

# FEMINIST CLASS POLITICS - EXCHANGING THEORY AND PRACTICE



## Challenges of the New Feminist Movements

The year 2017 began with a global wave of feminist protests. In the US, the Women's Marches brought hundreds of thousands to the streets, while the #MeToo debate raised public awareness of sexual harassment and violence. In Poland, resistance to restrictions on reproductive rights continued, while the 8 March demonstrations filled the streets from Berlin to Buenos Aires, and from Istanbul to New Delhi. In Spain, a feminist general strike mobilized around five million women. These protests are rare but successful transnational social movements of our times, visibly counteracting right-wing populism and authoritarianism.

At the same time, right-wing parties and movements are successfully increasing in size, mobilizing against the achievements of the women's and LGBTIQ movements. They portray "gender mania" and "marriage for all" as elitist issues and as threats to allegedly "natural" gender roles and ways of life. On the one hand they build on existing racist and sexist attitudes, intensifying them. On the other hand they are successfully articulating a widespread discontent rooted in the organic crises of neoliberalism: discontent with growing social inequalities, with the hollowing out of democratic structures and procedures, and with a continual market pressure that makes it impossible for most people to reconcile wage labour, reproductive rights and other basic needs. The right is not offering real solutions to these problems, but it is taking them up and re-articulating them, while presenting themselves as the voice of the "common people".

This constellation has brought new attention to the practices and approaches of connective and organizing politics across the broader left. At the same time, this poses new challenges for feminist politics: how is it that the right can successfully operate as an articulation of anti-neoliberalism? Why are feminism and the women's movement so easily depicted as part of the despised establishment?

## In search of a new feminist class politics

There is a need for new left feminist strategies and concepts that can take a clear stand against right-wing authoritarianism as well as against neoliberalism. How can feminism be truly inclusive and intersectional, and overcome its "unholy alliance" (Nancy Fraser) with a neoliberal politics of emancipation that have offered opportunities mostly for white middle-class women? There is a need for a **new feminist class politics** that addresses the entire nexus of domination and inequality. The devaluation of women's bodies and women's work, and the exploitation of feminized and racialized care work form the bedrock of the capitalist economy and are everyday experiences for most people. Interlocking systems of oppression demand intersectional political answers. How can we effectively fight sexual violence not only in Hollywood, but also in the workplace? How can we connect the struggle for abortion rights to a broader framework of reproductive justice? How do we fight the privatization and precariousness of care work and create conditions of good quality care for the many, not the few?

## THE SUMMER SCHOOL 2018

The Summer School intends to bring together theoretical discussions and practical approaches in discussing feminist strategies with a broad spectrum of left feminists from a party level as well as from a grassroots level.

- ▶ How can we unite / renew / reorganize feminist struggles in different fields like care, labour, the economy, ecology, body politics etc.?
- ▶ How can we learn from each other in order to change patriarchal and unbalanced systems, reflecting the specific social and political background of each country?
- ▶ How can we reach out to a broader public, organizing with more people and “preaching beyond the converted”?
- ▶ What might be a connecting transnational strategy of a left feminism?

In addition to finding answers to these questions, we want to

- \* organize and enable mutual learning processes and knowledge transfer relating to crucial theories, policies, strategies and tactics in feminist struggles
- \* discuss possible connections on a regional and Europe-wide, as well as on an international level (between Europe and Latin America)
- \* empower feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists to take part in progressive left movements, and to advocate for social justice and social rights
- \* construct solidarity and wider coalitions between different issues and actors
- \* connect the West with the East to foster solidarity and strengthen the movement

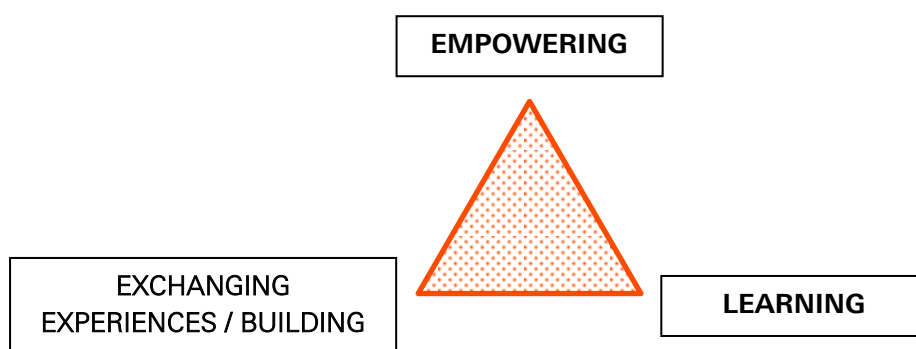
Our host country had a strong women’s movement during the period of WWII which continued during the socialist period, and collapsed during the so-called “transition” following the Yugoslav wars during the nineties. Conservative religious forces as well as militarist and authoritarian movements have been regaining power since then. We are aware of this context and of the challenge to renew and re-invent feminist politics under difficult circumstances. We hope that the Summer School will contribute to the discussions taking place, and also take advantage of the insights of local actors in the region. We are also very pleased to welcome four activists from Latin America – we are sure that your perspectives will enrich our debate and we are looking forward to exchanging experiences, contacts and strategies!

### READING MATERIAL

LUXEMBURG Special on Feminism

**Breaking Feminism - In Search of a New Feminist Class Politics**

<https://www.zeitschrift-luxemburg.de/breaking-feminism-special-english-edition-of-luxemburg-magazine-is-out/>



# AGENDA

SUNDAY, 30<sup>th</sup> SEPTEMBER

17:00 17.30	<b>Opening of the school</b>  Welcome and Introduction – Johanna Bussemer (RLS, Berlin) – Krunoslav Stojaković (RLS, Belgrade Office)	
17:30 19:00	<b>World Café: political introductions &amp; expectations</b>  1. What kind of feminist struggles / activities have you been involved in recently? 2. What is the most urgent question that you'd like to be answered? / What would you like to learn from others? 3. What would you love to take home from this Summer School for your everyday feminist work/activism?  Short reports/reflections from the World Café tables – collecting participants' expectations and relating them to the goals and topics of the Summer School	Moderation: Wenke Christoph
19:00 20:00	<b>Reflections / goals / topics / agenda of the school</b>  1) Agenda and logistics 2) Exhibition & scouts Q&A ...	Preparation Team
20:00	<b>Dinner</b>	

