



**GENDER
AND DEVELOPMENT
IN PRACTICE**

BACKLASH

International Feminist Conference



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

GADIP - Gender and Development in Practice.

UAF - L'Union de l'Action Féminine

MENA – Middle East and North Africa

CoE - Council of Europe Convention

IC - Istanbul Convention

FUD - Fear, uncertainty and doubt

NGO - Non-governmental organization

SFI - Swedish For Immigrants

SDG - Sustainable Development Goals

ICCPR - International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

CEDAW - Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women

UN - United Nations

Edme Dominguez is the Chairwoman for GADIP and Associate Professor in Peace and Development Studies at the School of Global Studies at Gothenburg University. Her fields are International Relations with a Ph.D. in Political Science that specialise in Soviet Union-Eastern Europe related questions. Since the beginning of the 1990s her work and publications have focused on Regionalism in the cases of NAFTA and Mexico, and on gender issues related to citizenship, labour organising, transnational activism, gender consequences of free trade agreements, and international political economy.


Zahra Ouardi is one of the first founders and head of L'Union de l'Action Féminine (UAF), an advocacy NGO in Morocco with representation in over 10 cities focused on fighting for women's mobilisation and for an end to discrimination and marginalisation against them. She is specialised in the preparation of reports on violence against women and their socio-economic status. Zahra has also participated in several international conferences on human rights in Geneva and the sessions of the Commission on the Status of Women at the UN in New York, as well as in other women's stakeholders convenings in the MENA region and Europe.

Fatmagül Berktay is a Professor of Political Science and Women's Studies and former Director of the Women's Research Centre at Istanbul University. She has been active in the Turkish women's movement and is a founding member of the History Foundation of Turkey and member of the General Board of the Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation. She is published widely, including one book in English –Women and Religion. She also acted as an adviser to the Minister in Charge of Women's Affairs in 1994-95 and officially represented Turkey in various international forums such as the UN and European Union. She is currently working on political evil and political ethics.

Stanimara Hadjimitova graduated from the Technical University in Sofia as an Engineer in Automatisation and has a specialisation in International Economic Relations from the Economic University of Sofia. She was part of forming the Gender Project for Bulgaria, a NGO focusing on gender equality issues. The organisation has run more than 70 projects in Bulgaria and in the South Europe region, as a part of the Stability Pact Gender Task Force (SP GPF). She is also a civil society activist and has participated in numerous international events connected to the global women's movement. Stanimira Hadjimitova represents GPF in the National Council on Gender Equality to the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria. She is also Board member of the Bulgarian Platform on International Development (BPID).

Evgenia Ivanova is a feminist researcher, educator and an activist from Belarus. She has a Master Degree in Gender Studies as well as in Sociology of Law. Evgenia is a Co-Founder and Co-Chair of a women's NGO called "ADLIGA: Women for Full Citizenship". She is also a co-editor of a Russian-speaking feminist almanac "Women in Politics: New Approaches to the Political". Her academic interests include: feminist political theory; gender, body and citizenship; feminist critique of the human rights conception; women's political participation; gender and biopolitics.

Mirela Arqimandriti is a gender policy mainstreaming analyst and the author of many research papers, policy briefs, articles and research studies on women's rights as human rights. Mirela is continuing her doctorate studies with Clemson University on Family and Community Development. She earned a Master Degree in Business Administration at the Sheffield University, UK, after she finished Physics at the Tirana University, Albania. She is currently the executive director of the Gender Alliance for Development Centre in Albania which focus on projects for the advancement of women's rights and gender equality in the Albanian society. As a women's rights activists, she has spread valuable information on human rights all over Albania.



Jennifer Ramme works at the Faculty of Social and Cultural Science of European University Viadrina in Germany and the Collegium Polonicum in Poland. She is a scholar focusing on social movements, feminist struggles and the conflicting gender regimes in Poland. Her research also includes the gender politics of the far right in Poland and Europe. Some of her recent publications are Framing Solidarity, Feminist Patriots Opposing the Far Right in Contemporary Poland.

Carina Larusson is one of the founders of GADIP and former chairwoman, and has been working within NGOs in nearly 25 years with adult education with focus on sustainable development. The last ten years she has been executive in a resource centre for women in Västra Götaland that works with gender equality on a structural level.

