

***Girl Power and Gender Mainstreaming:
Looking for Peace in New Places
through an EU Lens***



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At the opening plenary session of the World Summit for Social Development in Johannesburg, delegations were asked: "Would you please give your honest opinion about solutions to the food shortage in the rest of the world?" The subsequent debate was a complete fiasco and ended in a deadlock.

*The Africans did not know what "food" meant.
 The West Europeans did not know what "shortage" meant.
 The East Europeans did not know what "opinion" meant.
 Middle East delegates did not know what "solution" meant.
 The South Americans did not know what "please" meant.
 The Asians did not know what "honest" meant.
 And the United States did not know what "rest of the world" meant.*

Over twelve years of my professional life have been spent living and researching in Germany. I have had the extraordinary privilege of traveling to many East and West European countries, both before and after the collapse of the Berlin Wall. I have explored the dynamics of generational change in relation to issues of war and national identity for more than two decades. Throughout the 1980s I moreover served as a participant-observer in the German anti-nuclear and disarmament movements. I believed then, and I remain persuaded now, that everything happening around me testified to the death of *Old Europe*. Its successor was immediately, if somewhat prematurely labeled *the New European Peace Order*.¹ The conflagration in Yugoslavia (Stage 1: Bosnia, Stage 2: Kosovo) put a lot of that discourse on hold.

As argued throughout this paper, US-Americans nonetheless have much to learn about "peace" from the rest of the world, and especially from women activists in the European Union. My attempts to track the political careers of European women, in general, and German leaders, in particular, have admittedly rendered me completely out of touch with traditional US foreign policy. Witnessing NATO tanks and troops rolling out for maneuvers in divided Berlin on my way to classes at the Free University in the late 1970s, sitting in front of a Pershing II missile for a few all-night vigils in the early 1980s, and

taking my son to an Omnimax movie in the 1990s at the very spot where I used to show my visitors the Berlin Wall will do that to a girl.

The last three years, for me, have been little more than a bad remake of what we thought in the 1980s was only a B-Grade movie at best, viz., *Star Wars: The Reagan Years*. Then as now, all US foreign policy was defined along the lines of: *Let's just give 'em all a gun, and hope to god they all do the right thing...*

----- cartoon here -----

That solution clearly has not worked, insofar as the USA, together with several of its Western allies -- including the currently self-righteous states of France, Germany and Belgium - have for decades been selling guns to any and every rogue-extremist on the planet, e.g., the Taliban in Afghanistan, the incestuous royals in Saudi Arabia, and even the enemy *de jour*, Saddam Hussein.² Needless to say, they have all been fighting in the name of some god or other -- or at least against "godless communism." Yet the net sum of world conflicts has not declined one bit since the onset of the New World Order. On the contrary: the annual SIPRI Yearbook and other sources make it very clear that global conflicts increased dramatically between 1998 and 2002.³

By contrast, the UN adopted an astounding resolution in October 2000, urging all of its member states to deliberately integrate women's concerns into collective and national peace-keeping and peace-building activities. In diplo-speak, the resolution "urges, encourages, further urges, expresses, requests, urges again, calls on calls, upon, emphasizes, reaffirms" and, ultimately, "*invites* the Secretary General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution..." and "*decides* to remain actively seized of the matter. A special session of the Security Council formally debated the necessity of incorporating a gender perspective into conflict resolution and reconstruction efforts (what, exactly, is "debatable" about this, one could ask).⁴

Presenting the official UN Report, Ms Angela King admonished the UN-SC members: "It is surprising to learn from the study how much UN entities... have done to develop gender-sensitive guidelines and policies. On the other, it is disappointing to learn how little monitoring and self-evaluation is carried out."⁵

Europeans have chosen to follow the UN path to collective security and peace-building, a fact that explains the extraordinary deterioration of US-European relations since the Bush inauguration (notice I did not say "election").⁶ It is my contention that *peace* equals significantly more than the absence of war on one's own territory. And the only way to get *sustainable peace* is to eliminate the causes of war, which requires the pursuit of gender equality around the globe.

The paper begins with a few reflections as to why most international peace-keeping missions have consistently failed since the miraculously peaceful fall of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, 1989/90. I briefly review the concept of *gender mainstreaming*, adopted by the EU in 1995, subsequent to EU women's participation in the 1995 UN Beijing Conference. Next I address presumed linkages between *sustainable development* and *sustainable peace* that have increasingly shaped both the UN and EU approaches to Third World countries over the last decade -- not at all coincidentally, the very period during which women have assumed prominent positions at the international and supranational levels. I then examine the ways in which EU policy-makers have sought to connect *gender, development* and *sustainable peace* in accordance with "Beijing plus 5" norms. Finally I present a mini-case study of German efforts to operationalize these norms under a Red-Green government since 1998, driven by a critical mass of female ministers.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE MALE-NORMED "PEACE-KEEPING" PICTURE?

