs emerging rearticulating the relationship between state and citizens are redefining and constructing new

spaces outside the neoliberal representational democracy often criticising gender hierarchies but always outside political parties.

Max Weber dedicated very few lines to one of his key concepts: *Entzauberung der Welt* in his lecture later, in 1919, published as *Wissenschaft als Beruf*. Here he wrote about intellectualism and rationalism as key characteristics of modernity when religious authorities and mystical explanations are no longer ruling the world. The disappearance of enchantment or disenchantment has consequences for languages and technologies of politics.

Belonging to a political community was deterministic and led by magical forces. The age of enlightenment brought in objectivity, choice and rational political actors. The disenchantment was a constitutive part of capitalism as a productive system built on rationality. As far as the criticism of this rational system is concerned, Ernest Gellner wrote about the re-enchantment as a process initiated by psychoanalysis, Marxism and phenomenology to list some of them. (Gellner 1975: 431-45)

In this paper I will bring examples from Central Europe to illustrate how spaces for articulating different political agenda have been changed as a result of the systemic crises of representative democracy in relation to re-enchantment. Also following Hazel Healy's analysis of "feminist spring" who defines feminism quoting Jessica Valenti as "the current surge as 'self-directed and loosely organized; fast-moving micro-movements without institutional leadership'" I am looking at the political potential of "feminist spring" in Central Europe, analysing two examples: the women's congresses and dialogue in gender equality, asking the question what role the fight against disenchantment of the world plays in these movements (Healy 2014).

Protesters of civic activism from Maidan to Budapest were not enchanted by the existing political alternatives and they were searching for a new political language, rhetoric, and a different form of belonging. Can a progressive, emancipatory women's movement be an actor in this process of re-enchantment? Can we connect "feminist spring" with re-enchantment?

● First example: Women's congresses in central Europe

In the past six years based on the Polish example, other countries such as Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary have started to organise women's congresses that are cutting through party political lines focusing on coalitional mobilisation for gender equality. The anniversary celebrations of the Solidarity movement in Poland played a crucial role in resisting and dismantling communism omitted women as actors.

Women who were active in the Solidarity movement have been transmitting their network to the business word, so a very strong stratum of women in business has developed over the last decades. They were those who reached out to other networks of activists, scholars and politicians. The annual event of a congress of all women in Poland (http://www.kongreskobiet.pl/en-EN/) has been organised in a framework that Poland will do better in if women participate. The traditional effectivity argument serves the Polish hegemonic national politics. As a result of these efforts, a shadow women's cabinet was established which includes experts and politicians. This coalitional mobilisation achieved the introduction of a 30% quota in the Parliament. The system of "women's congresses" became a "know-how" and other members of the Visegrad countries also started to organise their own "women's congresses". (For more on this see Pető, Vasali 2014 and Pető, Vasali, forthcoming).

The very weak women's NGOs in Hungary constitute three separate umbrella organisations: socialist, liberal, and conservative-religious. In June 2013, these three umbrella organisations signed a declaration demanding parity on national party and European Parliamentary election lists: (http://noierdek.hu/?p=27262 accessed December 22, 2013). The term "parity" was chosen in lieu of "quota," a term that carries heavy ideological baggage. (Moreover, the last bipartisan action seeking the adoption of a quota law in Hungary had failed at the time of the leftist-liberal government, despite the support of several conservative women MPs).

This declaration, signed by the three umbrella organisations, seemed to have created a new space for articulating the demand for more women in politics.

Jean Jaurès
Fondation

The story did not end well. When the declaration appeared in the press, the conservative umbrella organisation ousted its successful and popular leader and withdrew its support for the Hungarian Women's Congress, which was held on November 11, 2013 and was based on the very successful Polish example. It also declined to participate in the conferences on women's participation in politics organised by the OSCE and CEU. The declaration was only the second attempt since the Roundtable Discussions in 1988-1989 to redefine public interest across party lines. But it failed due to party cleavages. *Heti Válasz*, a major conservative weekly, published a "fact-finding" article about how foreign entities, including the Open Society Institute and the Norwegian Embassy, were financing anti-government propaganda by way of women NGOs in Hungary (Heti Válasz, August 15, 2013, 12-15).

Hungary has a low ranking on the Gender Equality Index. The recent CEDAW report warned that nearly all fields of inquiry have remained largely ignored by the government: (http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws54.htm).

In the EU, Hungary is at the bottom of the list in terms of women's participation in politics. The analysis of the electoral system proved that the new electoral law for the 2014 elections failed to improve the number of women in politics – with the introduction of single majoritarian districts. The attempt to organise women's congress based on wide mobilisation failed as party affiliation/loyalty turned to be more important. The secular, human rights based NGO activists failed to build a coalition with conservative NGOs, and the other way round conservative NGOs, who are sponsored heavily for their work by the present government, have not found any reason to build bipartisan coalition.

The political parties were addressing women as mothers independently from their party affiliations during the election of 2014. As a result 9% of the seats in the present Parliament in Hungary are given to women for the four years to come.

Shall we conclude from this brief comparison of Poland and Hungary that the "women's congresses" are not the part of the "feminist spring" as they are very well organised, policy oriented and rooted in the emancipator tradition of the enlightenment? I would argue against it as the women's congresses are playing a crucial role to create a coalitional umbrella infrastructure of different women's NGOs, policy makers, academics to lobby for policy change in a crucial area: introducing new sensitivity in the political space for bipartisan dialogue and

political representation in the existing neoliberal framework. It is contributing to the process of enchantment of the world, creating clear standards and introducing the technical language of equality.

● Second example: dialogue on gender equality

Can a room full of men and women representing different political positions following talks and making comments considered to be a form of gender activism as a part of the "feminist spring"? Can this debate and discussion be a site of rethinking the consequences of enchantment? Definitely it is the case of Hungary when the society and cultural life is so much polarised. The debate series organised by the Ebert Foundation from autumn 2013 in Budapest managed to attract participants from different political forces. Three debates were organised with more than 300 participants and more than 1500 views of the films summarizing the debates: On gender ideology: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O82sWwjeT8I&feature=youtu.be and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BQLw2OapiKo&feature=youtu.be and an motherhood: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8w8FIwPcVQg&feature=youtu.be

In Central Europe, the countries with a statist feminist heritage pre the WWII patriarchal system lived comfortably together with the post-WWII communist system as far as everyday habitual practices are concerned. Woman as a mother defined by the state has never left the political rhetoric even at the high points of communist social engineering project.

After the collapse of communism the social welfare provisions related to motherhood survived as the newly emerging democracies were driven by nation building projects in a neoliberal framework. As Beatrix Campbell has described "neo-patriarchal neo-liberalism" ("an ugly name for an ugly deal") on the one hand increased gender inequalities with its policies and on the other hand offered a work/employment dichotomy as a foundational relationship for neoliberal reconstruction. As employment is labelled as the primary site for emancipation, this necessarily moved motherhood in the direction of problem identity where state intervention is needed. The welfare provisions however are in danger due to the impoverishment of the state need

redefinition of citizenship. Therefore women are pushed into a looser position: the definition of work as a full time, long term employment with social security benefit is becoming an exception rather than the norm. Therefore the whole site of emancipation needs to be reconsidered and it not surprisingly the number of women who consider family as the most lucrative and safe site for employment increased.

This redefinition in neoliberal democracy can take several directions and it offers a space for a discussion on crucial issues as far as gender equality is concerned. The tendencies to redefine human rights and to hijack the existing gender equality machinery for supporting "family" are very much present on the level of the state apparatus. The question is if these discussions will build up trust to question these attempts while critically reflecting on the available language and rhetoric. The process of listening and explaining as a tool of learning and fostering community is as simple as it may sound but makes the individuals a member of a community of listeners, which is the first step towards re-enchantment.

● Instead of conclusions: two dangers ahead

What kind of conclusions can we draw from these two examples as far as an alternative to disenchantment is concerned?

Far right fundamentalist gender politics, which is also based on politics of care and places family in the centre, absorbs the political space for conservative women's politics and unites all political forces oppressed by the dominant communist political system. The rhetoric of progress, the concept of "New Woman" will be appropriated by anti-modernist political forces. (Pető 2010: 189-201, 2012: 130-138) The far right political forces are very effectively using the fight against disenchantment in their political mobilisation. Unless progressive politics comes up with an alternative, the process of re-enchantment will be taken over by far right political forces constructing emotional communities.

Second, the rhetoric of the victorious neoconservative politics after 1989 leaving the emancipatory leftist politics in a defensive position as their rhetoric is defensive (protecting women) and negative rhetoric (fighting against discrimination). As it is not critiquing the neoliberal politics, it remains the

prisoner of progress. Lisa Brush has called maternalism "feminism for hard times" (Brush: 1996: 431). Maybe the rethinking of maternalism is the way out from the deadlock when the electoral support of traditional progressive parties is not increasing while social, economic problems are increasing. To return to the opening statement regarding mobilisation, political parties should either reconsider their position towards disenchantment or they will be on the losing side in the fight for electoral support with protest movements. We cannot really afford disenchantment - again.

THE NEW WAVE

By **Ivana Bartoletti**

● The feminist legacy

The feminist movement changed politics and also changed the world. Not just on so-called "women's issues"; feminism moved across all sectors and – particularly when it joined forces with the students' and union movements – it drove major changes and contributed to opening up society and breaking social, cultural and economic barriers.

But there has always been much more progressivism and socialism in the feminism movement than feminism in the progressive and socialist movement. Despite feminism having been a major force for change and a driver for equality, its impact on the wider political debate has yet to fully flower.

Feminists – particularly when they embraced the progressive and socialist movement and active politics within progressive parties – did their part to further progressive legislation and influence the political debate. Organisations

like women's wings of the progressive parties cultivated their international links and deepened the feminist analysis whilst focusing on numbers, representation being a key issue for women.

However, the reality is that whatever exciting directions the feminist debate has taken in academia or politics, it has not brought itself to the progressive movement as a force able to shape it from within. Meanwhile the progressive and socialist causes have had a major influence on feminists – in relation to class, social mobility, equality and distribution of wealth. All this has been good, and this is why progressive parties right across the US and Europe have advanced women's rights and championed women's dignity.

● The open questions

Unsolved issues remain. I'd like to discuss two.

The first lies in the dichotomy between public and private. The feminist motto was that the private is public, and this was related to the inherent nature of a woman's body and the understanding that the public (the law and/or the State) needs to protect it.