Hida Salmend & Lejla Samjlovic (Lex Femme) Lex Femme is an NGO working for a society free from men's violence against women and children. They offer nationwide telephone support and counselling, with a focus on legal support and counselling for women in their native language. They also work with prevention and offers workshops and education in these matters.

WELCOME & INTRODUCTION

GADIP is a non-governmental, non-profit organisation which aims to be a platform for academics and NGOs in order for new knowledge to be created and applied. Edmé Dominguez, the president of GADIP, presented the conference by welcoming the participants and guests. She began the conference by summarising and reconnecting to the former Backlash conference in 2017, which focused on issues such as toxic masculinity, sexual and reproductive rights, trafficking, Female genital mutilation (FGM), forced marriage, and overall issues around oppressive structures and norms. Thereafter, Edme introduced the themes and issues of the current conference. These issues were: Political rights and gender based violence; Freedom of speech and other rights; Backlash against gender research; Backlash in the area of reproductive justice; Economic justice and equality; Women, migration, and the two year rule.

UNION DE L'ACTION FÉMINISTE (UAF)

Zahra Ouardi

The first speaker of the conference, Zahra Ouardi from Morocco, spoke on the theme “political rights and gender based violence”. Zahra began by presenting the work of the Union of Women’s Action or L’Union de l’Action Féminine (UAF). UAF is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) that started in Morocco in 1983. Since its start it has been a movement promoting women’s rights, aimed at raising awareness among decision makers, women, and society as a whole. UAF has established a network of rescue centers in over 14 cities, in order to provide assistance and support for women who are victims of violence. One of the main aims for UAF is to combat gender-based violence in Morocco, and they have consistently fought for women’s mobilisation and to end discrimination and marginalisation. Zahra discussed the danger and effects of violence against women, where she identified the responsibilities of women’s movements and the responsibilities of governments. One issue she addressed was the need to break the silence around gender-based violence, and to free the voices of battered women. She argues that there is a need to work together at different levels in society, e.g. the government, municipalities and social movements, in order to be successful in ending or mitigating gender based violence.

GENDER BACKLASHES IN LATIN AMERICA: THE CASES OF BOLIVIA, MEXICO, AND BRAZIL

Edmé Dominguez

Edmé Dominguez continued with contributions to the conference by talking about gender backlashes in Latin America, with a special focus on Mexico, Bolivia and Brazil. She started by explaining how the Latin American region, ever since the 1980s, has had a unique tradition of gathering women's movements. These gatherings, called Encuentros, are informal forums which happen every three years, with an aim to develop a transnational women's network. The main focus is on women's marginalization and oppression, and to create strategies for gender equality, within and outside of the current economic, political and social structures. These Encuentros are thus a way for women within organisations focusing on migration, racism, LGBTQ+, workers rights, indigenous rights, and sex workers rights to create strategies for changing region-wide policy agendas. They have found a common ground in their struggle against the prevalent and exacerbated violence against women.

The lecture highlights that there have been advances of gender equality in Latin America since the 1990s at the political, economic, and human rights level, resulting in legislations against gender based violence and discrimination. However, there has also been a backlash against women's rights, mainly by Christian and Catholic churches which are marked by 'toxic' masculinities and strong patriarchal structures. There has also been advances in political representation in these countries, which has often led to an increase in 'descriptive' representation rather than actual equality. This is specially the case in Bolivia where gender based political violence against elected women at the local level has been rampant. Edme also described the case of Brazil, where they have a strong women's movement, but have witnessed a severe backlash in line with the election of the President Jair Bolsonaro. Bolsonaro's campaign can be seen as both aggressive and misogynist. The campaign was based on attacking the so called 'gender ideology', using fake news as propaganda. Furthermore, progressives have been targeted, and there have been accusations of gender indoctrination at universities, and feminism has been called a 'subversive perversion'. Regarding the case of Mexico, there has been advances in the attention and legislation concerning gender based violence. However, there is an enormous increase of femicides in the country, with up to 10 women killed every single day, which is among the highest in the world. Edme's lecture thus highlighted the many advances of women's movements and women's struggles, but also pointed at the backlash and structural resistance against this.

Questions and reflections from Zahras and Edmes lectures

Some reflections from the lecture circulated around the struggle for women's- and gender rights versus the hegemonic power structures, which are difficult to overcome. There were also reflections around it becoming a 'dirty war' towards gender rights. A 'dirty war' between 'certainty' and 'uncertainty' that uses 'fake news' and mythmaking, which has become more complicated due to internet and social media. However, resistance against this backlash is nevertheless present and gaining strength.