<p>9:00</p>	<p><b>OPENING LECTURE</b>  <b>Feminist class politics. An old struggle in new shoes or the new way out?</b></p> <p><b>Barbara Fried, RLS (Germany)</b>                  Right-wing politics are on the rise all over Europe - and beyond. Such politics often mobilize their followers not only by building on existing anti-queer/anti-feminist and anti-immigrant sentiment, but also by taking up the social issues and interpreting it in a racist way. The right therein successfully articulates widespread frustration with social inequality and a lack of democracy within the crisis of neoliberalism, and manages to present itself as the voice of the "common people". Feminism is herein painted as a liberal middle-class - if not elitist - project.                  How should a pluralistic, emancipatory left counter this? How can we "reclaim" feminism as a social movement standing up for the rights of all those who have been most affected by the politics of privatization and by social cuts over the last decades? How is it possible that feminist politics indeed lost touch with marginalized women* in many instances, and how should we reconsider our politics and practices? In many debates we are currently witnessing a tendency to falsely juxtapose "class politics" on the one hand with so-called "identity politics" on the other. The latter allegedly addresses the problems of minorities. But who actually is "the working class"? And how did its composition change?                  Feminist struggles in the best of times have addressed social and identity questions together; they have placed questions of the everyday at the forefront of politics, and fundamentally opposed an economic order that undervalues reproductive labour and care work; and they have fought for reproductive justice and LGBTIQ* rights as well as for equal pay and better working conditions for all. At present we are seeing a new social force rise - feminist movements both internationally and locally. How can we refocus our analysis and our practices in order to address class issues as well as questions of how to live, and whom to love? How can we develop a truly inclusive, intersectional class politics?</p>	<p>Moderation:                  Ksenija Forca (RLS SEE)</p>
<p>10:30</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Coffee break</b></p>	
<p>11:00 13:00</p>	<p><b>WORKSHOPS – 3 PARALLEL GROUPS</b>  <b>Exchanging theory and practice – discussing the concept</b>                  After the lecture, we will continue in smaller groups in order to further elaborate on the concept of a new class politics: An understanding of intersectionality is crucial to developing a new class politics as a strategic approach. Moreover, it seems important to discuss how the concept of a new class politics relates to major feminist theoretical works, for example on labour and economic analysis, on queer theory, and on ecofeminism.</p>	
	<p><b>1 Feminist class politics and intersectionality</b></p> <p><b>Lia Becker, DIE LINKE (Germany)</b>  <b>Rosane Borges, Journalist and Author (Brazil)</b></p> <p>In April 1977, the Black Marxist feminist collective <i>The Combahee River Collective</i> issued a political statement in which they used the term identity politics to explain the following: "(This) focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression. [...] We also often find it difficult to separate race from class and from sex-based oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. [...] We are not convinced, however, that a socialist revolution that is not also a feminist and antiracist revolution will guarantee our liberation."<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Bearing in mind the current social and economic situation all over the globe, we consider these political statements as vital now as they were in 1977. However, instead of using the concepts of identity politics, we suggest an analytic framework of intersectionality that attempts to identify how interlocking systems of power impact on those who are the most marginalized in society.                  In this workshop we would like to discuss the interrelations of a new feminist class politics and the predicaments of forms of social stratification, such as class, race, sexual orientation, age, disability and gender. How are they interwoven together? Why does the division of class and identity hamper us? How can we overcome all the boundaries between class / race / religion / sexuality / identity? What analytical approach could we use in left feminist theory to understand these boundaries? How could an inclusive feminism empower ourselves? How can we enact intersectionality from a leftist standpoint?</p>	<p>Moderation:                  Maria Oshana (RLS, Greece)</p>
	<p><b>2 Feminist class politics and economy</b></p> <p><b>Sandra Ezquerro</b> Professor at the Universitat de Vic (Spain)  <b>Saša Uhlová</b> , Journalist (Czech Republic)  <b>Iuliia Ostrovskaya</b>, (Russia)</p> <p>Some approaches towards feminist economy have evolved around the analysis of the origins of</p>	<p>Moderation:                  Apolena Rychlíková (Czech Republic)</p>

<sup>1</sup> <http://circuitous.org/scraps/combahee.html>

	<p>inequality between men and women, focusing on the impact that different structural positions in society have on both sexes regarding access to resources, labour markets, etc.</p> <p>From a Marxist standpoint, however, questions of production/reproduction are crucial, and many authors have described the inherent need of the capitalist model of reproductive work for productive work to actually happen.</p> <p>Other approaches have highlighted the fact that in the face of the latest developments to the global capitalist system (and austerity in the European context) there is a need to place the “care crisis” at the centre of our attention. A focus on reflecting on the “social organization of care” may help bring about a practical and political alternative to global capitalism.</p> <p>In this workshop we will hear about the different theoretical frameworks and also about the political answers they propose.</p>	
	<p><b>3 Feminist class politics and ecology</b>  <b>Climate justice and gender justice – different struggles, common grounds?</b></p> <p><b>Yolanda Fernández Vargas</b>, Comisión de Ecofeminismo en Ecologistas en Acción, (Spain)  <b>Iva Marković</b> Activist and Independent Researcher in Political Ecology, Left Summit of Serbia (Serbia)</p> <p>In this workshop we will discuss the interrelations between feminist struggles and ecological struggles. Why are common global challenges like climate change gendered both in their causes and in their consequences? Why do feminist and ecological issues relate to class, race and capitalist exploitation? And how do we achieve a deeper connectedness between movements and our daily political practice?</p>	<p>Moderation:  Janna Aljets  (RLS,  Brussels)</p>
<b>13:00</b>	<b>Lunch</b>	
15:00 18:00	<p><b>«Alcaldessa» Film screening</b></p> <p>This film describes the origins and development of Barcelona en Comú, the municipalist platform in Barcelona, Spain, from their first steps to the election day when they won the city government. The process is depicted through the privileged eyes of the leader of the movement, Ada Colau, who offers political and personal insights not only into the process but also into certain other themes crucial to the Spanish “new politics”, such as organization around cooperative principles, the feminization of politics etc.</p> <p><b>Elena García Jiménez</b>, a member of the feminist group of Barcelona en Comú will help disentangle some key concepts of use for a leftist feminism in politics, drawing on elements from the film.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Vera  Bartolomé  (RLS, Spain)</p>
<b>19:00</b>	<b>Dinner</b>	

<p>9:30 10:30</p>	<p><b>SETTING THE SCENE</b>  <b>Doing labour. – paid less at work, unpaid at home</b>  <b>Oksana Dutchak</b>, (Author of the study, Ukraine) /  <b>Aliki Kosyfologou</b>, (Author of the study, Greece) /  <b>Marija Čačić</b> (Co-author of the study, Serbia)  <b>Cornelia Möhring</b> (MoP, Germany)</p> <p>With the title “Austerity, Gender Inequality and Feminism after the Crisis”, the authors of this study not only evaluated data relating to women’s levels of employment and income, but they also looked more closely at how cost-cutting measures have directly affected equality, as well as Law changes and new regulations enacted in the same spirit.  How do savings policies affect gender roles in the family? Who takes responsibility for raising children and caring for elders when the state ceases to provide support? What does it mean when gender equality commissioners and the support programs tied to them have their funding cut? Where do women go when there are no crisis centres available for victims of domestic violence? Who will look after unwanted children if abortion is ruled illegal?</p>	<p>Moderation:  Johanna Bussemer  (RLS, Germany)</p>
<p><b>10:30 Coffee break</b></p>		
<p>11:00 13:00</p>	<p><b>WORKSHOPS –3 PARALLEL GROUPS</b>  What are the key struggles in our activist practice? Namely, how do we organize, and what do our achievements and failures tell us about society?</p>	
	<p><b>1 WOMEN UNITED – Feminist approaches to trade unions</b>  <b>Kellie O’Dowd</b>, (Northern Ireland),  <b>Jelena Miloš, Tina Tešija</b>, BRID (Croatia)  <b>Klementina Ristovska</b>, SOLIDARNOST (Macedonia)  <b>Kristin Ideler</b>, ver.di (Germany)</p> <p>We want to discuss the importance of trade union organizing for improving women’s position in society, as well as the strong need for trade unions to adopt the struggle for women’s rights as part of regular trade union work. We will talk about how certain questions central to feminist politics - such as the feminization of poverty, social reproduction, and the role of the welfare state in the reproduction of class differences -could be tackled in trade union work. We will discuss, with participants from various countries, several practical examples of women’s organizing within workers’ movements that may serve as guidelines or critical reflection for local activists.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Jelena Miloš,  BRID, Zagreb je naš, (Croatia)</p>
	<p><b>2 Organizing the unorganized</b>  <b>Oksana Dutchak</b>, CSLR (Ukraine)  <b>Deborah Carlos-Valencia</b>, the migrant women’s organization “Melissa” (Greece)  <b>Ana Vračar</b>, BRID (Croatia)  <b>Dimitris Parsanoglou</b>, senior researcher at the University Centre for Gender Studies (Greece)</p> <p>This workshop topic will focus on target groups under-represented in most trade unions at present, such as female migrant workers, care workers such as nurses, and migrant workers - people working in households, women working in factories with yellow trade unions etc. What organizing efforts can be made to reach these target groups, and to sustainably organize them in unions or other forms of resistance to inhuman working conditions?  What kinds of progressive models for organizing exist, and how can they be translated/used in different contexts?</p>	<p>Moderation:  Wenke Christoph (RLS, Germany)</p>
	<p><b>3 Doing the strike</b>  <b>Ruth Caravantes, Viviana Dipp and Isabel Cadenas</b> (Spain)  <b>Kerstin Wolter</b>, DIE LINKE (Germany)  <b>Carla Gaudensi</b>, Trade Unionist (Argentina)</p> <p>In this workshop we will discuss the feminist strike launched several years ago, which is extending internationally and gaining the key momentum needed to strengthen and develop a comprehensive and international call around which feminists can mobilize.  Key aspects of this workshop include the sharing of experiences in different countries, as well as identifying common challenges and future joint strategies required to increase the impact of this mobilization at international level.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Alex Wischnewski,  (DIE LINKE, Germany)</p>
<p>13:00</p>	<p><b>Lunch</b></p>	