Remember those US soldiers being dragged through the streets naked in Somalia? Remember the massacre of some 7000 civilians that took place in a UN safe-haven in Srebrenica in Bosnia? Wonder why war almost broke out in Macedonia less than one year ago? Followed up on the warlord activity in Afghanistan lately?⁷ When I asked journalist Elizabeth Pond what impressions she had gleaned during her trip to Afghanistan in June

2002, she responded: "it makes me very optimistic about the prospects of attaining some progress and stability in Bosnia."

Why do so many UN missions go so horribly wrong? In the words of one disheartened, blue-helmeted peace-keeper in Kosovo: we have

*no clear sense of purpose; muddled and contradictory goals and objectives crafted by amateurs, implemented by incompetents and defended by bureaucrats whose sole purpose in life is to move up the food chain. Make no waves, admit no mistakes, accept no responsibility and demand no accountability. Appearance is everything; never mind the substance. Pay no attention to the man behind the curtain.*⁸

Some of you are old enough to remember such a man, projecting himself as the *Wizard of Oz*. One contemporary example of a rather obstreperous "man behind the curtain" was none other Senator Jesse Helms, chair of the US Foreign Relations Committee for over a decade: the same man who who successively withheld millions of \$\$\$ in US dues to the United Nations, while challenging its legitimacy at every turn. It took Ted Turner's gift of \$1 billion to push elected representatives into paying what we owed. Not until last spring did the US Congress hold its FIRST hearing on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, signed in 1979 and already ratified by more than 160 countries. The US has yet to sign on officially, just as we have refused to ratify international conventions on the Rights of the Child, for better environmental protection, against genocide and land mines, et cetera. Women's intense lobbying on behalf of such causes IN THE CONGRESS were deemed uppity and "non-lady-like" by Helms himself.

***** 1979 CEDAW / Helms Graphic *****

Europeans currently view American appeals to the UN as extremely disingenuous, given this country's official resistance to its many non-military "peace-keeping" initiatives of the last ten years --not the least of which includes funding for international family planning organizations. The US failure to ratify a wide assortment of UN conventions intended to improve the human condition in many places already shattered by macho-

militarism (abetted by US weapons sales), has only reinforced mounting distrust even among our most ardent and trusted allies.

With home-grown representatives like this, who needs global enemies? It is time for them to go, to make room for courageous policy-makers who want to treat the sources, not just the symptoms of oh-so-many violent conflicts around the world, as well as in our own neighborhoods. As the recently retired UN Human Rights Commissioner Mary Robinson has been saying for many years: *"The hand that rocks the cradle needs to rock the system..."*

GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A GLOBAL-POLICY FRAMEWORK

Addressing the First European Summit on "Women in Power" in 1992, former Danish Environmental Minister, Lone Dybkjaer unwittingly highlighted the need for a new, holistic approach to community decision-making that has since taken root in the development field:

Women's point of view should be integrated from the beginning, when the structure is laid down. It is much cheaper than today, when we have to correct for women's point of view afterwards. It is like building a house and forgetting plumbing, the kitchens, bathrooms, and therefore have (sic) to reconstruct the entire building (Athens Summit, November 3, 1992).

Real equality dictates that women be treated *the same* on some occasions while simultaneously recognizing that they experience the impact of public policies in very *different ways* at other times. Equality advocates need to do more than re-decorate political backrooms with a few womanly touches. The BIG HOUSE we call our democratic system has reached the age and stage where it needs MAJOR renovations in financial and structural terms. [I learned the value of this analogy the hard way, that is, in an effort to install a whirlpool tub in my 95-year old house: a few mega-electric circuit breakers, all new pipes in three rooms, five new tile floors, and \$32,000 later, I finally have my functioning tub.]

Originally proposed by the EU delegation in Beijing in 1995, and then "imported" back home as an operational principle for policymaking, *gender mainstreaming* was officially

adopted by the fifteen Member-States in 1996. All future EU members will likewise have to embrace GM as soon as they are admitted. Although it was originally intended to shake up gender relations with regard to Community-internal policies, gender mainstreaming has already been incorporated into the EU's relations with the Third World in ways that are significantly transforming the "foreign policy paradigm" and the overarching approach to peace and security in every advanced industrial country but my own.