#metoo and its impact?

A question raised by one of the participants was about the #metoo movement and whether this can be seen as having an impact in Latin America and Morocco. Edme replied that in the case of Brazil it has not been a huge impact due to the fact that gender-based violence is already such a massive issue. Zahra explained that UAF, has gained some more ground after #metoo. She stresses that they have ambitious aims, but that they are limited in pursuing these aims.

Any sense of why women vote for politicians such as Bolsonaro. Why do women vote against their own interests?

There were also discussions around the issue of what makes women in Brazil vote for Bolsonaro, and more generally, what it is that makes women vote against their own interests. Zahra explained that in the case of Morocco, religion and tradition is highly present in people's everyday lives, and this serves to somehow manipulate voting decisions regarding what is seen as the best for their families. Edme stresses that in the case of Brazil, and elsewhere, the issue is around social class and inequality. There is an issue with forming an alliance of solidarity between women over these social classes, where many privileged upper-class women do not perceive that there is any gender inequality. There is also a lack of consciousness concerning these issues that is reproduced in a system of inequality that results in a continuation of inequality.


In Morocco are there similar electoral campaigns, based in misogyny for example, to the ones described in Latin America? Did they use the same rhetoric?

Another question that was raised during the discussion was whether there are similar misogynic electoral campaigns in Morocco, as seen in the cases of Latin America, and whether we can see a pattern of the same kind of political rhetoric. Zahra replied by pointing to the fact that there have been many demonstrations and forces for gender equality, but that these were met by counter demonstrations. There were gender equality demonstrations in Rabat and Casablanca, where the counter demonstrations were organised by Islamic groups. She also states that she can see a pattern with the use of similar narratives and political rhetoric, with women being attacked just because they are considered as being 'militant'. There was also a discussion on whether there is a transnational cooperation between different gender equality networks. Edme explained that this kind of transnational cooperation can be seen around the issue of femicides in northern Mexico, which has resulted in a transnational advocacy network and campaign supported by international NGOs.

DETERIORATION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, GROWING ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM AND THE ATTEMPT TO MASCULINIST RESTORATION IN TURKEY

Fatmagül Berktaş

Fatmagül Berktaş held a lecture on “freedom of speech and other rights”, with a special focus on freedom of expression in Turkey. Freedom of expression has, in Turkey, been restricted by laws such as anti-terrorism legislation, criminal defamation and a law prohibiting statements by questioning their “Turkishness”. Following this, the situation for free speech and freedom of the media in Turkey has deteriorated in an attempt to quell critical and dissenting voices by a government that is moving closer to authoritarianism. Writers and journalists in Turkey have faced, and are still facing, harassments and a juridical system whose independence and capacity to deliver effective legal remedy has been undermined.



Fatmagül spoke about Academics for Peace, which consisted of 1128 academics in Turkey and abroad, who came together in 2016 with a petition that called on Turkish authorities to cease state violence, which was prominent in mainly Kurdish populated areas of the country. The petition received immediate reaction from the President who accused the signatories of treason and terrorist propaganda. This resulted in a massive crackdown on academic freedom.

The attacks on academics right to freedom of expression is part of Turkey's movement towards populist authoritarianism, which includes that an educated person is now judged less by the her/his intellectual merits and more by the ideological support that the academic can offer for a political cause. Another important point is that the universities have become more reluctant to hire women scholars, which is also a product of the targeting of academic freedom in times of political crisis in Turkey, and the growing authoritarianism under the ruling party. To be able to move beyond from such a backlash in the area of freedom of speech, the attitude of men, and the solidarity between women and men of different ideological and political opinions, needs to change. Fatmagül also dwelled on the attempt to restore patriarchal values and backlash in the face of women's empowerment and progressive legislation concerning women's rights in Turkey. To be able to move beyond from such a backlash in the area of freedom of speech and women's acquired rights, the attitude of men and the solidarity between women and men of different ideological and political opinions needs to change.