The reality is, however, that it has been the individual, western approach to human rights that has provided the bedrock on which women's rights have prospered. Women have benefitted from that approach as it has allowed us to construct a full framework to protect our bodies and champion our self-determination rights.

This, though, has evolved alongside the corrosion of the social/collective rights dimension – often hastened by the dismantling of the old communist regimes.

What we have seen, therefore, is the affirmation of a shrinking 'State', alongside the elaboration of political theories delegitimising the Big State as being now overridden by the localism agenda.

The reality remains that women rely on the State – and on the services and safety nets it provides. And they rely on it much more than men do.

The first unresolved question is therefore: how do we construct a new narrative for the State? In other words, can the State reinvent itself in a new function – as an enabler of equality through strong safety nets, social security and innovation programmes?

The second question sums up the points above. If we have dismissed the role of the State too fast – or at least too ideologically – without facing up to what that would mean for women, is that because feminism has never been mainstream politics?

Put differently, it might be interesting to explore what progressivism would look like in 2014 if feminism were not an appendix but its bone structure. Let's think about finance, for example, and unfettered capitalism as we have seen it over the last thirty years. Male predominance in finance cannot remain unnoticed. Has it been like this as a consequence of the lack of women or is the lack of women a consequence itself?

I mention finance because, in the end, feminism to me is about power – and financial power is a crucial part of our society and our international relationships too.

If we were to leave the rules unchanged but swap men with women on the boards, everything would not automatically be perfect. But it would help, for sure! What I am referring to is the ability to change the rules of the game, and I am asking myself what would happen if the feminist theory had a place in the debate.

● The fourth wave of feminism

In the meantime, we have seen a fourth wave of feminism – with a younger generation of women approaching public life and identifying themselves as feminists. Here in Britain, Labour women (and some men) say: "Feminism is back, and it's about time".

Some say this latest movement is one-issue feminism. They note how the younger generation are fired up by a specific topic, such as violence, or abuse of women and girls on Twitter, or saving a female presence on a bank-note,

and not by the radical feminist debate.

I would disagree with that.

I think the one-issue-at-a-time approach has more to do with the nature of our social media and the society we live in than the political nature of what lies underneath. The reality is – I think – that the younger feminist generation is building on the previous one and it is much more demanding.

They do not want to invoke feminism; they want to practise it. And the real challenge for the progressive in the US and Europe is to create a new vocabulary and a new narrative that attracts this younger generation.

However, other issues have come up. One relates to social mobility – and the other to race. With the world reaching dizzying polarisation of wealth and power, a relationship between feminism and social mobility must be explored. I applaud the fantastic work black feminist sisters do, and I think we should deepen the philosophical debate. The atomisation of workers caused by the erosion of unions' rights is causing enormous apprehension as well deepening the sense of displacement many feel.[202]

If previous waves of feminisms drove us this far in terms of how much they have achieved, I do think it is now time to mobilise women on the broader world agenda – and bring feminism into mainstream politics.

Here in Britain, Ed Miliband is paving the way to a substantial and much needed rethinking of the fundaments of our society – this is what socialists do. The Labour Party stands up against vested interests, be they in the media or in the energy market.

But there is a long way to go to reshape a progressive agenda for this century, and I think what could emerge from a renewed feminist debate will benefit progressive movements in all our societies. [203]

WOMAN UP! 2

HOW TO SUM UP 'WOMAN UP 2'?

REMARKS IN CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE

By **Vivien A. Schmidt**

O ne of the recurring themes of the conference has been how to explain the dynamics of change in feminism. A major question raised in this context has been whether changes for the better follow from actions or activism that comes primarily from inside the system or from the outside.

In the first sessions, the discussion of change focused largely on activism serving to generate change within the system. Change was presented as mainly evolutionary; the focus was on individuals, mostly in the workplace, and often on legislation, with an emphasis on mainstream or traditional kinds of politics. Some might have said that such approaches were about co-optation.

If the approach to change involves individual women in the workplace trying to build a collaborative approach, the question one might ask is: Doesn't this simply reinforce gender stereotypes rather than breaking them? That said, if you happen to be a woman *inside* the system, acting individually, how are you going to get ahead other than through collaboration?

Naturally, activism also takes place outside the system. A lot of discussion during the second day was focused on social movements and the development of new feminist ideas. When change results from social activism, it often comes from activism's ability to pull the polity in another direction, toward its own positions. The success of the activism of the extremes on the right in the US over the past decade and more is that it has managed to move the American polity very, very far to the Right, so much so that it is only a slight exaggeration to say that Richard Nixon would look like a left wing radical to many Republicans today. This has made having a progressive impact more difficult for feminists in the USA.

But certainly, feminist-generated change comes more generally from creating awareness, whether one is active on the inside or the outside of the system. That said, 'inside' and 'outside' are much too broad as categorisations of activism. In the discussions in the conference, a number of different ways of engaging actively in civil society were discussed without specifying whether these were clearly identifiable as inside or outside the system. These included women's groups, social movements, women's congresses within mainstream politics that also challenge the mainstream, reproductive rights, body as a space for resistance, and the range of recent movements such as Femen, Occupy, and the *indignados* in Spain. Notably, feminism can also include religious communities, as in communal prayer, business organisations, and political parties. For the latter, the big question is whether feminists seek to find a place within mainstream parties or create their own party? But this naturally hits up against institutional realities. Creating a separate party in the US is impossible, in parliamentary systems, perhaps possible, but we haven't seen many women's' parties here either. There may be a reason for that.

One also needs to consider the importance of the state, which was discussed on the first conference day, and here the questions involve not only politics but also law and bureaucracy. Institutions matter. In some countries in Europe, there are legal quotas with regard to women in parliamentary assemblies or on corporate boards. In the US, such quotas are impossible. Because of such great differences amongst countries, trying to find some kind of united agenda

is difficult. The problems are general, the solutions necessarily different, given differences in the nature of civil societies, religious bodies, labour and business organisations, and so on. Laurel Weldon mentioned that today the issues are simultaneously local, national, regional, global, and multilevel. To illustrate, Katherine Zippel (who was at the conference on the first day) has a book on sexual harassment laws that considers the "Ping-Pong" effect, as women used the EU to come back to the national level to create change.

But we have yet to address how change occurs. For this, we have to talk about two different aspects: the ideational side, involving the substance content of feminists' ideas, and the interactive side, consisting of the discursive processes through which they get their ideas across. With regard to feminist ideas, framing is of the essence. This can be about finding inclusive norms to overcome divisions (mentioned by Laurel Weldon), and avoiding such things like the rejection of leadership hierarchy, as in the women's movement of the 1960s, that sometimes made women invisible (noted by Kay Schlozman). Focus on a key issue is also important, as in the concern with violence against women, and in formulating new ways of conceiving of this, as in 'genocidal rape.' But framing also needs to be context sensitive. In France, for example, EU laws against discrimination simply didn't get translated into legislation until reformulated in a way that resonated with French conceptions of *liberté, egalité, fraternité*. Fighting against stereotyping is also useful, as in the Lego case in the UK; but what about Disney princesses? The biggest challenge, however, is for progressive feminists to find ways to respond to opponents who oppose the new independence of women and have been recapturing the framing in terms of maternity, motherhood, and womanhood.

On the interactive side the main questions are related to how to mobilise, publicise, and generally get the feminist message across. Does one focus on a single issue or on multiple issues? The Equal Rights Amendment in the US is an example of how mobilisation on a single issue that was then lost became a major demobiliser. That said, taking on multiple issues can dissipate energy, and it may make rallying general support more difficult. Grass roots organising, protest marches, and lobbying have all been useful tactics—but the conservatives have learned how to do this arguably even better by now. Neoliberalism has also taken its toll, by pushing policies centred on individual responsibility that pile more pressure on women while denying them support. Moreover, the measures taken in the Eurozone crisis, in particular in countries in trouble in Southern and Eastern Europe, have led to major retrenchments

in job protection and welfare benefits that have hit women hardest, especially poor women, women of colour, and immigrant women.

So what is to be done? Here, I propose a mind experiment. I've just published a co-edited book that seeks to explain the resilience of neo liberal ideas in Europe. In it, we came up with five lines of analysis to explain neo-liberal resilience. I will take these five lines and try to work them through on the issue of feminism. Although the two issues don't quite match up, it could be useful for feminists to consider why neoliberalism has kept coming back even though it failed, failed, and failed again. What we need to ask for feminism is not why does it keep coming back but how do we make sure it keeps coming back. What can we learn about how neo-liberalism manages to keep coming back whereas feminism has such problems?

The first line of analysis explains the resilience of neo-liberalism in terms of its core principles. These are very general, sound like common sense, and are mutable, adaptable, and subject to metamorphosis. Neo-liberalism is like the Hydra: Cut off one head and two pop back up, as in the case of the sound money paradigm of the 1920s which has come back as financial stability today. Neo-liberalism frames it core principles very generally, as "more market, less state," or "more individual responsibility."

Feminism already has clearly identifiable core principles—and these do keep coming back. These include such fundamental ideas as: Respect for women; control over one's body; equal treatment; reproductive rights.

The second line of analysis to explain neoliberal resilience is the gap between rhetoric and reality, that is, what they say and what they do. Generally speaking, neoliberals promise much more than they implement—and for good reason, since they would lose the next elections if they actually imposed the draconian cuts they often propose. But this kind of failure is actually a source of strength, because they can keep coming back, saying that their predecessors failed to do what was needed. For feminists, it may be that the opposite electoral tactic is necessary (given the prevalent conservatism): promise less but deliver more in terms of legislation, i.e., less rhetoric and more reality. Outside electoral politics, however, an expansive rhetoric is equally necessary, with a discourse that keeps reiterating the core principles, and keeps coming back, even if the aspirations are not realised.

In the third line of analysis, neoliberalism tends to be stronger in political discourse and policy debates than the alternatives, or maybe it is just that alternatives are weaker. We could ask where the centre left has been all these years—well, buying in to neo-liberalism, beginning in the 1990s, by assuming that layering social democratic ideas on top of neo-liberal would somehow make it all ok! Our question would be: When is feminist discourse stronger, and what makes it weak? This has actually been addressed a lot during the second day's sessions, and above, and involves questions of framing the debates in particular.