15:00 18:00	<p><b>TRAINING SESSIONS (more information at the end of the programme)</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Self-health</b> with Malika Roelants du Vivier and Alice Macia</li> <li>2. <b>Self-defence</b> with Tangarr Forgart</li> <li>3. <b>Safe sex for women</b> with Maria Cyber</li> <li>4. <b>Poetry slam</b> with Samira Saleh</li> </ol>	
<b>Coffee break and food (something more substantial than snacks)</b>		
20:00	<p><b>LEFT FEMINIZATION OF POLITICS - Public debate</b>  Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD), Birčaninova 21  <b>Sarah Leonard</b>, Women’s Strike, USA  <b>TBC</b>, Zagreb je NAŠ, (Croatia)  <b>Ángela Rodríguez “Pam”</b>, En Marea – Unidos Podemos (Spain)  <b>Elena García Jiménez</b>, Barcelona en Comú (Spain)</p> <p>In politics, women remain severely under-represented. Not only on electoral lists, but also in the structures of parties, women find that they often cannot or do not want to get involved to the same extent: be it because they cannot combine the number of and scheduling of sessions with family responsibilities; be it because the ways of talking and power games scare off women, or indirectly exclude them. Within left-wing movements in Spain, a lively debate about the feminization of politics has taken place.</p> <p>The idea behind this concept is not only to get more women into decision-making positions. It is also to change power relations and modes of participation: how can political forms based on competition and hierarchy be overcome? What do we need to do to ensure that political work becomes more equal, solidary and participatory? In short: how do we want to - and can we - change the rules of the game in order to include more women, and fulfil our claim to emancipatory politics?</p>	Moderation: Jelena Lalatović, (Mašina, Serbia)
22:00	<b>Reception</b>	

**WEDNESDAY, 3<sup>rd</sup> OCTOBER**

<p>9:30 10:30</p>	<p><b>SETTING THE SCENE - Reproductive justice</b>  <b>Hannah Schurian, RLS (Germany)</b>  <b>Sarah Leonard, Women’s Strike, (USA)</b></p> <p>Reproductive justice is a concept connecting the struggles for reproductive rights with a broader perspective of social justice. It is an intersectional approach that does not only focus on individual choice and self-determination (e.g. the right to abortion), but also on the social conditions of different individuals to have or not have children, to access (reproductive) health care and other social services, and live in families of their choice. It is a critical framework that was developed especially by black feminists in the US to address structural inequalities and discrimination based on race, class and disability. It can help us to connect different feminist struggles and identify common goals: what is needed to give all individuals, but also communities true freedom of choice?</p> <p>The Reproductive Justice Framework analyzes how the ability of any woman to determine her own reproductive destiny is linked directly to the conditions in her community—and these conditions are not just a matter of individual choice and access. Reproductive justice addresses the social reality of inequality, specifically, the inequality of opportunities that we have to control our reproductive destiny. Moving beyond a demand for privacy and respect for individual decision-making to include the social supports necessary for our individual decisions to be optimally realized, this framework also includes obligations from our government for protecting women’s human rights<sup>2</sup>.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Alex  Wischnewski,  (DIE LINKE,  Germany)</p>
<p>10:30</p>	<p><b>Coffee break</b></p>	
<p>11:00 13:00</p>	<p><b>WORKSHOPS –PARALLEL GROUPS</b>  What are the key struggles in our activist practice? Namely, how do we organize, and what do our achievements and failures tell us about society?</p>	
	<p><b>1 We want ourselves alive! - Fighting violence against women</b></p> <p><b>Aliki Kosyfologou, Group "kiouri@" (Greece)</b>  <b>Alexandra Talaver, (Russia)</b>  <b>Sissy Vovou, the feminist group "To Mov" (Greece)</b>  <b>Sandra Morán, (Guatemala)</b></p> <p>We plan to discuss:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* the different forms of gender-based violence (harassment, abuse, violence, rape, trafficking, femicide) and the areas in which it is expressed (public space, family, work, etc.)</li> <li>* the definition of rape and, on the other hand, of self-defence</li> <li>* the connection between austerity/neoliberalism/militarism and gender-based violence</li> <li>* the legal context for fighting gender-based violence and its efficiency (with a focus on the international legal context, e.g. the Istanbul Convention)</li> <li>* movements against gender-based violence (e.g. #MeToo)</li> <li>* the development (or shrinking/absence) of policies for the elimination of gender-based violence</li> <li>* the increased visibility of gender-based violence and the empowering of women to take a stand against it</li> </ul>	<p>Moderation:  Sissy Vovou  (Greece)</p>
	<p><b>2 My body - my choice! Struggles over the right of abortion</b></p> <p><b>Marija Čačić, (Croatia)</b>  <b>Kellie O’Dowd, (Northern Ireland)</b>  <b>Sofía Brito, (Chile)</b>  <b>Agata Czarnacka (Poland)</b></p> <p><i>“The prospect of women having full control over their reproductive potential – the notion that we might be able to decide, without shame or censure, whether and when and if we have children or not – provokes fear among the powerful. When abortion is discussed in public, it is almost always in terms of individual morality or, more usually, of moral lapses on the part of whatever</i></p>	<p>Moderation:  Angela  Isphording  (RLS, Germany)</p>

<sup>2</sup><https://www.law.berkeley.edu/php-programs/courses/fileDL.php?fID=4051>