Stanimara Hadjimitova

Stanimara discussed different waves of manipulation in Bulgaria, where the first wave came after a motion to the Bulgarian Parliament to ratify the Council of Europe (CoE) Convention on the protection of women and girls against domestic violence and gender-based violence. This led to misinterpretations and speculations around the term “gender” as it became exclusively synonymous with same sex relationships and transgender issues. Hate, aggressive behaviour and opposition to everything connected to gender, specifically a strong rejection to gender perspectives in school education, increased. The public debate was monopolised by the opponents of the Istanbul Convention and the gender perspectives were put aside. Furthermore, the Orthodox church joined forces with conservative nationalist political circles, which induced fear in parents and teachers, with the current Bulgarian Minister of Education stating that “gender will stay away from school”. The fear was expressed by statements such as “gender will change the nature of the kids”. Public debate in the modern age largely takes place online, especially in groups on Facebook, where false information circulates. Currently, the focus is on sexual and reproductive rights, especially focused around putting a ban on abortion in Bulgaria, seen as yet another step to further restrict women's rights. In short, the possible aim of these attacks on gender- and women's issues is to restore what is referred to as the ‘natural order’, in which a patriarchal society presupposes the clear authority of one person over another, that is men's authority over women.

So how can this continue?

As a way to spread dissent towards gender rights, strategies and methods containing misinformation are used. Fear, uncertainty and doubt (FUD) is the overarching term of strategy containing misinformation used in sales, marketing, public relations, politics, sects, and psychological warfare. The purpose of FUD is to influence the dissemination of negative suspicions or outright false information that unlocks fear. Social media has made it easier to implement these kind of strategies as it reaches more people. Another method presented is the “Big Lie” - to offer the audience such a big lie that people cannot imagine that it is possible to lie about such a thing. Such well-compiled lies cause deep emotional trauma for the audience, which then determines their views and understandings, despite logical and reasonable arguments. The lecture ended with one main and overarching question: what can be done? Not an easy question to answer, but perhaps by emphasising that only together can we withstand the attacks against democracy and human rights.

Mirela Arqimandriti

Mirela Arqimandriti provided an overview of the backlash against gender research, focusing on the situation in Albania. According to Mirela, there is no open resistance against the research by the government or any other institution in Albania. However, there is a lack of appropriate gender studies and advancement of gender theories in practice. She stated that Albania has a good legal framework concerning gender, but little implementation – “we have a poor academia that inform the overall society on gender issues”.

During the years of 2015 to 2020 the government of Albania has set a couple of strategic goals which are yet to be fulfilled. The legal framework looks good on paper, but the municipal machinery need to be developed even further. There are high turnovers of personnel, which contributes to unclear assignments and responsibilities, due to the lack of training for the employees regarding the implementation of a gender analysis. At the same time, there is a lack of quality data to feed into the gender equality implementation. Regarding the second question of civil society organisations working on gender issues, Mirela stresses that there are many active women’s organisations, but they have limited abilities, opportunities and strategies for cooperation and organisation. This means that they constantly need to start from the beginning, often with little focus on sustaining the organisations in terms of economic development and gender equality.

Evgenia Ivanova

Evgenia Ivanova presented the need for gender studies within the educational system, with focus on the situation in Belarus. The interest in gender studies and gender research has been relatively high in Belarus for the past 10 years. However, gender studies has mostly been regarded as nonsense, often in comparison to technological studies. Evgenia proposed that gender studies should be given more recognition and not be seen as solely “hobby courses”, which often is, and has been, the case in Belarus. There an increasing number of movements of non-compromising feminists in Belarus, especially on social media.

In neighbouring countries such as Russia and Poland, the term 'feminism' is being increasingly challenged, particularly in smaller cities, and to name oneself a feminist in these countries takes a lot of courage. Towards the LGBTQ+ community, the approach and environment are hostile or cold, though the attitudes among the younger generation are increasingly open. This leads us to believe that there is still a lot of things that needs to be done, but that the future is looking bright.

What is the general attitude towards gender equality in Belarus?

For past few years, there have been good strategies for the implementation of gender equality in a lot of instances. However, the government has not yet fulfilled what is written in their strategies. The conclusion is that there is still a lot of things that needs to be done from the government side in order to successfully. achieve a more gender equal society.