Fourth is the power of interest groups who use neoliberal ideas strategically to further their own interests, whether they believe in them or not. It is also about how such interests—which often already have economic power and the "power of position"—are only further empowered by neo-liberal policies—for example, as the bankers are laughing all the way to the bank. The lesson for feminists is to build their organisational power, creating coalitions to generate a different kind of power, based on the power of mobilisation, which in turn can also enable them to benefit from the "power of position," whether in political office or corporate headquarters.

Fifth is the force of institutions, and the way in which neo liberalism has been embedded into the rules and laws. Notably, feminism has also been successful in many cases because it has been institutionalised. Unfortunately, however, neoliberals have managed to undermine some of these laws. So how do feminists institutionalise protections in ways that certain rights—in particular reproductive rights—can no longer be challenged?

A final question: What kind of progress has feminism made, and how far we have we come? In this regard, despite some of the negative discussion in the conference, it is important to note that the glass is pretty full compared to the emptiness prior to the 1960s. Most notable is the difference between what we complain about today and what women were complaining about not that very long ago. We have come pretty far, but should not be complacent. The gains are continually endangered, in particular under conditions of economic downturn and in view of the rise of anti-feminist movements and the impact of neo-liberal policies. In short, progressive feminists still have a lot of work ahead!
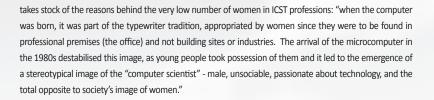
FOOTNOTES, ENDNOTES, BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND REFERENCES

1   According to the bill presented by Mariano Rajoy's conservative government, Spanish women can no longer abort during the first 14 weeks of pregnancy, as had been allowed since 2010 by the law voted by José Luis Rodriguez Zapatero's government. At the time, the socialists had buried the old 1985 legislation. If the new (and very controversial) bill is adopted, Spanish women may only exercise the right to an abortion in the event of rape or serious danger for the physical and psychological health of the mother. It should be noted that, within the EU, terminations are not allowed in Malta. France, on the contrary, voted an amendment in 2014 to relax and consolidate its legislation on terminations.

2   Cf. supplement in French newspaper *Le Monde* of 28 December 2013 on *Les élites débordées par le numérique*.

3   The most recent in France being a report by the CGSP (General Commission for strategy and economic foresight) entitled "Lutter contre les stéréotypes filles - garçons, un enjeu d'égalité et de mixité dès l'enfance". It sets out thirty proposals relating to education, health, cultural or sporting practices and academic orientation. The authors note that "girls and boys do not make the same subject choices, and engage in school, sporting or cultural activities differently".

4   In France, for example, after secondary school only a quarter of girls (compared to a third of boys) choose to study for a technical school certificate (BEP) or a vocational training certificate (CAP). In the general academic cycle, they are in the minority (43%) in the sixth form scientific stream ("Terminale S") and very much in the majority for the literary (82%) and tertiary streams (63%). This same split can also be found in the preparatory classes for the "grandes écoles" and at university, where they are largely in the majority for

arts and languages, human and social sciences, law, political science and pharmacy. More girls than boys also study medicine. They do however remain very much in the minority in mathematics, engineering and IT, meaning that they are unable to get into the French "grandes écoles" for engineers in significant numbers (Centrale, Polytechnique etc.), where the proportion of girls has evolved little if at all, remaining at the 15-20% level for the last twenty years. This situation continues to prevail despite the significant number of reports, studies and articles on the orientation of girls and numerous awareness campaigns over more than 25 years. The only consolation is the "Mutationnelles" study carried out by Global Contact on behalf of Orange at the French science fair and which studies the place of women in scientific and technical subjects. It notes that the decline in the number of young girls who go towards scientific and technical studies has finally been halted. Over the last three years, the number of female pupils and students in scientific and technical subjects even increased by 2.5% (between 2009 and 2011).

5   Françoise Vouillot, *L'orientation des filles aux prises avec le genre*, La Découverte n°18, 2007.

6   This study, carried out by an American-Canadian team and published in the journal *Nature* on 11 December 2013, analysed nearly 5.5 million scientific articles published between 2008 and 2012, totalling more than 27 million names originating from almost every country in the world.

7   Report based on the 2008 engineers' survey by the CNISF (French national council of engineers and scientists) in collaboration with the CEFI (Study committee on engineer training). The situation has barely evolved since.

8   20% in the Netherlands but 44% in Estonia (cf. below).

9   Study by the European Commission on the presence of women in the digital economy "Women active in the ITC sector", October 2013.

10   The university has three other campuses in addition to Pittsburgh - in Silicon Valley, Qatar and Australia.

11   Less than 10% in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Austria.

12   As is the case in many sectors, there is no EU uniformity regarding ICSTs either. In the former communist East European Member States, notably Bulgaria, 11% of young girls look to pursue a career in ICSTs, followed closely by Latvia and Estonia.

13   Isabelle Collet, computer scientist and researcher in educational science at Paris-X University (Nanterre), INT, Evry. Author of *L'informatique a-t-elle un sexe? Hackers, mythes et réalités*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2006.

14   Several studies have analysed this negative evolution, notably in France. In her article, Isabelle Collet takes stock of the reasons behind the very low number of women in ICST professions: "when the computer was born, it was part of the typewriter tradition, appropriated by women since they were to be found in professional premises (the office) and not building sites or industries. The arrival of the microcomputer in the 1980s destabilised this image, as young people took possession of them and it led to the emergence of a stereotypical image of the "computer scientist" - male, unsociable, passionate about technology, and the total opposite to society's image of women."

15   These figures come from the Women's Forum report mentioned in the footnote on page 4.

16   That is why the prizes awarded by the European Commission (Digital Girl, Digital Women and Digital Impact Organisation of the Year Awards) aimed at encouraging female careers in the ICT sector and to address the ICT skills shortage in Europe are sometimes called the "Ada Awards".

17   Study written by Gérard Valenduc, Patricia Vendramin and Caroline Guffens, "La place des femmes dans les métiers des technologies de l'information et de la communication", *Revue Wallonie*, September 2004.

18   Meeting of the executive board of PSE Femmes, presided by Zita Gurmai, Hungarian MEP.

19   Polish feminist and political leader.

20   Barbara Nowacka specified that within the European Union, 53% of Internet users are women, 55% of housewives have Internet access and that Facebook was dominated by women (whilst Twitter was mainly dominated by men).

21   ITU news, November 2013.

22   Sheryl Standberg, *Lean in* or *En avant toutes, les femmes, le travail et le pouvoir*, Ed. JC Lattès, May 2013.

23   In the United States, only 5% of women head the top 1,000 major companies, all sectors combined.

24   Cf. *Le Figaro* of 8 November 2013.

25   Cf. the UN Women advertising campaign: "What Google searches reveal about misogyny".

26   The French Digital Council is an independent advisory committee tasked with providing opinions and recommendations on all questions relating to the impact of digital technology on the society and the economy. Created in 2011, its remit was widened in 2012. It consists of an equal number of men and women.

27   In the Asia-Pacific region, on a general level, women are quick to appropriate the ICT sector.

Consequently in India, despite a highly conflicting situation, women - essentially those from middle-class backgrounds (250-300 million people today) - are increasingly present in the growing digital economy. In Malaysia, women account for between 50% and 60% of computer industry workers, and many of them hold management positions. The rapid expansion of the technology sector has led to radical changes in the role of women in society, altering the traditional social norms. For Malaysian women, being a computer scientist does not require any physical strength, it is not dangerous, and it is clean work. It is an office job that even allows them to work from home.

28   For Brigitte Rozoy, French lecturer and research in mathematics then computer science, "computing as a science is [for me] the intellectual adventure of the century". As Gilles Dowek, director of research at INRIA (French public science and technology institution) said, "Humanity has experienced many leaps forward, many revolutions: words, writing, printing and computer science. These four shocks of civilisation are all equally as important for the evolution of Humanity and profoundly change its future in an irreversible and fundamental way".

29   The International Telecommunication Union, located in Geneva (Switzerland) is the United Nations specialised agency for information and communication technologies. It brings together 193 Member States, over 700 sector members and associates representing the private sector and international and regional organisations, as well as academic institutions. It recently published a report entitled "A bright future in ICT - opportunities for a new generation of women", November 2013.

30   Cf. in particular the European Parliament report of December 2012 on "Eliminating gender stereotypes in the EU". Cf. also Beijing +15. Cf. also the ITU's three-year campaign entitled "Women and girls in ITC" and its "Girls in ITC" portal, whose mission is to encourage them to choose a career in this field. (http://girlsinict.org/).

31   According to the ITU, "changes in technology promising unlimited and low-cost processing, storage and communication capabilities, together with developments in software-defined networks and data analysis, are transforming the fundamental structure and character of the ICT sector." Mobile broadband is the fastest growing technology in the history of mankind. According to ITU forecasts, end of 2013, there will be almost 2.1 billion mobile broadband subscriptions in the world. The ITU also underlines "that it took 25 years to reach the first billion fixed telephone line subscriptions, and it is highly unlikely that we ever reach the second billion. But it only took nine years to reach the first billion mobile broadband subscriptions - and only two years more to pass the two billion mark."

32   The companies having signed the code are: Alcatel-Lucent (France), APSCO (UK), CISCO, European Centre for Women and Technology, e-SKILLS (UK), Equalitec (UK), Google, HP, IMEC (Belgium), Infineon, IT Synergy (UK), Lebanese Telecommunication Authority (Lebanon), Microsoft, Motorola, Orange France-Telecom (France), Panasonic, Papirbredden Innovasjon (Norway), Portia (UK), Promis@Service (Luxembourg), P31 Consulting (UK), Research Council of Norway, SAP, Sharpe Thinking (UK), Simula (Norway), Sony Europe,

Steinbeis-Europa-Zentrum (Germany), University of Liverpool (UK).

33   In February 2013, France defined a "roadmap" comprising 18 measures and which is part of the objectives fixed by the "European digital agenda for 2020". In total, more than 100 measures have been undertaken by all of the ministries involved. The minister in charge of the digital economy announced a new communication campaign focussing on portraits of businesswomen in the ICT sector.