	<p><i>selfish, slutty women are demanding basic human rights this week. It is rarely discussed in terms of structural and economic inequality. Yet reproductive inequality remains the material basis for women's second-class status in society. It affects every aspect of our future."</i> (Laurie Penny, 2014, <i>New Statesman</i>).</p> <p>During the last few years a new generation of feminists have taken to the streets in the US, in Latin America, and in parts of Europe. The depenalization of abortion has been one of their key demands. The mobilizations are a response to the growing strength of the political right, frequently in symbiosis with the church and with conservative organizations/institutions. In South America the feminist fight for pro-choice and struggle against violence has succeeded in crossing the political barriers between left parties, trade unions and other progressive actors, and has thus come to form common ground for new alliances.</p> <p>In this workshop we want to discuss the class/intersectional dimension of abortion matters, and analyze the potential of pro-choice struggles for the (New) Left in general. We will draw on different organizing and regional experiences in order to think up new strategies and alliances.</p>	
	<p><b>3 The work that makes all work possible" – Feminist struggles around care work</b></p> <p><b>Jette Hausotter</b>, Care Revolution (Germany),  <b>Rafaela Pimentel</b>, Territorio Domestico (Spain)  <b>Ana Vračar</b>, BRID (Croatia)</p> <p>Care work is everywhere and we all rely on it. However, it is mostly unpaid or badly paid, and undertaken by women - especially by marginalized women such as, in many countries, women of colour. Under neoliberal capitalism, social services are increasingly being privatized and costs are being cut thereby deepening social inequalities. A long feminist struggle is required to make visible the hidden iceberg of care work, and to organize and empower care workers. At the same time, good care is a common goal for care workers as well as for care-givers, and it creates common ground for broad coalitions. In this workshop we want to bring together different struggles around care work from organizing to coalition-building efforts, and discuss their potential for social change and feminist mobilizations.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Barbara Fried  (RLS, Germany)</p>
	<p><b>4 We are family? Family politics from a left feminist perspective</b></p> <p><b>Anne Steckner</b>, DIE LINKE (Germany)  <b>Katerina Kontarini</b>, "Proud Life" - a non-profit organization (Greece)  <b>Lidija Vasiljević</b>, ŽINDOK (Serbia)</p> <p>In current right-wing and conservative discourses, the ideal of the traditional heteronormative family plays a crucial role. These discourse view the family as the "natural" model that needs to be defended against the alleged threat of feminist and LGBTIQ movements. This narrative partly resonates with the discontents of the neoliberal "adult worker" model that places more and more pressure on families and care work. For many, the family is the safe haven against the uncertainties of a globalized economy, and as attractive as ever. What does this mean for a feminist discussion on family politics today?</p> <p>The heteronormative nuclear family has always been one of the main targets of feminist criticism. Feminists have exposed the exploitation and violence in (patriarchal) family relations and gender norms, highlighting individual autonomy and sexual liberation. At the same time, different feminist voices have pointed out that families of choice and communities of care are crucial for our needs as vulnerable and social human beings, especially if we need to cope with everyday social injustice, racism and homophobia.</p> <p>In this workshop we want to discuss different notions of family and family politics, and their implications for feminist strategies today. What would be the possible narratives, demands and policies of an emancipatory yet inclusive family politics that can counter right-wing discourse and open up a space for new relations of mutual care?</p>	<p>Moderation:  Hannah Schurian  (RLS, Germany)</p>
	<p><b>5 Queer organizing beyond identity politics</b></p> <p><b>Neli Kaouni</b>, "Colour Youth" (Greece)  <b>Lia Becker</b>, DIE LINKE (Germany)</p> <p>In the recent years we can observe the inclusion of "LGBT+" issues into the broader neoliberal agenda. We hear the word "queer" increasingly being used as an overarching umbrella term that masks both the history and current reality of queer protests against the injustices of capitalist system. We hear about inclusion. We hear about visibility. We hear about mainstreaming. A homonormative and homonationalist subjectivity arises, that helps to pinkwash the reality of the right wing turn. We don't get to hear nearly enough about the precarious lives and struggles of queer people, about their strategies, tactics, knowledges, politics and affects. During our workshop we will attempt to fill in this gap. Our two presenters will talk about the possibilities of queer criticism, alliances and resistance. This will be followed by the moderated discussion.</p>	<p>Moderation:  Nadiia Chushak  (Ukraine)</p>
<p>13:00</p>	<p>Lunch</p>	

15:00 18:00	<b>TRAINING SESSIONS (more information at the end of the programme)</b>  1. <b>Self-Health</b> with Malika Roelants du Vivier and Alice Macia 2. <b>Self-Defence</b> with Tangarr Forgart 3. <b>Safe Sex for Women</b> with Maria Cyber 4. <b>Poetry Slam</b> with Samira Saleh	
<b>Coffee break</b>		
18:30 20:00	<b>Self-organized workshops or free time</b>	
20:30	<b>Dinner/party in the hotel with the feminist collective <b>Žene puštaju četvrtkom</b></b> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/zenepustajucetvrtkom/?ref=br_rs">https://www.facebook.com/zenepustajucetvrtkom/?ref=br_rs</a>	

## THURSDAY, 4<sup>th</sup> OCTOBER

11 - 13	<b>TIME FOR CONCLUSIONS</b> <b>Evaluation through action</b>  Through using expressive action methods: fluid sculptures, lifeline captured, sociometry and a "traffic light" exercise, this workshop will enable the dynamic and creative closure of group work, followed by its evaluation. The evaluation will seek to answer three key questions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What can you take from this event for feminist activism in your country?</li> <li>• What are the most surprising things you learned?</li> <li>• Can you use the ideas of new class politics in your feminist or other activism?</li> </ul>	Moderation: Lidija Vasiljević, (ŽINDOK, Serbia)
13:00	<b>Lunch</b>	

1	<p><b>Self-health</b></p> <p>This workshop is for women and people who have already been socialized as women. It will be divided into two parts. The first is an introduction to self-health and the concept of immunity, where the objective is to bring out the individual and collective knowledge of the group in order to reclaim health practices. In the second part we will conduct a gynaecological self-examination, a practice defended by the feminist movements of the seventies. Thus, we will be able to learn to observe ourselves and avoid over-medicalization, through gaining a better knowledge of our bodies.</p>	Malika Roelants du Vivier, Alice Macia
2	<p><b>Self-defence</b></p> <p>Principles and techniques of self-defence and the specifics of learning martial arts - theory and practice</p> <p>Only Self-confidence can give you real knowledge. You cannot LEARN to be sure. Confidence is not a goal. It is a consequence. The logical consequence of acquiring certain knowledge and skills. So I will not teach you confidence, I will give you knowledge. How do you imagine the martial arts to be? How do you see a fight? As something where two people are trying in every possible way to crush each other's bones and teeth? What if I tell you that a fight is really a duel between two scientists who apply the physical laws they know in practice? A confrontation between the two wizards of science, weaving forces of gravity, acceleration, and inertia, impulses into exact mathematical spells, manipulating them at a speed inconceivable to an ordinary person. And the one who can better operate within the laws of reality will win.</p>	Tangarr Forgart
3	<p><b>Safe sex for women</b></p> <p>The presentation begins with a short introduction to the eight minute film that will follow. Various elements of the film will form the starting point for a fifteen minute talk on female sexuality and on the ways in which it remains socially marginalized, as far as its expression, image and social views on female sexual expression are concerned. The talk will also discuss women's obligation to protect their sexuality with respect to hygiene, simply because no one else will do it for them. The introduction will start with theory, drawing a comparison between the female and male sexual organs, and identifying the differences and similarities between them. It will then progress to practice, through images that will stimulate the audience and will easily guide it towards ways of protecting female pleasure in order for it to remain just that: pure pleasure, stripped of the danger of sexually transmitted diseases. We have more knowledge than ever about how to practice safe sex, but we are still in the intimate situation where responsibility is placed on the other, rather than taking charge of it ourselves. What is the performativity of a female sex organ (pussy), compared to a male sex organ (dick)? Why should you be a good girl "deep inside"? How does a better knowledge of the female sex organ help the world become a better place? Is it ok to be a "pussy"? Women can fake their orgasm, but why should they?</p>	Maria Cyber
4	<p><b>Poetry slam</b></p> <p>This workshop is about using the spoken word to amplify your voice! It will involve speaking feelings / experiences and stories into existence. It will use the spoken word as a tool of self-expression in its most basic/raw and stripped-down form. We have been speaking stories into existence that have long been under-appreciated. Our stories are worth sharing and are worthy of being heard. We'll try and work on performance, but the focus will not be on creating viral-worthy spoken word pieces, but rather on tools that you can use for yourself to help express yourself in a different artistic form.</p> <p><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owyR8jkhKeE">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=owyR8jkhKeE</a></p>	Samira Saleh

## PARTICIPANTS' CVs – SUMMER SCHOOL BELGRADE

*More information will be available in the final document that you will receive at the registration desk on the first day of the school*

---

### SPAIN

**Ángela Rodríguez Martínez** (known as "Pam") is a Spanish feminist politician, a member of Podemos Galicia, deputy of the eleventh and twelfth legislatures in Congress, and a member of the Parliamentary Group Podemos-En Comú Podem-En Marea (GP-EC-MS). She is currently the second vice president of the Equality Commission, and a deputy speaker and member of the subcommittee of the State Pact against gender-based violence.

#### Ruth Caravantes

**Isabel Cadenas Cañón** is a writer, audio producer and scholar. Her audio documentaries and features have been broadcast on various television channels and radio stations, including Deutsche Welle and NPR. She is the author of the poetry books *Irse* (2010) and *También eso era el verano* (2014), and she is a regular contributor on feminism and human rights issues to several Spanish publications, such as *eldiario.es* and *La Marea*. She received a PhD in Cultural Studies from New York University, and teaches Cultural History at New York University - Madrid and Tufts-Skidmore, in Madrid. She enjoys cycling. She was one of the spokespersons in the feminist strike of 2018.