BACKLASH IN THE AREA OF REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE IN POLAND

Jennifer Ramme

Jennifer Ramme provided the audience with a lecture on feminist backlashes in Poland, specially focusing on reproductive justice. Jennifer explained that the "struggles we observe today have a long history". The first backlash in Poland was around the law on family planning which was implemented in 1993. The first draft to restrict abortion was based on a draft made by the Polish Episcopate, the central organ of the Catholic Church in Poland. Jennifer drew some attention to the background and placed the issues of reproduction and abortion in the political context. She also explained the history of the right wing ideology and moral politics, linking reproduction to Polish sovereignty narratives, drawing among other, upon the "moral renewal" and the myth of "Mother Poland". Later on the LGBTQ+ community increasingly became a target of the right wing ideology and, unlike women, symbolically excluded from the nation.

Jennifer also discussed the "new" political landscape after the Polish election in 2015. Since the election there has been a right wing shift in politics towards national Catholicism. As a response to this shift, and the attempts to introduce stricter anti-abortion laws, women in Poland began to strike and protest in 2016. This was the beginning of grassroots movements focusing on women's issues and rights which also led to a mobilisation of new activist in Poland. The majority of these activist were women coming from places with less than 500.000 inhabitants, thus making this movement about more than just the 'feminist urban elites'. Parallel to this, the support of the national catholic far right political spectrum and its gender and sexual politics started to increase. The aim for these movements is to turn women's and LGBTQ+ issues into an issue about "protecting" the family. Women issues are a core focus within familism and nationalism, as well within the racist narrative, and goes along with deploying the 'politics of fear', portraying 'gender ideology' and 'LGBTQ +' as a threat to the 'white' nation and it's families. Areas of backlashes in regards to gender and sexuality include backlashes against access to legal abortion and contraception, sexual education, LGBTQ+ rights (e.g. right to public assembly, access to services, safety) and much more. The list of actors that are part of these backlashes are many, for example political parties, intellectuals and academics, religious fundamentalists and anti-choice movements and international/transnational organisations or networks (e.g. Catholic Church/ Vatican)

Discussion and reflections

Following Jennifer's lecture, there were reflections around the issue of the ongoing repression regarding the misuse of the judiciary by the far right, as well as the issue of activist burnout. Another issue raised was around the declaration of the so called "LGBT Free Zones" in many municipalities which signals their conservatism, and this have been criticised by the Human Rights plenipotentiary in the Adam Bogonar government. The declarations seem to be of symbolic nature, but might further legitimise violence against non-heterosexual people. Similar problems are related to education around sexuality and diversity. The Education Ministry opposed the "Rainbow Friday" in schools and instead introduced a patriotic event. As a response to this, a lot of demonstrations were organised in support of the LGBTQ+ community.

There is a strong sense of pluralism in society and a notable part of it refuses the transformation towards an illiberal democracy and authoritarianism. However, a strong unified parliamentary opposition is lacking. There are also ongoing tensions between a fractured democratic and Human Rights-movement and the far right Catholic nationalist narratives and political practices. There is a strong sense of pluralism in society and a notable part of it refuses the transformation towards an illiberal democracy and authoritarianism. However, a strong unified parliamentary opposition is lacking. There are also ongoing tensions between a fractured democratic and Human Rights-movement and the far right Catholic nationalist narratives and political practices.

ECONOMIC JUSTICE AND EQUALITY (WINNET)

Carina Larusson

Carina Larusson from the organisation Winnet presented a number of obstacles for gender equality in the region Västra Götaland, with a specific focus on Gothenburg. She talked about the difficulty to get more than a fragmentary picture of what gender equality actually is. Carina also discussed how Sweden portrays a myth of equality, i.e. that Sweden claims to be equal, even though statistics show the opposite. Carina presented 'Jämställdhetskartan' (The Equality Map), a database that presents data and statistics regarding equality at the local level within the private, municipal, and non-profit sector. This data stands in relation to the six national equality goals that were followed by, and relating to, Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The database show how male dominated areas receive more funding than women dominated ones, which indicates that men are more valuable than women, i.e. that we live in a society with a structural biased system that benefits men over women. The database also contains statistics of how, in 250 out of the 290 Swedish municipalities, women are moving from more conservative areas to less conservative ones. She also pointed at the statistics of violence, where there is a clear distinction between men and women, where the violence occurs, who is the perpetrator of the violence, and what kind of violence that is used.

For women most of the violence occur in their home, by someone they already know or are acquainted to. For men on the other hand, violence occurs outside of their home and the perpetrators are strangers. The statistics thus paint a clear picture of who is the main actor of violence is and that we need to do something about the violence against women and men's violence overall.