34   To this aim, 2008 saw the creation of the European Institute of Innovation and Technology (EIT), a kind of MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) whose aim is to promote links between training, research and innovation. This initiative is based on the establishment of knowledge and innovation communities (KICs). Three KICs were chosen in 2009 in the climate, energy and digital fields. This digital KIC covers the entire value chain of the information and communication techniques sector. It involves, through bringing together the sector's major players thanks to the development and deployment of ICTs, stimulating innovation in the key sectors of the economy based on the principle of open innovation. Its offices are in Berlin, Eindhoven, Helsinki, Paris and Stockholm. Helsinki is the coordinating centre for education, Paris-Saclay for research and Berlin for innovation. In 2010 the EIT Foundation was created by 10 major companies: Agfa Gevaert, Akzo Nobel, Alcatel-Lucent, BNP Paribas, Ernst & Young, Google, Intel Labs Europe, MOL, Solvay and the Vodafone Institute for Society and Communications. Its aim is to assist and reinforce EIT actions, by bringing together some of the most brilliant minds in Europe within the scope of young talent programmes and other similar initiatives.

35   In Europe around 40 major operators, controlled by 28 distinct national regulatory frameworks, are competing for 510 million consumers, whereas the US market, with six major operators for 330 million consumers, and the Chinese market, with three main operators for 1.4 billion consumers, are each subjected to a single regulatory framework.

36   Two French parliamentary information reports, "La stratégie numérique de l'Union Européenne" presented in October 2013 by deputies Hervé Gaymard and Axelle Lemaire, and the other "L'Union Européenne, colonie du monde numérique? ", presented in March 2013 by the senator Catherine Morin-Desailly, note that in 2012, 15 European companies made the top 50 in the ICT sector, but only one, the Spanish company Telefonica, made the top 10. Between 2008 and 2012, the total turnover of the 50 leader companies in the digital sector increased from 1,390 billion euros to 1,790 billion: a leap of almost 30%. Within this spectrum, Asian and particularly American companies take the lion's share and benefit from continued growth, whilst the European companies have dropped by around 10 billion euros.

37   Insee Première, n°1452, June 2013, Vincent Gombault, household living conditions department.

38   We can note, in this area, that there is also a gap between the north and the south of the EU: 93% of users in the Netherlands, 82% in Austria, 70% in Spain, 58% in Italy, 55% in Greece (source: Eurostat). According to Royal Pingdom, the number of Internet users in the world doubled between 2007 and 2012,

increasing from 1.15 billion to 2.27 billion, 53.8% of whom are in Asia.

39   According to the Médiamétrie Internet use research institute.

40   The same goes for sickening ideologies such as anti-Semitism, racism, homophobia, etc...

41   At the 9th edition of the best mobile film, the prize was awarded to "Cercle vicieux", directed by Sylvain Certain. In one minute and in one sequence shot, the director shows the downward spiral of an adolescent who is the victim of cyber-harassment.

42   That is why, in France, during the debate on a law reinforcing gender equality, the National Assembly adopted on 28 January 2014 - at the first reading - an amendment widening   illicit content requiring notification by Internet service providers (ISPs) and host providers pursuant to the 2004 law on confidence in the digital economy, to include sexist, homophobic and handiphobic content. The article therefore engages their civil and penal responsibility if they do not report content deemed to be illicit. It was adopted despite the opposition of some deputies from the PS (socialist party) majority, but also the French National Digital Council, who considered that this extension continues the transformation of host providers into the Net's private police force, encouraging them to automatically censor any reported content, without the intervention of a judge. They fear that this measure, as it stands, is counter-productive, as the policing platform could drown under a very large number of notifications.

43   In France, for example, the 2004 law on confidence in the digital economy and PHAROS (Platform for the harmonisation, analysis, cross-checking and orientation of alerts), created in 2009, collects and processes infringements notified by Internet users.

44   The Hague, first Europol/Interpol conference on cybercrime, 24-25 September 2013. Aim: devise strategies in order to protect cyberspace from the threat posed by its exploitation for criminal purposes.

45   In too many countries, the status of women still remains extremely retrograde, worrying even.

46   Two studies conducted in France four years apart, one in 2013 by the CSA (French audiovisual council), the other in 2009 by Michèle Reiser, member of the CSA and Brigitte Grésy, inspector-general of social affairs in their report "L'image des femmes dans les médias" for the Secretary of State for solidarity, provide the same figures. Is the March 2013 appointment of Nathalie Nougayrède, the first women to head French daily newspaper Le Monde, the sign of an evolution?

47   In France, the website "Voxfémina, parole d'expertes au féminin" was created to "promote a balanced and non-stereotypical representation of women in the media".

48   The Status of Women in the U.S. Media 2013.

49   Françoise Héritier, the French anthropologist and ethnologist, analysed "the differential valency of the sexes" i.e. the distinction between men and women which, at all times and in all places male superiority over that of women, in her work "Masculin, Féminin. La pensée de la différence", Paris, Editions Odile Jacob, 1996

50   Not all women in the world have access to ICTs yet. The UN estimates that if seven out of ten people are connected in the developed world, only two out of ten are connected in the developing world. In southern countries, women still find it harder than men to access ICTs due to their lower economic power and structural, cultural, social and language restrictions.

51   As Françoise Bernard and Catherine Loneux remark in the *Revue française des sciences de l'information et de la communication* (n°4, 2014), recognising the discretion in France and in Europe, until recently, of ICSTs in the way in which gender quality is considered: "giving ICS researchers their say is, at the end of the day [...] showing how much this discipline is part of the crucial issues of today's society whilst contributing a pertinent perspective on history and time that allows for a better understanding of the cultural and communicational depth of male-female relations in societies".

52   Professor of history of consciousness at the University of California in Santa Cruz, author of *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*, Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 1991, translated into French in 2008.

53   Cf. the article by Patricia Vendremin, director of research at the Fondation Travail-Université in Namur (Belgium), "Tic et genre: des regards multiples", in the online journal *Tic et genre*, vol 5, 2011.

54   The final declaration recommends fighting the stereotyped image of women and unequal access and participation of women in communication (in particular the media). Moreover, for the first time, the signatories of the Beijing action plan undertake to include, in an effective manner, and in all areas of their government policy, equality between men and women ("gender main-streaming").

55   Professional networks are particularly developed on both sides of the Atlantic: networks by role, profession (for example female engineers or female managers and senior managers), alumni networks, solidarity networks to help women to find employment etc...

56   According to Médiamétrie, there are six million bloggers in France, half of whom are women.

57   In the United States, 14% of American mothers are "mommy bloggers", with an average age of 37.

58   This paragraph owes much to the study by Anita Gurumurthy, research consultant at the Indian Management Institute in Bangalore, "Gender and ICTs", for BRIDGE, a research and information service

created in 1992 and specialising in gender and development within the scope of the Institute of Development Studies in the UK.

59   The APC, created in 1990, is an international network of civil society organisations devoted to the empowerment and support of groups and individuals working for peace, human rights, development and environmental protection, through the strategic use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) including the Internet.

60   Example: the EWL appeal: "Support Spanish women in their right to decide! Take a photo of yourself and post it on Facebook, Twitter with the following hashtags: #AlertaFeminista #abortolibre. And send it to mybodycampaign@gmail.com to add it to theaction's Facebook page.

61   30,000 demonstrators in Paris, 40,000 demonstrators throughout France. According to a survey, 78% of Spaniards are opposed to the government bill to revoke the right to abortion.

62   In Belgium, Spain, Great Britain, Portugal, and even in Argentina and Ecuador.

63   Including the EWL, Planning familial, Osez le féminisme, the national collective for women's rights, and also the PS (socialist party), the PCF (communist party), the unions etc.

64   Portuguese socialist MEP.

65   "The Commission makes itself available under article 110 of the Rules of the European Parliament stating that "members of the Commission, the Council and the European Council may at any time ask the President of Parliament for permission to make a statement"".

66   Web 2.0 (2003) is the evolution of the Web towards greater simplicity, and it facilitates interaction between Internet users and the creation of social networks.

67   On the European level, one of the first large-scale uses of ICTs took place during the elaboration of the draft European constitution by the Convention on the future of Europe (February 2002-July 2003), with a forum that was open to organisations representing civil society and allowed them to contribute to the debates. In concrete terms, throughout the duration of the Convention, over 300 organisations sent some 800 contributions via the forum, which was set up via an Internet site. In France, the victory of the TCE "no" vote was due in part to their Internet campaign.

68   Clémence Pène, researcher in political science, whose doctoral thesis studied the link between technology and politics in the United States, is the author of an article entitled "La nouvelle science électorale américaine", in the journal Politique étrangère, 2/2013. She is in charge of the digital campaign of Anne Hidalgo, socialist candidate for Paris city council.

69   Example: in France, the municipal elections campaign is in full swing. In Paris, there are two female candidates: Anne Hidalgo for the socialists (PS) and Nathalie Kosciusko-Morizet for the centre-right (UMP). On the PS candidate's website, visitors can find out when she will be in their city district, about her proposals and all of her activities in the French capital.

70   92% say they do not trust them; one French person in two (51%) that they do not trust them at all.

Results of an Ipsos survey for Le Monde, CEVIPOF (Sciences Po political research centre), the Jean-Jaurès Foundation and radio station France Inter, conducted on the Internet 8-14 January 2014 on a sample of 1,005 people representative of the French population, aged 18 and over.

71   Without a clearly-defined political persuasion, nor a central committee or charismatic leader to carry it along, it brings together in Italian towns extreme right sympathisers, young tifosi, former members of the Democratic Party and former unionists, etc.

72   The movement was founded on 17 September 2011, when a group of young people set up camp on Zuccotti Square in the Wall Street district to denounce inequality. It quickly spread to several American cities. The camps were finally cleared by the police. Nonetheless, the movement celebrated its second anniversary in New York in 2013.

73   For the first time in France, the January 2014 polls put the Front national (extreme right) in the lead, in front of the UMP (republican right) and the PS (socialists) in third place. In Germany, just seven months following its creation, the anti-Euro party Alternative for Germany won over almost 2.1 million voters (4.7%) at the federal elections on 22 September last.

74   In the Europa supplement that appeared in Le Monde, El País and Süddeutsche Zeitung on 25 April 2013 and also La Stampa, Gazeta Wyborcza, and The Guardian, the six partner newspapers analysed the crisis of confidence among Europeans towards the Union. The French daily newspaper wrote: "this Euro-scepticism in all its many forms, populism, nationalism, distrust, resentment, revolt, has spread across all of Europe. For a long time, it was the privilege of the British. It is now at the origin of Greek revolt, Italian political chaos, French deception, German frustration; onto which, at the present time, hostility is now concentrated".