Top-level EU officials have slowly but surely recognized that remedying a democratic deficit historically grounded in gender differences is not just a question of "add equal pay, daycare, and stir." Mainstreaming neither implies "gender neutrality," nor does it mandate eliminating special programs FOR women. Though some equality advocates fear gender mainstreaming holds negative consequences for women-specific policies in the short-run, I am persuaded that it offers a lot more truly radical-feminist potential in the long run.

In 1996 the EU Commissioners began practicing what they were preaching to others at the United Nations, throwing some 25,000 EU bureaucrats into a real tizzy. Gender mainstreaming is defined as

the systematic integration of the respective situations, priorities and needs of women and men in all policies... mobilizing all general policies and measures specifically for the purpose of achieving equality by taking into account at the planning stage, their effects on the respective situations of men and women in implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Efforts to promote equality cannot be limited to the simple goal of balancing the statistics. They must bring long-lasting changes in parental roles, family structures, institutional practices, the organization of work-time, personal development and economic autonomy.

The Commission has outlined a concrete, multiple-step "method" for achieving these goals: a) adopting a *dual approach* = gender mainstreaming + specific actions; b)

requiring *ex-ante* gender impact assessments and *gender proofing*; c) mobilizing all Commission services and creating GM units within each Directorate-General; d) anchoring responsibility at specific points in the policy formulation process; e) providing formal training and consciousness-raising among key personnel; and f) requiring formal monitoring, benchmarking and a breakdown of data and statistics by sex.

Gender mainstreaming recognizes that differences among real-existing women may be just as substantial as those between "generic" women and men. It recognizes that the disadvantages that have historically accrued to one part of the species are not only socially constructed but also thoroughly entrenched in a whole spectrum of norm-forming institutions and political-economic structures. Legally embedded in the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty, all programs requiring EU funding will be "expected to spell out how they intend to promote equality between women and men -- before they obtain approval from the European Commission." The "expectation" will not only apply to the usual equal opportunity programs, e.g., vocational training, but also pertain to infrastructural projects, trade and transport initiatives, agricultural support and industrial reconversion measures. In my judgment, GM is the best thing to happen to women's/minority rights since the invention of the US class action suit. Actually it is better, insofar as it compels positive, preventative action rather than long-delayed punitive reaction, usually in response to the EU Court of Justice.

LINKING GENDER, DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABLE PEACE

The 1994 Cairo Population and Development Conference, along with the 1995 UN Women's Conference in Beijing, was the first to recognize a direct connection between women's or girls' access to education and material resources, on the one hand, and the elimination of deep-poverty, malnutrition, disease, child-marriage and extremely high infant mortality, on the other. The 1995 Beijing Platform added three new concepts to the strategic arsenal of women's equality activists around the globe: *reproductive health*, the

rights of the girl-child and *gender mainstreaming* (each one is worthy of a paper but GM includes the first two, so I will stick to the larger picture).

According to the UN's own studies, women held only 12.7% of the world's parliamentary seats, only 8.7% in least-developed countries as late as 1999. Women reportedly undertake 53% of all economic activities in the less developed states; only a third of their work is measured/incorporated into national accounting schemes, however, compared to three-quarters of male work activity. Although women account for over 60% of the labor force and contribute up to 80% of total food production in a varied of African countries, they receive less than 10% of the credit accorded to small farmers and only 1% of total credit that goes to agricultural ventures. Back in Central America/the Caribbean, only 7-11% of the clients benefiting from formal credit institutions are women.

Structural adjustment has taken its toll on the number of girls attending primary school, despite the fact that female literacy is the single most important variable in bringing down fertility rates and, with that, infant mortality. One quarter of all girls are not even enrolled in schools, compared to 16% among boys. Male literacy in less developed countries averages 61%, compared to 41% for females. Sri Lanka had a net primary enrollment rate for girls of 97%, compared to 70% for the region, until "structural adjustment" precipitated a roll-back; correspondingly, female youth illiteracy stands at only 7%, in contrast to 42% for South Asia as a whole.

Meanwhile, the proportion of women afflicted by HIV has doubled since 1992, to nearly 50%; in the poorest countries the number of female AIDS victims has risen dramatically in the 14-20 age group. Expect the AIDS rates to increase even more among the 130 million women subjected to female genital mutilation, a number that grows by another two million each year. According to world estimates, one in every three women experiences violence in an intimate relationship. It is hard to imagine that the application of gender mainstreaming in relation to development policy could only make things worse. Nearly twenty years of structural adjustment is the virus that has undermined UN initiatives since 1945.