Discussion

The following discussion mostly surrounded the fact that Winnet, the organisation Carina work for, is about to close down due to lack of funding. All the work that Winnet has done in order to collect data and information about gender equality and inequality may now be lost due to this lack of funding. Carina problematises the issue of institutionalising gender equality, where her organisation Winnet no longer is seen as valuable, and that Sweden now has a new, state owned organisation, called "Jämställdhetsmyndigheten" (The Swedish Gender Equality Agency). However, one wonders why this new organisation, which also aim to enhance gender equality in Sweden, is not interested in keeping or continue with the work that Winnet has already made. In other words, work carried out by civil society groups is not seen as valued by state agencies.

WOMEN, MIGRATION AND THE TWO YEAR RULE (LEX FEMME)

Lejla Smajlovic and Hida Salmend

Lejla Smajlovic and Hida Salmend gave a presentation on Lex Femme, an NGO based in Gothenburg that works for a society free from men's violence against women and children, with focus on women and children of foreign descent. Lex Femme talked about their work with women and girls who are, or has been, subdued to violence, and the "two year rule". The "two year rule", is a residence permit for family members of Nordic citizens. The rule is aimed at targeting and distinguish "fraudulent marriages" among marriage migrants.

The "two year rule", is a residence permit for family members of Nordic citizens. The rule is aimed at targeting and distinguish "fraudulent marriages" among marriage migrants. It is in theory a gender neutral rule, however, it does have gendered effects and outcomes, where it is mainly migrating women who are affected. The process of the "two year rule" is as follows: the migrant, often a woman, applies for a residence permit. The migrant is then usually given temporary residence for two years, and if the relationship still stands after two years, the women may get permanent residency. This means that a migrant woman's responsibility of a permanent of a permanent residency is dependent on the man and her relationship to him.

However, once in Sweden, the situation of the migrant can become very restricted. Leila and Hida describes that there is a large power imbalance between the parties. The men are generally older, more financially stable and know the system, society and language. The women often lack any form of network or connections in the country apart from the man. He will often be the woman's primary, if not only, source of information and bridge to the outside world. Statistics from official reports from the Swedish government shows that migrating women face numerous barriers connecting to the outside world, such as systematic abuse, feelings of isolation, threats of deportation and prohibition to go to SFI (Swedish For Foreigners) classes.

Even though the "two year rule" does not have any regulations around violence, there was an exception added in 2000, stating that a woman could gain a permanent residency even if the relationship ended, if the woman had been the subject of violence. However, in the preparatory work to this expectation, as well as in the case, it is clear that there is a lack of knowledge about domestic abuse, resulting in that the level of abuse needs to be quite significant for the woman to gain permanent residency

Questions: What are the effects of the two year rule?

The effects are that women choose to stay so they don't lose their residence permit, resulting in women becoming more dependent on the man. Women also lack information about the system, and this rule thus enables "wife import".

Are there any solutions to this rule?

Lex Femme says that there is no need to rewrite the law, but rather stressed the need for more educated lawyers regarding domestic abuse and gender-based violence.

How much knowledge of this kind of things are given in law school and in police school?

For students studying law, as Hida Salmend do, there is very limited knowledge of women experiencing domestic abuse. Hida states that gender studies should be a requirement not only in law studies, but doctors and other professions that may encounter these women and men need to be aware of the complexities of gender based violence and domestic abuse. She suggests that the judiciary should realise their own limitations, and acknowledge their limited knowledge about other fields of science. For example, what the time span after someone leaves domestic abuse says about the level of violence or why they left.

FUTURE STRATEGIES

During the last hour of the conference, a discussion about future strategies took place. Following is a summary of what was talked about:

- We need to form a more inclusive movement, a solidarity movement which fights for the voices of women (and men) from different social classes, ethnicities and world views, in the efforts to find common ground and to fight against injustices. We need to be creative in finding different strategies to counteract all the backlashes that we have discussed and heard about during the conference.
- We need to address the struggles that marginalised people are facing, on different levels both bottom up and top down initiatives. We also need a deeper analysis of the global backlashes against rights already attained by feminists and women's movements. We need to stress the importance of working on the ground with the practical needs, while at the same time work on a theoretical basis.