75   In 2009, turnout at the European elections was 43%, 45.5% in 2004, 49.5% in 1999 and 61.99% in 1979.

76   In France, a poll carried out by Audirep on 500 young people aged 15-30 revealed that for 55% of them politics is of no importance, even if 83% follow political news on a regular basis (rising to 88% of A-level students), most often on television which, today, is by far the primary vector of information.

77   The poll specifies that, of Europeans, the French are those who combine the three types of media the most in order to find out information about the political life of their country.

78   In France, in winter/early spring 2014, the Prime Minister wanted to use social networks in order to persuade people to vote, especially young voters. On 17 February he announced that "targeted messages will be sent notably on Facebook and Twitter where they can read slogans such as "Vous aimez liker? Voter" or "Voter, c'est twitter en vrai". ("Do you like to "like"? Vote"/" Voting is Twitter in real life").

79   IFOP poll, September 2012 for Le Figaro.

80   This has been noted on several occasions. Cf. notably "Un parlement Européen paritaire en 2014?" session of the FJJ/FEPS seminar of March 2013 by Ghislaine Toutain.

81   As Marja Bijl, vice-president of PSE Women suggested, during the FJJ/FEPS seminar of March 2013 in Paris, "Un parlement Européen paritaire en 2014?", the head of the electoral list must conduct an intensive field campaign, talk to the most amount of women possible and feminise his/her speeches on the concrete action of the Union with regards to women - put simply, "Bring Europe home!".

82   In France, gender parity is mandatory on European election candidate lists, which is not the case in all Member States; just as a quota of 50% women is not foreseen in the statutes of all European progressive parties as some of them do not even have compulsory quotas for the representation of women.

"The (in)visibility of women of the left in France: A historical perspective of its evolution centred on the outburst in 1968 of the 2nd wave of feminism" *by Monique Halpern*

83   http://nuriavarela.com/el-feminismo-es-un-impertinente-tambien-para-la-izquierda

84   *'Reproductive rights'*: a term that will be used here because it appears in all official texts, but the term *'procreative rights'* is more in phase with current scientific developments and could be used instead.

85   The New Anticapitalist Party (*Nouveau Parti anticapitaliste*, NPA) was founded in February 2009. The party was intended to unify the fractured movements of the French radical Left,(namely the former strongest far left party, the Revolutionary Communist League (LCR).) and attract new activists drawing on the relative combined strength of far-left parties in presidential elections in 2002, where they achieved 10.44% of the vote.

86   Articles on this matter are nevertheless to be found in Socialist Review, for instance, "A proud tribune of the oppressed", Interview by Jim Wolfreys, March 2010, when Ilham Moussaid's nomination was first known.

87   Le Monde, 5 février 2010, «NPA : nouveau parti antiféministe ?».

88   *Arrêt sur image,* 5 février 2010.

89   To-day Minister of Culture in the current socialist government.

90   Front de Gauche: The Left Front (FG) is a French electoral coalition created for the 2009 European elections by the French Communist Party and the Left Party, which was formed when a left-wing minority faction decided to leave the Socialist Party, and the Unitarian Left (Gauche Unitaire), a group which left the New Anticapitalist Party. It obtained 11% of the votes at the 2012 presidential elections.

91   The National Front (*Front national, FN*) is an economically protectionist, socially conservative nationalist party in France. The party was founded in 1972, seeking to unify a variety of French nationalist movements of the time.

92   For memory, and 'as a foot note', here are some of the MLF slogans of those times: «Mon corps m'appartient» , «Ne me libérez pas, je m'en charge», «Il y a plus inconnu que le soldat inconnu: sa femme», «Le féminisme n'a jamais tué personne, le machisme, lui, tue tous les jours.», «Un homme sur deux est une femme», «Femmes et chiens, même combat: ne plus être sifflées dans la rue.», «Nos bodies are perfect.», «Je ne suis pas normâle», «Double travail, demi-salaire», «Quand une femme dit non c'est non.», «Nous ne sommes pas des poupées», «On est tous fichus de faire le ménage», «La rue est à nous aussi!», «Femmes, reprenons la nuit», «Dans la jungle des rues, les femmes rugissent»,»Ils ne décideront plus pour nous.», «L'homme invisible est une femme», .. «C'est sur le front principal de notre oppression – la famille – que nous voulons lutter», etc., in *40 ans de slogans féministes*, éditions Ixe, 2011.

93   Comments on Contradictions in the New Left by Robin Morgan, in: http://nuriavarela.com/el-feminismo-es-un-impertinente-tambien-para-la-izquierda

94   It would have been very useful to integrate here the question of Union and feminism; unfortunately, it has not been possible to enlarge this review, but for this matter I refer the reader to "Féminisme & syndicalisme", Annick Coupé's article in revue *Argone*, n°28/2003: http://revueagone.revues.org/413.

95   *The First Hundred Years*, a short history of Socialist International Women, p.19, Vorwärts Buch.

96   Throughout this paper it will be referred to the "Socialist Party" or the Socialists, but it was the SFIO (French Section of the International Socialist) which was created in 1905, gathering the diverse parts of French socialism. The SFIO lasted till 1971, when the current Socialist Party was created, under the leadership of François Mitterrand.

97   1880: creation of the female public education.

98   Act of 1884 on divorce.

99   Françoise Navailh, «Le modèle soviétique», in Michelle Perrot et Georges Duby (eds), *Histoire des femmes, le XXème siècle* , Plon 1992 quoted par Annette Wievorka, *Maurice et Jeannette, Biographie du couple Thorez*, Fayard 2010, p.565.

100   Charlotte Delbo, *Le convoi du 24 janvier*, Les Editions de Minuit, 1966.

101   Fernand Grenier.

102   Cf. Articles of Madeleine Pelletier in *L'Ouvrier*, 1924, quoted by Christine Bard and Jean-Louis Robert, «Le PC et les femmes, 1920-1939».

103   Ref. A. Wievorka, *Maurice et Jeannette, Biographie du couple Thorez*, op.cit., note 1, p.565.

104   Cf. Michel Garbez, «La question féminine dans le Parti Communiste français, in CURAPP, Discours et idéologies, PUF, 1980».

105   (Their mariage took place in September 1947; later on, in the 70's, Jeannette Vermeersch referred to this non legal union as a sign, a proof, of her being liberal, non-conformist). cf Annie Kriegel quoted by A. Wievorka).

106   Jeannette Vermmersch quoted by A. Wievorka, op.cit. p. 583.

107   Annie Kriegel, *Ce que j'ai cru comprendre* Robert Laffont 1991, p.557.

108   William Gueraiche, «La propagande en direction des femmes à la SFIO, 1944-1969», *Cahier et revue de l'OURS* n°211, mai-juin 1993, quoted by Ghislaine Toutain.

109   Louise Saumoneau (1875 –1950) was a French feminist who later renounced feminism as being irrelevant to the class struggle. She became a union leader and a prominent socialist. During World War I she was active in the internationalist pacifist movement.

110   cf. *Femmes, genre et mouvement ouvrier en France aux 19ème et 20ème siècles: bilan et perspectives de recherche*, by Laura L. Frader, professor in Northwestern University (Boston, Massachussets), Clio 1996, quoted by Ghislaine Toutain.

111   cf. Charles Sowerwine, *Les femmes et le socialisme*, Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, novembre 1978, quoted by Ghislaine Toutain.

112   In the first Léon Blum 1936 government, three women had been appointed as Ministers: Cécile Brunschvicg at Education, Suzanne Lacore for Public Health and Irène Joliot-Curie for scientific research.

113   The public statement of the "343 sluts" (women who came out as having had an abortion) on April 5, 1971.

114   Ghislaine Toutain refers to Eléonore Lépinard's recent theses on *Parity or the myth of a French exception* (EHESS, 2004*)*: "French exception if there is one, would rather slot in resistance of French politicians to feminize their executives, and the resistance of the political system to include the issue of women's rights and institutionalize it".

115   The first law on parity was passed on June 6, 2000; it was strengthened by an April 1 2010 law.

116   Françoise Picq : « Le féminisme entre passé recomposé et futur incertain », Cités 2002/1, n°9.

117   Chritine Delphy, « Nouvelles du MLF/Libération des femmes, an X », *Questions Féministes*, n°7 réédité dans *Questions féministes*, Paris, Syllepse, 2012; p. 787 sq.

"Legal Education and Gender Equality"

118   In 1869, Iowa was the first state to admit a woman to practice law. Over the next 81 years, states slowly admitted women to practice law but we had to wait until 1950 before all states had opened their courtrooms to female lawyers.

"The family and medical leave act, work/family policy, and family values in the Clinton and Obama administrations: A story of progress and unfinished business"

119   This essay is adapted from my longer article, *Federal Family Policy and Family Values from Clinton to Obama, 1992-2012 and Beyond,* 2013 Michigan State Law Review 1621-1718. I thank my research assistant Gillian Stoddard Leatherberry for helping me adapt that longer work for this essay. In that article, I also address two other Clinton-era laws: the 1996 welfare law (the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act) and the Defense of Marriage Act (1996) (ruled unconstitutional in part in U.S. v. Windsor, 133 S. Ct. 2675 (2013).

120   Al From, *Building on Clintonism*, Blueprint, Mar. 2005, at 48, 48, *available at:* http://www.dlc.org/ndol_ci6e33.html?kaid=86&subid=84&contentid=253235.

121   Al From, The New Democrats and the Return to Power 4, 177 (2013).

122   *See* Linda C. McClain, The Place of Families: Fostering Capacity, Equality, and Responsibility (2006);

Linda C. McClain, *Care as a Public Value: Linking Responsibility, Resources, and Republicanism*, 76 Chi.-Kent L. Rev. 1673 (2001).

123   Bill Clinton, *The New Covenant: Responsibility and Rebuilding the American Community*, Remarks to Students at Georgetown University (Oct. 23, 1991). Transcript available at: www.dlc.org/ndol_ci4c81.html?kaid=127&subid=173&contentid=2783).

124   Bill Clinton, My Life 365, 381, 420 (2004).

125   *Id.* at 365, 420.

126   *Id.* at 446.