**Tatiana Moutinho** was born in Coimbra, Portugal in 1972, and lives in Porto, Portugal. She graduated in biochemistry, and was a scientific researcher for twenty years. She currently works for *Transform! Europe* as a facilitator for the working group "Cooperation strategies for Southern Europe". She has been involved in *Bloco de Esquerda* from when it was founded, and participated in many social movements in her youth and ever since. Among others, she was an activist involved in the student movements against the commodification of university education in the nineties, and participated in both referendum campaigns for the right to abortion. She was also an activist in the Portuguese social movement against austerity named "Que Se Lixe a Troika" and in the social movement against precariousness "Associação de Combate à Precariedade - Precários Inflexíveis". Currently, she is an activist in the feminist movement "A Coletiva" - one of the feminist movements that is preparing for the 2019 Portuguese Women's Strike - and is active in several local right to housing movements.

#### Elena García

**Vera Bartolomé** is a sociologist (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) and urban planner (Cornell University) from Madrid to whom the RLS proposed the challenging task of launching the Madrid Liaison Office of the Stiftung, task that she has been performing since 2016. She has been active in politics since she was a teenage and the most rewarding political activity in her life came from the environmentalism. However, during the last 10 years she has been active in movements like the right to the city and feminism. She takes very seriously Emma Goldman's «if I can't dance, this is not my revolution».

**Viviana Dipp Quitón** is a feminist from Bolivia. She is a lawyer with a master's degree in human rights, public policies and ethics for democratization and development, and political action and citizen participation. Her research focuses on feminism, sexual and reproductive rights, secularism, women in development, and community and intercultural education. She works at mainstreaming feminist and gender perspectives, in providing comprehensive care for victims of gender violence, and in recent years, in community and intercultural development, citizen participation, and economic solidarity with women. She believes in the transformative power of education, art and feminism: – education opens paths – art multiplies and feminism empowers – putting life in the centre.

**Yolanda Fernández Vargas** has been part of the Commission of Ecofeminism in Ecologists in Action for over a year. This is due to her belief that this current of thought and political theory responds to two of the civilizational problems decisive for changing the current model: the ecological crisis and the structural inequality in which women live.

---

## **GREECE**

**Aliki Kosyfologou** lives in Athens. She has received a PhD in political science and sociology from the National Kapodistrian University of Athens. She has expertise in the area of gender representation and ideology, and in cultural politics. She currently lectures on cultural theory at the Municipal Theatre of the Central Greece School. She is a founding member of the feminist activist group Kiouri@.

**Maria Katsikadakou, a.k.a. Maria Cyber**, was born in 1970 in Athens, and she has been one of the first lesbian activists involved in the Greek gay & lesbian scene from 1986 onwards. With a background in photography, cinema, graphic and web design, she came to realize early on the possibility that visual and social media hold in empowering a community suffering discrimination. While working as an activist for LGBTQI rights over many years, she created the biggest portal for lesbians in Greece ([www.lesbian.gr](http://www.lesbian.gr)), as well as the “Outview Film Festival” – the Athens International LGBTQI Film Festival, which she has been organizing for the last eleven years ([www.outview.gr](http://www.outview.gr)).

**Katerina Kontarini** obtained her degree in painting from the Athens School of Fine Arts in 2004. While first attending courses on metal sculpting, multimedia - hypermedia, and fresco & icon painting, she then continued her studies with a focus on sculpting, graduating in 2013. Since then, she has taken part in several art exhibitions and festivals. Through her conceptual art, she has drawn out definite positions against social and political injustice. She has also organized a number of roleplaying activities. She is the former art director and gender equality group coordinator of “Prohorame”, an activist community on Facebook. She is the chief editor of the website Lesbian.gr, and is also a coordinator for the non-profit organization “Proud Life”.

**Voula Touri** has been a member of the Special Technical Laboratory Personnel at the Centre for Gender Studies since 2016, and she has worked as a research assistant in the Centre since 2004. She studied for her MSc in Social Change in 2004 at the Department of Social Policy of the Panteion University of Political and Social Sciences, after completing her undergraduate studies in social policy and social anthropology. She has been responsible for the administrative and financial coordination of European research projects and has organized various conferences, seminars and transnational research meetings.

**Dimitris Parsanoglou** is a senior researcher at the Centre for Gender Studies of the Department of Social Policy of the Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences. He holds a DEA and a PhD in Sociology from the “Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales” in Paris. He has participated as a researcher or coordinator in several research projects, and has taught sociology at the Department of Philosophy and Social Studies of the University of Crete. His main research interests include the history and sociology of immigration to Greece with a special emphasis on employment, urban space, gender and migration policies.

**Deborah Carlos-Valencia** was born in Bulacan, Philippines. She received her BSc in Social Work in Manila. During the Marcos dictatorship, she fled to Europe because of her involvement in the democratization movement. She went to the Netherlands and then to Rome, where she closely involved in migrant women’s issues and started to organize migrant women. She moved to Greece in 1986, where she was granted political asylum on the ground of her involvement in the anti-Marcos movement. While in Greece, she became involved into organizing Filipino migrants locally and

around Europe. In 1986, she co-founded KASAPI Filipino Workers Union in Greece, providing assistance to distressed compatriots and promoting the rights of the predominantly female members of the organization as domestic workers. KASAPI established relations with trade unions in order to push for the legalization and health insurance coverage of domestic workers. Together with other active Filipino women, she co-founded Babaylan - Philippine Women's Network in Europe and at the founding congress was elected its first president. She also co-founded RESPECT Network, a multi-national network of domestic workers based in Amsterdam. At the same time, the Munting Nayon (Little Village) pre-school day-care centre was founded in order to provide early childhood education to children of migrants, servicing migrant and refugee children from 16 migrant communities. Furthermore, in 1998 she co-founded Diwata (Determined Independent Women in Action for Total Advancement), creating the first micro-credit cooperative in Greece, helping Filipino women send their children to universities, build homes and engage in entrepreneurial activities. In 2014, and after decades of experience in community organizing and empowering migrant women, she co-founded Melissa: Network of Migrant Women in Greece. Melissa Network was created with migrant grassroots involvement in order to provide a platform of communication for migrant women living in Greece, and to promote their empowerment and active citizenship.

**Sissy Vovou** is seventy years old. She has been active in the left, and in the revolutionary left and trade union movement since the age of fifteen. She was also active in the movement against the dictatorship in Greece between 1967-1974. Subsequently, during the last thirty years she has also been active in the feminist movement in several collectives and organizations, as a left feminist. In 1987 she joined the alter global movement and she has been an active member of the European Social Forum and the Greek Social Forum from then on. She has taken part in the antinationalist and anti-war movement from the 1990s onwards. As a feminist she has been working for the legalization of immigrants in Greece since the 1990s, and especially against the trafficking of women, participating in solidarity actions and exerting political pressure. Currently, she is a member of the feminist collective "TO MOV", that undertakes activities in all fields of women's liberation and gender equality, both nationally and internationally. She also writes for the daily feminist website tomov.gr, posting in four languages since 2012.

**Yirgalem Asgedom** is a member of the United African Women Organization of Greece.

**Neli Kaouni**

**Maria Oshana** is a socio-economist working for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as head of the RLS office in Athens/Greece. Prior to her theoretical and professional specialization and work in the fields of international politics, non-violent conflict resolution, peace building and migration policies, Maria explored the world's concert halls and festivals as a production and tour manager. In the late 1980s, Maria was involved in setting up the first feminist activist groups within the "autonome linke" (autonomous left) in Hamburg, and has since been a dedicated feminist in theory and practice.

**Ioanna Meitani** has studied German Literature and has worked as a literature translator for many years. In 2012 she started working for the newly-founded Office in Greece of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Foundation, where she is still a project manager, mainly on the topics of Gender and Far Right.

---

## UKRAINE

**Oksana Dutchak** is the deputy director of the Center for Social and Labor Research in Kyiv, and a researcher in the fields of labour issues and gender inequality. She is currently a PhD student at the Department of Sociology of the Ihor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute, Kyiv. Her main research interests are: labour issues, labour protests, gender inequality, socio-economic inequality, labour-power reproduction, reproductive labour and neoliberalism. Oksana is also a Clean Clothes Campaign associate in Ukraine. She lives in Kyiv.