SETTING THE EU PARAMETERS FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Time and space constraints preclude a comprehensive overview of EU development policies over the last five years; for those interested in learning more, I recommend the mother of all websites, www.europa.eu.int. The special budget line B7-6220 *Integration of Gender Issues into Development Co-operation* is a core vehicle for channeling technical support to ensure the inclusion of gender issues in Community development co-operation. Since 1998, 10.2 million Euros have been spent from this budget line. For 2001, the budget stood at 2.02 million Euros.⁹

As EU (Environmental) Commissioner Margot Wallstroem repeatedly stressed in preliminary documents for the Social Development Summit in Johannesburg 2002: it is time for "*turning words into effective deeds*" [Scandinavian women, it seems, have been especially "good for Europe"]. The EU, which already provides 55% of the world's international assistance, "ardently champions the cause of *sustainable development* articulated at the RIO and Kyoto environmental summits." Four EU member-states have met their self-declared goal of committing 0.7% of their GDP to foreign policy qua development assistance. The EU average stands at nearly 0.3%; the US contributes a paltry 0.1%, mostly in form of contracts with US companies.

The *sustainable development* platform of May 2002, collectively embraced by the EU Member-States, focuses on five core areas:

- a) *water, energy, health, agriculture & bio-diversity;*
- b) *quantifiable targets and timetables for implementation*
- c) *partnerships between governments, private economic sector and civil society*
- d) *combatting communicable diseases (AIDS, malaria, TB);*
- e) *setting a positive agenda for fair & free trade, "debt swaps"*

The EU has adopted new targets, articulated in Johannesburg, which call for cutting in half by 2015 the proportion of people lacking access to basic sanitation. According to the 1995 Human Development Report, 1.5 billion people live in poverty, 70% of whom are women. Half of the world's population lives on less than \$2 per day. [Author's note: Now

there's a novel idea -- actually using data, rather than trickle-down dogmas, as a foundation for policy!] Since 1960, income polarization between the richest and poorest 20% of the global family has tripled: 10% of the population receives 70% of its income; the three richest men on earth have assets equal to the total annual output of the 48 poorest nations.

In light of the fact that 1.2 billion people lack safe drinking water, the EU aims to halt the decline and restore fish-stocks by 2015; minimize harmful effects of chemical use/production by 2020. It will work collectively to reduce by half the number of people forced into extreme poverty through deforestation, desertification, by providing more adequate, affordable, renewable energy sources by 2015.¹⁰ Setting concrete goals and time-tables means "putting your money where your mouth is," and renders a government truly accountable for attaining these goals by the self-declared deadlines. Every Member-State will implement new national strategies on development by 2005 (its first treaties date back to 1963, 1969, e.g., the Yaounde and Lome Conventions). Clearly these policies will benefit men as well as women; a female-normed development policy tends to be very inclusive ("raising all boats"), however, while male-normed economic foci are substantially more exclusive in practice than they sound in theory.

The mother of all EU websites, www.europa.eu.int, offers a wide assortment of "best gender practices" in relation to community development-cooperation initiatives. I can offer only a few representative examples here:

Building synergies with Member States: In South Africa, donor co-ordination among Member-States has intensified the integration of gender into EU development co-operation. Under the auspices of the Swedish International Development Agency, there is now a new emphasis on regular donor co-ordination in relation to gender. The EU Delegation has hosted donor co-ordination meetings and participated in a donor-initiated "gender study" in development co-operation in South Africa.

Environmental Policy: In consultation with local officials on the Solomon Islands, gender research in the forestry sector has revealed the difficulty women have in “head-loading” cut timber. The immediate response of the sector specialists was to transfer the jobs to men, until discussions indicated that forestry work was a primary source of income for women; as a result, the EU delegation deliberated over improved, adapted technologies for use by women, e.g., a pull-and-tackle device, ultimately allowing the task to remain under women's control.

Educational Policy: Separate consultations with female and male students at the University of Technology in Lae (UNITECH) in Papua New Guinea made it clear that the two groups voice significantly different needs and demands, with concrete implications for EU-financed plans for infrastructural improvement on site. Men stressed a need for overall facilities improvement, e.g., additional gyms and computer equipment. Women desired the construction of women-only facilities, precipitated by frequent incidences of violence and rape. They appealed for secure fencing around the dormitories and the re-location of key facilities, e.g., computing centers INSIDE the fence to facilitate evening work. Although both groups requested better facilities for married couples, women tended to emphasize the need for mother and child quarters.