127   Al From, *Politics of the 21st Century: Democratic Party Legislative Ball, Salt Lake City, Utah*, DLC.org (Jan. 13, 1999): http://www.dlc.org/print221b.html?contentid=662

128   On the New Democrats as charting a Third Way politics, which influenced parallel developments in the United Kingdom (associated with Tony Blair and the New Labour party, in particular) and continental Europe, see FROM, *supra* note 3, at 239-48. See also Anthony Giddens, The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy 1-3, 154-55 (1998). The DLC ceased operating in 2011 and is now part of the Clinton Foundation. *See* From, *supra* note 3, at 255. However, a newer organization, the Third Way, espouses similar principles. *See* Third Way, SourceWatch.org: http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Third_Way (last visited Nov. 12, 2013)

129   Third Way, *supra* note cxxviii.

130   A History of the White House Domestic Policy Council 1993-2001, at 4 (2001) (hereinafter History of the White House), *available at:* http://www.clintonlibrary.gov/assets/DigitalLibrary/AdminHistories/Box%20011-020/Box%20016/1226192-domestic-policy-council-1.pdf (quoting Governor William J. Clinton, Speech to the Cleveland City Club (May 21, 1992), *available at:* http://www.ibiblio.org/pub/academic/political-science/speeches/clinton.dir/c36.txtp).

131   Presidential Statement on Signing the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, 1 Pub. Papers 144, 144-45 (Feb. 5, 1993).

132   *Id.* at 145.

133   Id. at 145.

134   *See* 29 C.F.R. § 825.101 (1994).

135   *Id.*

136   Nevada Department of Human Resources v. Hibbs, 538 U.S. 721 (2003).

137   *Id.*

138   Wage & Hour Div., U.S. Dep't of Labor, Balancing the Needs of Families and Employers: Family and Medical Leave Surveys 2-2 tbl.2.1 (2000), *available at* http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/chapter2.htm.

139   Clinton, *supra* note 6, at 490.

140   Presidential Statement on Signing FMLA, *supra* note cxxxi, at 145-46.

141   For a contemporaneous assessment, see Sandra Scarr et al., *Quality of Child Care as an Aspect of Family and Child Care Policy in the United States*, 91 Pediatrics 182, 182-83 (1993). For a more recent assessment, see Rebecca Ray, Janet C. Gornick & John Schmitt, *Who Cares? Assessing Generosity and Gender Equality in Parental Leave Policy Designs in 21 Countries*, 20 J. Eur. Soc. Pol'y 196 (2010), *available at* http://esp.sagepub.com/content/20/3/196. On the U.S.'s "laggard" status, see Eileen McDonagh, The Motherless State: Women's Political Leadership and American Democracy 137 (2009).

142   139 Cong. Rec. 1705 (1993) (statement of Rep. John Sarbanes in support of FMLA).

143   Clinton, *supra* note 6, at 273 (emphasis added).

144   *See* Ray, Gornick, and Schmitt, *supra* note 23.

145   See Alexis M. Herman, U.S. Sec'y of Labor, Balancing the Needs of Families and Employers: Family and Medical Leave Surveys (2000), *available a:t* http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/cover-statement.pdf.

146   Gerald Mayer, Cong. Research Serv., The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA): An Overview 4-5 (2012), *available at:* https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42758.pdf.

147   *Id.* at 4 (explaining that the FMLA applies to public agencies "regardless of the number of employees," but only to "private employers who are engaged in commerce and who employed 50 or more employees for at least 20 weeks in the preceding or current calendar year").

148   *See* Rebecca Ray, Janet C. Gornick & John Schmitt, Ctr. for Econ. & Policy Research, Parental Leave

Policies in 21 Countries: Assessing Generosity and Gender Equality 9 (2009), available at: http://www.lisdatacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/parent-leave-report1.pdf; *see also* Wage & Hour Div., *supra* note cxxxviii, at 3-3 tbl.3.1 (indicating that 41.7% of workers work in establishments not covered by FMLA).

149   Wage & Hour Div., *supra* note cxxxviii, at 3-7 tbl.3.3 (indicating that 42.3% of men take FMLA leave as opposed to 57.7% of women); Wage & Hour Div., U.S. Dep't of Labor, *Executive Summary: 1995 Family and Medical Leave Commission Report*, http://www.dol.gov/whd/fmla/1995Report/summary.htm (last visited Nov. 12, 2013) ("In general, men take more leave for their own serious health condition. Women (who alone take maternity leave) are somewhat more likely than men to need leave, to take leave and to take longer periods of leave.").

150   *See* Jean Kimmel & Catalina Amuedo-Dorantes, *The Effects of Family Leave on Wages, Employment, and the Family Wage Gap: Distributional Implications*, 15 Wash. U. J.L. & Pol'y 115, 124-40 (2004); Joanna L. Grossman, *Job Security Without Equality: The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993*, 15 Wash. U. J.L. & Pol'y 17 (2004).

151   For a very recent analysis of this problem, see Claire Cain Miller, *The Leave Seldom Taken*, N.Y. Times (Sunday Business), Nov. 9, 2014, at 1.

152   Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, 1 Pub. Papers 62, 65 (Jan. 19, 1999).

153   Birth and Adoption Unemployment Compensation, 65 Fed. Reg. 37,210 to 37,210 (proposed June 13, 2000).

154   Unemployment Compensation—Trust Fund Integrity Rule; Birth and Adoption Unemployment Compensation; Removal of Regulations, 68 Fed. Reg. 58,540 to 58,540 (Oct. 9, 2003).

155   Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union, 1 Pub. Papers 129, 130 (Jan. 27, 2000) [hereinafter 2000 State of the Union Address].

156   *Id.*

157   2008 Democratic Nat'l Convention Comm., Report of the Platform Committee: Renewing America's Promise 15 (2008), *available at:* http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/papers_pdf/78283.pdf.

158   Katie Couric, *Michelle Obama on Love, Family & Politics* (Feb. 15, 2008, 5:23 PM), http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-18563_162-3838886.html

 159   *Id.*

160   *See* Rona Kaufman Kitchen, *Off-Balance: Obama and the Work-Family Agenda*, 16 Emp. Rts. & Emp. Pol'y J. 211, 213 (2012) (relating candidate Obama's work-family agenda to women's support for him in the election); Karen Kornbluh & Rachel Homer, *The New Family Values Agenda: Renewing Our Social Contract*, 4 Harv. L. & Pol'y Rev. 73, 75 (2010) ("Women are disproportionately affected by the gaps in the social contract programs we discuss.").

161   Press Release, Office of the Press Sec'y, President Obama Announces White House Council on Women and Girls (Mar. 11, 2009), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/President-Obama-Announces-White-House-Council-on-Women-and-Girls.

162   Press Release, Office of the Press Sec'y, Remarks by the President at Signing of Executive Order Creating the White House Council on Women and Girls (Mar. 11, 2009), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/video/Creating-the-White-House-Council-on-Women-and-Girls#transcript.

163   *Id.*

164   Press Release, Office of the First Lady, Remarks by the First Lady at the State Department Women of Courage Awards (Mar. 11, 2009), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-first-lady-state-department-women-courage-awards.

165   *Id.*

166   Press Release, Office of the Press Sec'y, President and First Lady Host White House Forum on Workplace Flexibility (Mar. 31, 2010), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/president-and-first-lady-host-white-house-forum-workplace-flexibility. Videos of the proceedings are available at Valerie Jarrett, *A Conversation on Workplace Flexibility* (Apr. 1, 2010, 12:53 PM): http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2010/04/01/a-conversation-workplace-flexibility.

167   *Council of Econ. Advisers, Exec. office of the President, work-life balance and the economics of workplace flexibility* (2010), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/files/documents/100331-cea-economics-workplace-flexibility.pdf.

168   *Id.* at Executive Summary, 24, 26.

169   *Id.* at 4.

170   *Id.* at 7.

171   *Id.* at 16.

172   Press Release, Office of the Press Sec'y, Remarks by the President at Workplace Flexibility Forum (Mar. 31, 2010), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-workplace-flexibility-forum

173   Press Release, Office of the First Lady, Remarks by the First Lady at a Workplace Flexibility Conference (Mar. 31, 2010), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-first-lady-a-workplace-flexibility-conference

174   *Id.*

175   Videos of the sessions, including on best practices, are available on the White House website. *See* Jarrett, *supra* note clxvi; *see* also Council of Econ. Advisers, supra note clxvii.

176   Press Release, Office of the Press Sec'y, Statement by the President on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Family and Medical Leave Act (Feb. 5, 2013), *available at:* http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/02/05/statement-president-twentieth-anniversary-family-medical-leave-act.

177   *Id.*

178   Gerhard Peters & John T. Woolley, *2012 Democratic Party Platform*, Am. Presidency Project (Sept. 3, 2012): http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=101962 [hereinafter *2012 Platform*].

179   *Id.* In 2010, the administration extended FMLA benefits to same-sex parents and others who might lack a biological relationship with their children. *Obama Administration Expands FMLA to Benefit Same-Sex Parents, Others*, GLBT Law Blog (July 30, 2010): http://glbtlaw.wordpress.com/2010/07/30/obama-administration-expands-fmla-to-include-same-sex-parents

180   *FMLA Is Working, Employers Tell DOL*, 21 No. 1 Fam. & Med. Leave Handbook Newsl., Apr. 2013, at 2.

181   *See* Kitchen, *supra* note 42 at 244-55.

182   For an account of California's law, see Caroline Cohen, Comment, *California's Campaign for Paid Family Leave: A Model for Passing Federal Paid Leave*, 41 Golden Gate U. L. Rev. 213, 214 (2011). On New Jersey and Rhode Island, see Liz Mundy, *Daddy Track: The Case for Paternity Leave*, Atlantic (Dec. 22, 2013, 9:25 PM): http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2014/01/the-daddy-track/355746

183   *See generally* Hanna Rosin, The End of Men and the Rise of Women (2012); Anne-Marie Slaughter, *Why Women Still Can't Have It All*, Atlantic (June 13, 2012, 10:15 AM): http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/07/why-women-still-cant-have-it-all/309020/; Andrew Romano, *Why We Need to Reimagine*

Masculinity, Newsweek (Sept. 20, 2010, 1:00 AM): http://www.newsweek.com/why-we-need-reimagine-masculinity-71993

184   Stephanie Coontz, *Why Gender Equality Stalled*, N.Y. Times (Feb. 16, 2013): http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/17/opinion/sunday/why-gender-equality-stalled.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

185   Mundy, *supra* note clxxxii. Mundy particularly praises policies that set aside a certain amount—"daddy days" or daddy months—to nudge men to take leave.

186   For an argument that California's approach could inform a federal family leave policy, see Cohen, *supra* note clxxxii, at 245-54. Mundy finds that the "early signs" from these three states' paid leave programs are "positive" with respect to men taking leave. Mundy, *supra* note clxxxii.