**Nadiya Chushak** is a queer activist and currently a project coordinator for RLS in a partner project in cooperation with the WILPF “Gender and Political Economy”. She holds a PhD on the Post-Yugoslav Left, and is a member of the NGO the “Center for Social and Labour Research” in Kyiv.

**Antonina Melnyk** is a participant in the sewing cooperative ReSew (Kyiv) and the sewing cooperative Shvemy (St. Petersburg-Kyiv), and is an artist, feminist and grassroots activist. She mainly works on the topics of non-alienated and fairly priced labour, the alternative economy as a means of overcoming exploitation, and resisting discrimination in everyday life – she is trying to find ways to fight it off once and for all. In art, the main media she works with are textiles and clothes. She also uses theatrical and performative practices, street art, and video. She lives in Kyiv.

**Mariia Lukianova** is a participant in the sewing cooperative ReSew (Kyiv) and the sewing cooperative Shvemy (St. Petersburg-Kyiv), and is an artist and grassroots activist. She and her comrades are trying to realize a dream of a non-hierarchical production structure that cares for working people and the environment in practice. She is interested in engaged art, typically using media such as textiles, clothing, performance, video, and dance. She also uses craftivism in her activist practice. She currently considers herself as a queer anarcho-feminist. She has been living in Kyiv since 2016.

**Tangarr Forgarr** is a trans\*activist, feminist, athlete (Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu and historical medieval battle), coach of the Blackotter Team in Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu, and a fan of science and rational thinking. He gives lectures and training sessions on cognitive psychology and rational thinking. Besides working as a photographer he also writes articles about LGBTIQ Issues, polyamory, feminism, sport, and rational thinking.

**Oleksandra Hryhorenko** has been working as project manager in the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Office from 2016. Before that, she taught German Language, employed as a language instructor at the University of Davor. She is a literary translator and editor. She translates for the left-wing culture magazine “Prostory”.

---

## CROATIA

**Marija Čačić** (1986, Zagreb) works as a translator. She is currently a member of the Program Committee of Women’s Union School organized by BRID (OWID). She was also editor-in-chief of the magazine “Zarez” and of “Slobodni Filozofski”. She has translated, written for, and edited special issues on reproductive rights, sex work and feminist theory.

**Astrid Maljković** is a community nurse with extensive experience in paediatric nursing. She has worked both in hospitals and in the primary health care sector. She has also been involved in organizing nurses for years. This activity has helped her gain deep insight into the problems that nurses’ professional associations face in their everyday work.

**Ana Vračar** is an activist with the Organization for Workers’ Initiative and Democratization, where she works with trade unions and researches the privatization of healthcare in Croatia. She is also one of the editors of the portal “Radnička prava”.

**Tina Tešija** is a feminist, sociologist and activist. She has been working as an activist in several Croatian NGOs. At the Center for Women’s studies, she was the coordinator of the educational program. She is currently employed as project coordinator at the regional critical web portal Bilten, and is active in the Croatian workers’ rights NGO called the Organization for Workers’ Initiative and Democratization (BRID), where she acts as the program coordinator of the Women’s Trade Union School, an annual educational format gathering activists for women’s rights from the ranks of trade unions, NGOs, citizens’ initiatives etc.

**Jelena Miloš** is active in Right to the City and the Organization for Workers’ Initiative and Democratization (BRID). Through organizational, educational, and researching engagements, she is

occupied with the topics of the protection of public goods and commons, and workers' and social rights. In all her work, she places a focus on women's rights, which represents her main motivation for activist work. She is part of the organizing team of BRID's Women's Trade Union School.

---

## BIH

---

**Danijela Majstorović** is a full professor of linguistics and cultural studies at the University of Banja Luka's English department, where she teaches discourse analysis and cultural studies. After completing her MA at Ohio University (2003), and PhD at the University of Banja Luka (2006), she was a visiting researcher at Lancaster University (2006), a Fulbright fellow at UCLA in 2012-2013, and the Canada Research Chair in Cultural Studies Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Alberta in 2014. Her research interests involve critical discourse analysis, critical theory, gender and feminism, postcolonial, and postcommunist studies. She has published over thirty journal articles, co-authored a monograph entitled *Youth Ethnic and National Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Social Science Approaches* (Palgrave, 2013), and authored *Diskursi periferije* (Biblioteka XX vek, Belgrade) and *Diskurs, moć i međunarodna zajednica* (Filozofski fakultet u Banjoj Luci, 2007). She has edited three volumes: *Living With Patriarchy: Discursive Construction of Gendered Subjects Across Cultures* (John Benjamins, 2011), *U okrilju nacije* (CKSP 2011) and *Kritičke kulturološke studije u postjugoslovenskom prostoru* (Filološki fakultet u Banjoj Luci, 2012).

---

## SERBIA

---

**Lidija Vasiljević** is a psychotherapist and feminist left activist. She has a PhD in social work and politics, an MSc in gender and politics, and an MA in psychology. She works as a psychodrama trainer and supervisor, gender researcher, facilitator for various groups, and media analyst. She is active in Belgrade and in the former Yugoslav region.

**Jelena Lalatović** is a feminist literary critic, currently enrolled in a PhD program in comparative literature at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. She is a member of the Marxist group Marks21. She is also a co-founder of Bookvica - The Portal of Rebelled Readings, and a member of the editorial board of Mašina.

**Iva Marković** is an activist and independent researcher in Political Ecology, Left Summit of Serbia, and is based in Belgrade.

**Iva Janković** is a visual anthropologist who wants to map social inequalities through socially engaged audio-video production. She believes that the equal participation of women in social, economic, and political life is necessary. Iva completed her MA studies in Paris (France) on the topic of the use of socially engaged documentaries as an educational tool. Since 2016 she has been a co-author and producer of various documentaries, in independent production but also in cooperation with the organization Labris (Belgrade, Serbia), the Balkan Initiative for Tolerance (Belgrade, Serbia), and the APIS Institute (Ljubljana, Slovenia). She is also a singer in an activist queer all-women band based in Belgrade, named Mama mora da se sluša.

**Minja Pavlović** is an industrial designer who is passionate about activism, especially lesbian activism. Her work in Labris includes organizing various events for empowering women with sexual orientations other than heterosexual. These events include workshops, movie nights, seminars, parties etc. She also enjoys graphical design, such as designing visual identities for events, publications, books etc., and she plays bass guitar in an activist queer all-women band based in Belgrade - Mama mora da se sluša. She wants to portray various political struggles in today's society by using video as a contemporary medium of communication.



**Zoe Gudović** is a cultural manager, producer and organizer. Since 1995 she has been researching and taking part in informal and socially engaged forms of theatre. She merges art and activism in order to change current social relations and awareness. She is a theatre educator, toilet artist, performer, drag king transformer, and laureate of the Jelena Šantić award for combining art and activism. She currently works as a public relations manager in the Reconstruction Women's Fund and as a host on the radio show Ženergija.

**Jelena Memet**, a feminist and peace activist from Serbia, is a co-founder and a chairwoman of the Alternative Girls' Center, an organization working with and for girls' and young women's rights, and minority groups. She attended the Alternative Women's Studies course at the Center for Women's Studies in Belgrade. She works on the empowering and education of girls and young women about women's rights, gender equality, transitional justice, and peace building in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo through different programs. She is an activist in the Women in Black Network, and the Women against Violence Network in Serbia.

**Tanja Vuksa** studied sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and holds an MA in gender studies from the Cultural Studies and Gender Theory Department of the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade. She is a member of the Center for the Politics of Emancipation. Her research and work focuses on social reproduction theory and the Yugoslav self-management system. She is also a member of the social centre Oktobar, and she actively participates in the work of the Left Summit of Serbia.

**Maja Solar** holds a doctoral degree in Philosophy. Her research work revolves around the political theory. She is translating from French and English, as well as writing both poetry and prose. She is a member of the „Gerusia“ collective, left-oriented theoretical and political organization, and one of the editors of the journal for theoretical practices „Stvar“. She published three books of poetry, and she is the author of more than thirty articles from social theory. Her research fields of interest are marxism, feminism, socialism, property theories, luxury theory, anti-fascism and fascism, etc. Since 2015, she has been working as a translator for the Serbian edition of „Le Monde Diplomatique“.

**Jana Škobić**, NDMBGD

**Ana Veselinović**, Programme Manager at RLS Belgrade

**Luka Matić** works as a project manager and political analyst in the RLS SEE Office in Belgrade, and is a PhD candidate at the University of Zagreb. He works on projects relating to the topics of labour organizing and antifascism, while his research interests lie around the intersection of socialist self-management and social reproduction theory.

**Vladan Jeremić** studied art history at the Faculty of Philosophy and restoration at the Faculty of Applied Arts, and received his MA from the University of Arts in Belgrade in 2004. Since 2010, he has been working as a project manager at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung Southeast Europe in Belgrade.

**Krunoslav Stojaković** is an historian who is politically active in several fields, but mostly in antifascist and theoretical Marxist groups. Since 2011 he has been working for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung, and from 2017 he is the director of the Belgrade office of the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung.

**Ljubica Paleček** is the finance manager for RLS Belgrade

**Milena Racanović** is a finance and office assistant for RLS Belgrade

**Ksenija Forca** has been politically active for more than ten years in LGBTIQ and feminist groups, mostly uncovering the deceptions of identity politics in LGBTIQ and feminist activism, and building wider alliances with other marginalized groups and left collectives. She loves to be part of activities that empower women\* and the LGBTIQ community, and therefore enjoys creating and facilitating educational and psychotherapeutic workshops with/for LBTQ women\*. Since 2010 she has been

working as a project manager at the RLS SEE in Belgrade. Since 2016 she is a certified yoga instructor and holds yoga classes for LGBTQ women\* in Belgrade. She studied journalism and communicology at the Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University, Belgrade. She is in her third year of education as a psychodrama psychotherapist.

## ALBANIA

---

**Bora Memaj** was engaged in 2014 in the student movement “Për Universitetin” (For the University) opposing and contesting governmental neoliberal reforms in higher education. Since 2014 she is also a member and activist of Organizata Politike, engaged in labour rights, education, gender and LGBTQ issues, public transport, Roma community rights, and environmental issues. In 2015 she coordinated the Regional Student Forum organized by the ICSE. She voluntarily supported the working group for the study of working class conditions in Albania, prepared in 2016. Bora was part of the editorial team for the student biweekly journal “Universitari”. Over the past year she has been directing the Institute for Critique and Social Emancipation, and has been coordinating the process of establishing unions, in contact centres in Tirana.

**Albina Ruko** has been engaged since 2015 in the student movement “Për Universitetin” (For the University), opposing and contesting governmental neoliberal reforms in higher education. From 2016 she has been a member and activist of Organizata Politike, focused on labour rights and education. She has been working since 2010 as a waitress, which has helped her gain a lot of experience as a worker herself too. Albina is also engaged as a union organizer in call centres in a project supported by RLS SEE.

## SLOVENIA

---

**Asta Vrečko** is a member of the executive committee of the political party Levica (The Left), Slovenia. Her main focus in the party is in the areas of culture, education, social inequalities, and the city policy of Ljubljana. She works part time as a researcher and assistant at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, and part time as a freelance editor, writer, and curator.

**Nataša Sukić**, Levica

## MACEDONIA

---

**Klementina Ristovska**, Solidarnost

## GERMANY

---

**Cornelia Möhring** is the spokeswoman for feminist policies and the deputy leader of the parliamentary group DIE LINKE in the German Bundestag. She is a member of the Committee on Labour and Social Affairs, as well as of the Committee on Families, and is part of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation working group “Left Feminism in Europe”.

**Alex Wischnewski** is an advisor on feminist politics for DIE LINKE in the German Bundestag. She is co-founder of the platform “Keine Mehr” against femicides in Germany, and is active in the network for organizing a feminist strike. She is co-author of a monthly column in the newspaper “Neues Deutschland” on topics relating to Marxist feminism.

**Kerstin Wolter** works as a research assistant for the co-chairwoman of DIE LINKE, Katja Kipping. She co-founded the alliance for “International Women’s Day” in Germany and is active in the network for organizing a feminist strike in Germany. She is co-author of a monthly column in the newspaper “Neues Deutschland” on topics relating to Marxist feminism.

**Anne Steckner** is a political scientist, amateur photographer, and mother of a four-year-old child. She has been working on feminist and class issues in political education and social analysis. She is the co-author of books such as “PolyLuxMarx - A Capital Workbook in Slides” and “Read Gramsci”. She currently works at the Department of Strategic Questions of the German left party DIE LINKE. Her focus lies on how to link feminist struggles with a fundamental analysis and critique of capitalism in order to tackle liberation in a comprehensive sense.

**Kristin Ideler** works for the trade union ver.di in Frankfurt, organizing social workers and kindergarten teachers. Prior to that she studied gender studies, sociology, and peace & conflict studies in Marburg, where she completed a thesis on gender justice in trade unions. One focus of her academic and activist work has been on a feminist-anticapitalist critique of the gendered division of labour. For many years she has been active in the network Care Revolution. Other important queer-feminist struggles she has participated in include pro-choice struggles, and organizing the International Women’s Day, calling for a women’s strike in 2019. She is also involved in organizing in the network “Skills for Action”, where she facilitates activist training sessions to enable people to develop their protest skills on blockades and demonstrations.

**Jette Hausotter** is a sociologist and a founding member of the Care Revolution Network in Germany. She has been active in autonomous and grassroots feminist mobilizations for fifteen years, organizing discussions events, knowledge shares, and public protests. The focus of her activism is on the correlation of gender, social reproduction and intersectional power relations in capitalist societies. One of her central concerns is in developing queer-feminist perspectives on solidarity and cooperation.

**Lia Becker** works as a strategic advisor for the leadership of the left party DIE LINKE, and is currently occupied with discussions on new class politics, left hegemony, and transformational alternatives such as a radical reduction in working hours, and the democratization of the economy. She is a member of the coordinating group of the trade union-oriented current of the left, Sozialistische Linke. Before she joined the party she was engaged in antiracist and anti-austerity-alliances. She generally enjoys working on Gramsci, hegemony, queer and intersectional feminism. From her own experience as a white, middle-class, non-binary transgendered person, she wants to overcome the false division between “class” and “identity” politics, and work towards developing collective intersectional, trans-feminist and class-based movements.

**Barbara Fried** is the managing editor of LuXemburg magazine and vice director of the Institute for Social Analysis of the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. Her political and theoretical work focuses on feminism, new class politics, and struggles around social reproduction. She has been active in social movements for many years and is a founding member of the Care Revolution Network.

**Hannah Schurian** works for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung in the field of social reproduction and social infrastructures, and is also a member of the editorial board of LuXemburg magazine. She is a social scientist with a focus on care work and feminist analyses of work and gender. She has been politically active in right-to-the-city movements and anti-austerity-protests for many years.

**Johanna Bussemer** works as head of the European Department at the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. She is a trained political scientist, and active in the field of feminism and LGBTIQ rights for almost twenty years. Before joining RLS, Johanna worked as senior political advisor for DIE LINKE in the German Parliament for two electoral periods.

**Wenke Christoph** works for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as a senior advisor in the Regional Department Europe. She has previously worked for the RLS in China, on gender, migration and social reproduction, and in Southeast Europe. She is a geographer and has been politically active in urban movements, and in political education and organizing for many years.

**Dorit Riethmüller** works for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as project manager for South East and Central-Eastern Europe. She worked for one year in Kosovo on a project for Women and Girls. She

fell in love with the region and wrote her master's thesis on changes in female gender roles of the Albanian population in Kosovo after the war in the nineties.