187   White House Council on Women and Girls, Keeping America's Women Moving Forward: The Key to an Economy Built to Last, at i (2012).

188   *Id.*

189   *Id.*

190   *Id.*

191   *Id.* at 44.

192   *Id.*

193   *Id.* at 45.

"Revisiting the core policy: Gendered analysis of the new welfare state"

194   This typology is an 'ideal-type' widely used in the literature. For a useful application of a five-fold model see: Eikemo, T., Huisman, M., Bambra, C. and Kunst, A. (2008) "Health inequalities according to educational level in different welfare regimes: a comparison of 23 European countries". *Sociology of health and illness*, 30 (4), pp. 565-582.

195   These traditional aspects include: strong family and intergenerational ties, clientelistic networks, earnings from the informal economy and extensive home ownership.

Jean Jaurès
Fondation

"Strengthened commitment to the international dimension: Gender, peace and security"

196   Mary Kaldor, Mary Martin and Sabine Selchow (2007), "Human security: a new strategic narrative for Europe", *International Affairs*, 83:2, pp. 273-288.

197   Anita Schjolset, *NATO and the Women: Exploring the Gender Gap in the Armed Forces*, PRIO Paper, Oslo, Peace Research Institute Oslo, July 2010, pp. 15-16.

198   UN Women, *Facts and Figures: Leadership and Political Participation*, www://unwomen.org.

199   NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, "National Action Plans and Strategies on Women, Peace and Security", in *From Local to Global: Making Peace Work for Women*, 2005.

200   European Peacebuilsing Liaison Office (EPLO), *10 POINTS ON 10 YEARS UNSCR 1325 IN EUROPE CSO Position Paperon Europe-wide Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325*, Brussels, September 2010, http://www.eplo.org.

"The New Wave"

201   EX

202   STQNDQR

203   I wish to thank Professor Kimberley Arkin of the B.U. Anthropology Department, and Ms. Eugenie Christophe of the LLM program at the Law School, for invaluable help in understanding the French scene. Parts of this paper are based on my Seeking Recognition: Muslim and Jewish Women's Struggle to Full Citizenship in Religious Worship, Hannah Herzog and Ann Braude, eds., Palgrave, 125 (2009), and on my forthcoming article on the Women of the Wall. I have also benefitted from the scholarship of Professor Beatrice de Gasquet.

Bibliography for "Legal education and gender equality"

Abel, R. L., and P.S.C. Lewis (1989) 'Putting Law Back Into The Sociology Of Lawyers', in R.L. Abel and P.S.C. Lewis (eds.), *Lawyers In Society: Comparative Theories* (Berkeley, California: University Of California Press): 502-04.

Alexander, C.S. (2011) 'Learning To Be Lawyers: Professional Identity And The Law School Curriculum', *Maryland Law Review* 70.2: 465-83.

Amer, M. (2006) 'Cong. Research Serv., Rs 22007, Profile Membership Of The 109 Congress: A Profile': http://Www.Senate.Gov/Reference/Resources/Pdf/RS22007.Pdf, accessed 20 January 2014.

American Bar Association, Standing Committee On The Federal Judiciary Ratings, (2010) 'Ratings Of Article III Judicial Nominees 111Th Congress', Http://Www.Abanet.Org/Scfedjud/Ratings/Ratings 111.Pdf, accessed 12 January 2014.

American Bar Association, The ABA Commission On Women, (2013) ' A Current Glance At Women In The Law: http://Www.Americanbar.Org/Groups/Women/Resources/Statistics.Html#Sthash.Lxrtpgj8.Dpuf,   accessed 12 January 2014.

Association Of American Law Schools (AALS) (2009) 'Statistical Report On Law Faculty 2008', Http://Www.Aals.Org/Statistics/2009dlt/Gender.Html, accessed 12 January 2014.

Arvey, R.D., M. Rotundo, W. Johnson, Z. Zhang and M. McGue (2006) 'The Determinants Of Leadership Role Occupancy: Genetic And Personality Factors', *Leadership Quarterly* 17: 1-20.

Bashi, S. and I. Maryana (2006) 'Why Legal Education Is Failing Women',*Yale Journal Of Law And Feminism* 18: 389-30.

Beiner, T.M. (2011) 'Some Thoughts On The State Of Women Lawyers And Why Title VII Has Not Worked For Them', *Indiana Law Review* 44.3:685-702.

Bennis, W.G.,   and B. Nanus (1997) *Leadership: Strategies For Taking Charge* (New York, New York : Harpercollins)

Bowers, A. (2000) 'Women At The University Of Texas Law School: A Call To Action', *Texas Journal Of Women And The Law* 9:117–40.

Boyce, L.A., S.J. Zaccaro, and M. Zazanis-Wisecarver (2010) 'Propensity For Self-Development Of Leadership

Attributes: Understanding, Predicting, And Supporting Performance Of Leader Self-Development', *Leadership Quarterly* 21:159-178.

Broderick, M. (2010) *Leadership: Characteristics, Grooming, Selection*, in Practicing Law Institute (ed.), *PLI Law Firm Leadership & Management Institute* (New York, New York: Practicing Law Institute): 467-85.

CATALYST, INC (2001) 'Women In Law : Making The Case': Http://Www.Catalyst.Org/Knowledge/Women-Law-Making-Case, accessed 1 January 2014.

Cecchi-Dimeglio, P., and P. Kamminga (2014) 'The Changes In Legal Infrastructure: Empirical Analysis Of The Status And Dynamics Influencing The Development Of Innovative Practice', *International Journal Of The Legal Profession* (Forthcoming 2014).

Childress, S. (2007) 'Lawyers', in D.S Clark (ed.), *Encyclopedia Of Law & Society: American And Global Perspectives* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.): 931-48.

Cummings, S. L. (2013) 'Empirical Studies Of Law And Social Change: What Is The Field - What Are The Questions', *Wisconsin Law Review* 1: 171-04.

Curriden, M. (2010) 'Why Lawyers Are Being Asked To Lead Some Of The Nation's Largest Corporations', *A.B.A. Journal* (May 2010): 31-34.

Derue, D.S., S.J. Ashford, and N.C. Cotton (2009) 'Assuming The Mantle: Unpacking The Process By Which Individual Internalize A Leader Identity', in L.M. Roberts and J.E Dutton (eds), *Exploring Positive Identities And Organizations : Building A Theoretical And Research Foundation* (New York: Taylor & Francis): 213-232.

Dweck, C. (2006) *Mindset: The New Psychology Of Success* (New York, New York: The Random House Publishing Group).

Gill, R. (2006) *The Theory And Practice Of Leadership* (London: UK, Sage Publication).

Gross, N. (2004) *America's Lawyer Presidents: From Law Office To Oval Office* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press).

Guinier, L., M. Fine, and J. Balin (1994) 'Becoming Gentlemen: Women's Experiences At One Ivy League Law School', *University Of Pennsylvania Law Review* 143.1 (November 1994): 1-10.

Hadfield, G.K. (2012) 'Legal Infrastructure And The New Economy', *Journal Of Law And Policy For The Information Society* 8.1 (Summer 2012): 1-60.

Hadfield, G.K. (2012) 'Response To Comments: Legal Infrastructure And The New Economy', *Journal Of Law And Policy For The Information Society* 8.1 (Summer 2012): 109-18.

Ibarra, H., Ely, R. and D. Kolb (2011) 'Taking Gender Into Account: Theory And Design For Women's Leadership Development Programs', in Special Issue – *Teaching Leadership-Taking Gender Into Account: Theory And Design For Women's Leadership Development Programs, Issue*, Academy Of Management Learning & Education, 10. 3 (September 2011): 1-53.

Ibarra, H., and J. Petriglieri (2010) 'Identity Work And Play', *Journal Of Organizational Change Management* 23(1): 10-25.

Hill, L. (2001) 'Developing The Star Performer', in F. Hesselbein and P.M. Cohen (eds.), *Leader To Leader* (San Francisco: California, Jossey- Bass): 287- 97.

Howell, C. (2008) 'Combating Gender Inequities In Law School: Time For A New Feminist Rhetoric That Encourages Practical Change', *Modern American* 4.2 (Fall 2008): 36-41.

Kouzes, J.M., and B.Z. Posner (2007) *The Leadership Challenge* (San-Francisco: California, Jossey Bass publisher).

Kornhauser, M. (2004) 'Rooms Of Their Own: An Empirical Study Of Occupational Segregation By Gender Among Law Professors', *University Of Missouri-Kansas City Law Review* 73:293-50.

Levinson, D. J., and Young, D. (2010) 'Implicit Gender Bias In The Legal Profession: An Empirical Study', *Duke Journal Of Gender Law & Policy* 18(1): 1-44.

Lord, R.G., and R.J. Hall (2005) 'Identity, Deep Structure And The Development Of Leadership Skill', *Leadership Quarterly* 16: 591-15.

Mashburn, A.R. (2008) 'Can Xenophon Save The Socratic Method', *Thomas Jefferson Law Review* 30.2 (Spring 2008): 597-692.

McGinley, A. C. (2009) 'Reproducing Gender On Law School Faculties', *Brigham Young University Law Review* 1: 99-56.

McGinn, K.L., and K.L. Milkman (2013) 'Looking Up And Looking Out: Career Mobility Effects Of Demographic Similarity Among Professionals', *Organization Science* 24: 1041-60.

Merrit, D.J., and B. Reskin (1997) 'Sex, Race, And Credentials: The Truth About Affirmative Action In Law

Faculty Hiring', *Columbia Law Review* 97: 199-11.

Mnookin, R. H., S. R. Peppet, and A.S. Tulumello (2000) *Beyond Winning: Negotiating To Create Value In Deals And Disputes* (Cambridge, *Massachusetts*: The Belknap Press Of Harvard University Press).

Montoya, M. E. (2000) 'Silence And Silencing: Their Centripetal And Centrifugal Forces In Legal Communication, Pedagogy And Discourse', *University Of Michigan Journal Of Law Reform* 33.3 (Spring 2000): 263-28.

Morrison, T., J. Ries, and E. Spiliopoulos (1997) 'What Every Firs-Year Female Law Student Should Know', *Columbia Journal Of Gender And Law* 7. 2: 267-12.

Ms JD (2012) 'Women On Law Review': http://Ms-Jd.Org/Files/Lr2012_Final.Pdf, accessed 1 January 2014.