**Franziska Albrecht** is working for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as Project Manager for West and South Europe. She used to work as translator / interpreter and intercultural trainer with young people, social workers and multipliers in different parts of Europe and North Africa for many years.

**Angela Isphording** works for the Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung as a senior advisor in the Regional Department America, and is responsible for work in North- and Central America. She has previously worked for the RLS in Mexico (where she founded and directed the regional office). She has struggled for women's and LGBTIQ\* rights for more than half of her life, both as a media activist, and in the field of political education.

---

## UNITED STATES

**Sarah Leonhard** is a journalist, editor and political activist involved in left feminist politics in the US. She is the executive editor of the magazine "The Appeal" and also working for the "Dissent" and "The Nation". She has co-edited the book "Occupy! An OWS-Inspired Gazette" (2011) and "The Future We Want: Radical Solutions for the 21st Century (2016)". Her writing about feminism, work, and technology has been widely published. She lives in New York City.

---

## RUSSIA

**Ulia Ostrovskaya** is a lawyer and holds an MSc in political science. She is currently a PhD student at the National Research University the "Higher School of Economics". She is the deputy director of the Center for Social and Labor Rights, a Russian non-profit NGO for the promotion, compliance and protection of social and labour rights. (<http://trudprava.ru/about/mission#eng>). She is an expert in Russian and international labour, and in trade union law and social partnership, and also has wide experience in the evaluation and analysis of draft laws and other documents, as well as in consulting, litigation, and interactions with state agencies, NGOs, trade unions, and working with ILO standards. She also works as a lawyer. For a number of years she has acted as an expert in labour law and the right to association, trade union rights, and women's rights advocacy for various Russian and international organizations. She conducts training sessions in Russian and international labour and trade union law, labour rights advocacy and promotion, and trade union operation and development, and is also a member of the council of the professional association "Lawyers for Labour Rights".

**Alexandra Talaver** is currently a PhD student at CEU (Budapest). Her research project is focused on the history of women's movements in Soviet Russia. Alexandra is also a co-founder of the project "Urbanfeminism", conceived as linking research experience of the urban environment with artistic practices and activism. The project includes discussions, workshops, self-defence classes, and different events (festival and charity fairs). Within the project, the founders have not only raised research questions in the fields of critical geography, sociology, urban planning, and cultural studies which are derived from women's everyday life in the city, but have also thought about solutions to these problems: about activism and artistic practices, self-defence, and the possibilities of cooperation between artists, researchers and activists.

**Tatiana Volkova** is an independent researcher and curator with expertise in the area of activist art. She has a master's degree in cultural management from the Moscow Higher School of Social and Economic Sciences, Moscow. In 2011, Volkova founded the MediaImpact International Festival of Activist Art. In 2013 she was part of the curatorial group of "Global aCtIVISm", project at ZKM / Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe. In 2015 she founded the Fem-club platform in Moscow. In 2017

she was co-curator of the “Dis/order. Art and Activism in Russia since 2000” exhibition in the Ludwig Forum für Internationale Kunst in Aachen.

**Ella Rosman** is a Russian feminist and researcher, specializing in the gender history of the USSR (in the late Stalinist period). Ella works as a teaching assistant at the National Research University “Higher School of Economics” in Moscow. She is a member of a university organization named the “Higher School of Equality”, participating in educational events on gender issues, and in university debates on the problems of the gender gap in the academy, and different types of discrimination at the university and in Russian society in general. Ella is also a volunteer at the “Give Me Your Hand Foundation”, which helps imprisoned women and their families. She also works for several Russian media, writing about social issues and feminist agendas.

---

## **CZECH REPUBLIC**

**Apolena Rychlíková** is a Czech journalist from the server A2larm.cz and a documentary filmmaker. She is focused on questions of inequality, gender, racism and the new populism. She lives in Prague.

**Saša Uhlová** is a journalist. She mostly writes in-depth reports about the working class and poverty, ethnic minorities, and other social topics.

**Joanna Gwiazdecka** gained a PhD in philosophy, and in her scholarly work she has focused on Platonic philosophy. From 2010-2017 she worked in the RLS office for Central-Eastern Europe in Warsaw. Since 2018 she has been head of the RLS office in Prague, which covers the Czech Republic, Slovak Republic and Hungary. Her main fields of interest are projects relating to feminism, LGBTIQ rights and youth organizations, left-wing think tanks and labour unions. She concentrates on the history of the region with special emphasis on the Jewish tradition, and on the history of left-wing organizations in the Jewish movement.

---

## **POLAND**

**Agata Czarnacka** is a Polish philosopher, feminist and opinion journalist. She is also one of the organizers of the Black Protests in Warsaw. Between 2012 and 2015 she worked as a policy advisor to Polish Social Democratic party. Then she took up to the streets to protest conservative policies of the PiS government. She works as a project coordinator with Fundacja Izabeli Jarugi-Nowackiej, known for linking left political thought with feminism. She has also translated appr. 15 books, including Levinas, Latour, Butler and Piketty.

---

## **NORTHERN IRELAND**

**Kellie O’Dowd** is a feminist activist on abortion rights in Northern Ireland. She is co-chair of the abortion rights group Alliance for Choice, and has been involved in the group since 2008. She has written academically on abortion education, and uses this research to change the discourse in Northern Ireland. She is also a trade union activist, and currently works for a Green Party politician.

---

## **BELGIUM**

**Alice Macia** fell in love with a woman when she was sixteen. Since then, for her, lesbianism and feminisms have been intimately linked. She currently lives in Brussels in a climate of violence towards exiled people that has led her to participate in a movement of solidarity actions defending

the right to dignity of each individual. To speak of feminism in the singular prevents us from thinking about how our societies function, and often reduces feminisms to a battle of the sexes. This is why it is important for her to talk about it in plural.

**Malika Roelants du Vivier** was born in, and lived most of her life in Bolivia. It was through her experience of daily violence that she became a feminist. She now lives in Belgium, works in the health sector and tries to be present in activities for women's equality. She is very interested in self-help.

**Samira Saleh** has found a way to translate her feelings into Spoken Word. Her serious texts as well as her humoristic poems give a deep message to the attentive listener. She was part of the winning Team Zuid during the Slam 't Stad poetry tournament in Antwerp and performed at various projects across Belgium, among which Female Takeover in a Man's World show hosted by Navitas, the 44th Women's Day, Stand & Deliver in Ghent en Urban Woorden in Leuven. As from 2017 she is Slambassador for Belgium at the international exchange project Next Generation Speaks, and winner of the BILL-Award in the category Speaking. Behind the scenes you may find her as co-organisator of Mama's Open Mic and 't Graafste HOF!

---

## LATIN AMERICA

**Rosane Borges from Brazil** works as a journalist and author, and holds a degree in communication science. During her studies she focused on racist issues and black feminism in Brazil. Nowadays she is working on a research project about bell hooks. Furthermore, Rosane is well-organized within movements and organizations of black women in Brazil. She generally focuses on intersectionality and class politics from a black feminist point of view.

**Sandra Morán from Guatemala** is well-known for her support of feminist issues, LGBT\*IQ, women's and indigenous rights. She is the first openly declared lesbian in Guatemala's Congress, of which she is a part from 2015. In 1995 after returning from exile, she organized the first active lesbian group in Guatemala. The long-term activist and former musician assumes an important role in both politics and activism, since her approach is to position the agendas of feminist movements in Congress.

**Carla Gaudenzi from Argentina** is active in a female trade union, and provides a feminist perspective on class politics and economy.

**Sofía Brito from Chile** studies law at the University of Chile, and is part of the feminist coordination of the International Women's Day and "La Defensoría de la Hiedra", a feminist law clinic founded by graduate law students supporting women in highly precarious situations with information and strategies regarding legal issues. She is also an active member of the autonomous-leftist party alliance "Frente Amplio". She further took a leading role in organizing this year's feminist student protests, and acted as a constitutional advisor during the negotiations surrounding the new abortion bill. Nowadays she acts as an advisor for workers' unions.