Mullins, J.C., and N. Leong (2011) 'Persistent Gender Disparity In Student Note Publication', *Yale Journal Of Law And Feminism* 23.2: 385-44.

Neufeld, A. (2005) 'Costs Of An Outdated Pedagogy - Study On Gender At Harvard Law School American University', *Journal Of Gender, Social Policy & The Law* 13.3: 511-596.

Neumann, R.K. Jr. (2000) 'Women In Legal Education: What The Statistics Show', *Journal Of Legal Education* 50. 3 (September 2000): 313-57.

New York Law School Law Review (NYLS) (2012) 'Law-Review-Diversity-Report': Http://Www.Nylslawreview. Com/Wordpress/Wp-Content/Uploads/2012/10/2011-2012-NYLS-Law-Review-Diversity-Report.Pdf, accessed January 3, 2014.

Padilla, L.M. (2007) 'Gendered Update On Women Law Deans: Who, Where, Why, And Why Not', *Journal Of Gender, Social Policy & The Law* 15.3: 443-46.

Rake, K. (2008) *Women And The Future Workplace - A Blueprint For Change, A Fawcett Society Think Piece For The Launch Of The Gender Equality Forum*. (London, UK: The Fawcett Society).

Ready, D.A., J.A. Conger, and L.A. Hill (2010) 'Are You A High Potential?', *Harvard Business Review* (June 2010): 78- 82.

Rees, T. (2006) 'Promoting Equality' In The Private And Public Sectors', in D. Perrons (ed.) *Gender Division And Working Time In The New Economy: Public Policy And Changing Patterns Of Work In Europe And North America* (Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar).

Regan, M.C. Jr. (2000) 'Professional Responsibility And The Corporate Lawyer', *Georgetown Journal Of Legal Ethics* 13.2 (Winter 2000): 197-16.

Rhee, R.J. (2011) 'On Legal Education And Reform: One View Formed From Diverse Perspectives', *Maryland Law Review* 70:310-40.

Rhode, D.L. (1998) 'Professional Education And Professional Values', Professional Lawyer Symposium Issues, *AALS Newsletter* 1.4 (April 1998): 11-16.

Rhode, D.L. (2002) 'Gender And The Profession: The No-Problem Problem', *Hofstra Law Review* 30: 1001-13.

Rhode, D.L. (2010a) 'Lawyers As Leaders', *Michigan State Law Review* 2 (Summer 2010): 413-22.

Rhode, D.L. (2010b) 'Lawyers And Leadership', *Professional Lawyer* 20.3: 1-17.

Rhode, D.L. (2011) 'What Lawyers Lack: Leadership', *University Of St. Thomas Law Journal* 9.2: 471-96.

Rhode, D.L. (2012) 'Developing Leadership', *Santa Clara Law Review* 52.3: 689-724.

Rhode, D.L., D. Luban, and S. Cummings (2012) *Legal Ethics* (New York, New York: Foundation Press).

Sandefur, R.L. (2007) 'Staying Power: The Persistence Of Social Inequality In Shaping Lawyer Stratification And Lawyers' Persistence In The Profession', *Southwestern University Law Review* 36(3): 539-56.

Schwab, G.C. (2003) 'A Shifting Gender Divide: The Impact Of Gender On Education At Columbia Law School In The New Millennium', *Columbia Journal Of Law And Social Problems* (Spring/Summer 2003): 299-337.

Smith, C. (2008) 'From Courtrooms To Capitols', *TRIAL* 44. 54-56.

Strine, L.E. Jr., B.T. Borden, R. J. Rhee, and T. King (2013) 'How To Prepare Students To Meet Corporate Needs', *Chapman Law Review* 17.1 (Fall 2013): 195-14.

Sturm, S.P. (1997) 'From Gladiators To Problem-Solvers: Connective Conversations About Women, The Academy, And The Legal Profession', *Duke Journal Of Gender Law & Policy* 4: 119-48.

Sturm, S. P. (2010) 'Activating Systemic Change Toward Full Participation: The Pivotal Role Of Mission-Driven Institutional Intermediaries', *Saint Louis Law Journal* 54: 1117-37.

Sturm, S. P (2011) 'Reframing The Equality Agenda' paper presented at the *Harvard Law School Conference*

On Evolutions In Anti-Discrimination Law In Europe And North America, U.S, April 30, 2011.

Subotnik, D. (2011) 'Do Law Schools Mistreat Women Faculty - Or, Who's Afraid Of Virginia Woolf', *Akron Law Review* 44.3: 867-94.

Sullivan, W.M., A. Colby, J. Welch- Wegner, L. Bond and L.S. Shulman (2007) 'The Carnegie Foundation For The Advancement Of Teaching, Summary, Educating Lawyers: Preparation For The Profession Of Law': http://Www.Carnegiefoundation.Org/Sites/Default/Files/Publications/Elibrary-Pdf-632.Pdf, accessed January 3, 2014.[The CARNEGIE REPORT].

UNESCO (1998a) 'Higher Education And Women: Issues And Perspectives': Http://Www.Unesco.Org/Education/Educprog/Wche/Principal/Women.Html, accessed January 4, 2014.

UNESCO (1998b) 'Higher Education In The Twenty-First Century: Vision And Action': Http://Unesdoc.Unesco.Org/Images/0011/001163/116345e.Pdf, accessed January 3, 2014.

UNESCO (1998c) 'Women And Management In Higher Education: A Good Practice Handbook': Http://Www.Unesco.Org/Education/Pdf/Singh.Pdf, accessed January 3, 2014.

UNESCO (2005) 'Science, Technology And Gender: An International Report': Http://Unesdoc.Unesco.Org/Images/0015/001540/154045e.Pdf, accessed January 3, 2014.

UNESCO (2009) '2009 World Conference On Higher Education: The New Dynamics Of Higher Education And Research For Societal Change And Development': Http://Www.Unesco.Org/Fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/ED/Pdf/WCHE_2009/FINAL%20COMMUNIQUE%20WCHE%202009.Pdf, accessed January 1, 2014.

UNESCO (2012) 'World Atlas Of Gender Equality In Education': Http://Unesdoc.Unesco.Org/Images/0021/002155/215522E.Pdf, accessed January 1, 2014.

US Bureau Of Statistic (2013) 'Women In The Labor Forces': Http://Www.Bls.Gov/Cps/Wlf-Databook-2012.Pdf, accessed January 1, 2014.

Van Knippenberg, D., B. Van Knippenberg, D. Cremer, and M. Hogg (2004) 'Leadership, Self And Identity: A Review And Research Agenda', *Leadership Quarterly* 15: 825-56.

Wald, E., E. Snow, N. Van Hook, and H. Haberman (2013) 'Looking Beyond Gender: Women's Experiences At Law School', *Tulsa Law Review* 48: 27-62.

Weiss, C., and L. Melling (1998) 'Legal Education Of Twenty Women', *Stanford Law Review* 40.5 (May 1988): 1299-70.

Wilkins, D.B., and A. Kaufman (2009) *Problems In Professional Responsibility For A Changing Profession*, (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic).

World Bank (2012) 'Gender Equality And Development' World Development Report': Http://Econ.Worldbank.Org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/EXTDEC/EXTRESEARCH/EXTWDRS/EXTWDR2012/0,,Contentmdk:23004468~Pagepk:64167689~Pipk:64167673~Thesitepk:7778063,00.Html, accessed January 4, 2014.

World Economic Forum (2010) 'Global Gender Gap': Http://Www.Weforum.Org/Issues/Global-Gender-Gap, accessed January 4, 2014.

Woryk, M. (2011) 'Women In Corporate Governance: A Cinderella Story', *University Of Dayton Law Review* 37.1: 21-38.

Yale Law Women (2012) 'Yale Law School Faculty And Students Speak Up About Gender: Ten Years Later': Http://Www.Law.Yale.Edu/Stuorgs/Speakup.Html, accessed January 4, 2014.

References for "Gender equality as re-enchantment: political mobilisation in the times of "neo-patriarchal neo-liberalism" and possibilities of bipartisan dialogue"

Brush L. D. (1996) "Love, Toil, and Trouble: Motherhood and Feminist Politics", in *Signs* 21(2): 429-454.

Gellner, E., (1975) "Ethnomethodology: the Re-Enchantment Industry or the Californian Way of Subjectivity", *Philosophy of Social Sciences* 5: 431-451

Healy, H., "Is there a feminist spring?": http://newint.org/features/2014/07/01/keynote-feminist-spring/ accessed 10 November, 2014.

Pető, A. (2012) "Far Rights Movements and Gender Mobilisation in Hungary" in *Queries* (3): 130-138.

Pető, A., (2010) "Anti-Modernist Political Thoughts on Motherhood in Europe in a Historical Perspective" in *Reframing Demographic Change in Europe. Perspectives on Gender and Welfare State Transformations.* Kahlert, Heike, Ernst, Waltraud (Eds.) Focus Gender. Band 11. Lit Verlag. Berlin, 189-201.

Pető, A., Vasali, Z., (2014) "The 'Laboratory' Called Hungary: a Challenge for Understanding Protest Movements" in *openDemocracy* 20 January, 2014 see at: http://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/andrea-pet%C5%91-zolt%C3%A1n-vasali/%E2%80%98laboratory%E2%80%99-called-hungary-challenge-for-understanding

Pető, A., Vasali, Z., (2014) "Political Space: Half Empty? The Case of Hungary" in Sobolewska-Myślik, K., Kasprowicz D., eds. (2015), SPACE-Socio-political Alternatives in Central Europe, Elipsa: Warszawa. 60-75.

WOMAN UP! 2

WOMAN UP!₂

WOMAN UP!₂

FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES

Phone +32 (0)2 234 69 00
Fax +32 (0)2 280 03 83
info@feps-europe.eu

WOMAN UP! 2

"Woman Up! 2" highlights various aspects that need to be taken into consideration when developing a progressive transatlantic gender agenda. Gender equality should be understood as more than just women's rights in regard with private sphere. The various spheres touched upon in the publication vary from security to religion, from ICT to civil activism, and more.

The publication looks upon issues hindering progressive achievements and ways out of the deadlock. The authors draw attention to already existing changes, as well as on the need to change further.

The contributions have gathered insight from the fifth transatlantic gender conference. However, this publication aims to take a further step from the points raised during that event, with a perspective to strengthen strategies, offer inspiration for future discussions, and spread the word about the outcomes of this important ongoing dialogue.