Health/AIDS/Population: The budget-line for HIV/AIDS is one of the few official lines specifying the integration of “gender issues” as a requirement for EU funding. Countries unwilling to meet this requirement are denied EU financing. Women-specific projects, targeting female genital mutilation, for example, are nonetheless maintained.

Gender integration in rural development: The EU recently established a GIGED (Gender and Development Inter-projects Group) network in Guinea Conakry. The initiative includes a permanent team of two to three national consultants and/or resource persons who work at various levels and in multiple sectors within the framework of the ACP-EU Agreement. This helps to ensure the gender integration into the development co-operation efforts of an ACP beneficiary, in conformity with the Council Resolution, the Lome Convention and national policy. Run the first year as an experiment, the project gave rise to GIGED 2,

financed under the National Indicative Program. The latter is supervised by a national NGO, the aim of which is to aid EU-Guinea co-operation partners to incorporating gender into all activities. The GIGED network is considered transitory, meaning it will be phased out when "capacity building" becomes self-sustaining. The success witnessed in Guinea Conakry has led to replications in Mali and Madagascar.

While many of these initiatives are of a pilot-project nature, one needs only to recall that many of the EU's own equal treatment initiatives first took root as mere "directives" during the 1970s and early 1980s. Women's intense lobbying efforts, e.g., by way of the European Parliament, subsequently led to the adoption of multi-year Action Programs that were also "experimental" in nature. Data accumulated during the second stage resulted in broader evaluations of "best practices" and, ultimately, contestations before the EU Court of Justice. The bottom line is that EU equality experiments have more often than not resulted in binding verdicts and codified law within a relatively short time span - if one thinks about how long unequal practices have been in place.

FROM SUPRANATIONAL STRATEGY TO NATIONAL POLICY: GERMANY

I now turn to the German example, not only because it is the country about which I know the most, but also because Germany -- one of our strongest, most reliable allies over a period of 50 years -- has had MAJOR fallings-out with the USA over peace questions in Afghanistan and Iraq. As of 1998, five of the fifteen federal ministers in the Schroeder Cabinet were female (*critical mass*); as of October 2002, their share rose to 50%. I will profile the activities of one of those women here.¹¹

Nicknamed "RED HEIDI" (as much for her preferred hair-color as for her late-60s brand of radical politics), Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul was named the Minister for Development and Economic Assistance (hereafter: MDEA) in 1998 under the new SPD-Green government. In fact, all but two members of the Schroeder Cabinet are members of the so-called "68 Generation," evincing radical political biographies and sympathies typical of that era. Wieczorek-Zeul was reappointed in October 2002 for another four years. With substantial support from FRG Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, she has infused

"her" ministry with new policy-priorities, including *gender mainstreaming* and the promotion of *civil society*. Gender needs now play a key role in structuring German developmental assistance to Third World countries ranging from Afghanistan to Zambia (Zimbabwe is proving rather intractable for reasons beyond anyone's control).

The Coalition Agreement of October 1998 embedded developmental assistance within the larger framework of German structural policies and peace-keeping activities, and vice versa. Several competencies were transferred to the MDEA, including responsibility for the administration of the EU's AKP Accords, the transformation program in Central/Eastern Europe, and the "Stability Package" for the Balkans. The Development Minister now holds a seat in the National Security Council as well.

As frequently noted in her speeches, Wierczorek-Zeul's policy initiatives derive their legitimation from developments at the international and supranational levels, particularly the 1995 Beijing Platform, the Beijing+5 Action Plan, the Copenhagen+5 Initiative, and the EU embrace of UN Action Plans. Her explicit conceptual framework includes not only *gender mainstreaming*, *empowerment*, and *rights of the girl-child*, as well as *sustainable development*. The Ministry actively embraces the recognition that *women's rights are human rights*. Gender mainstreaming is applied to all bilateral programs enjoying ministerial support, which does not preclude the use of women-specific initiatives to combat domestic violence and FGM. This requires women's participation in decision-making, in policy planning, program implementation and benefit distribution in the receiving country. Programs focus on expanding elementary and vocational education, micro-lending and small business creation. The MDEA has contributed \$40 million to support women's lobbying and educational groups in twenty countries, and even pays for Third World delegates to attend a variety of UN Conferences.¹²

Wierczorek-Zeul has called for a major restructuring of the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO; she openly criticizes the credibility of developed states for retaining protective tariffs vis-à-vis the world's 48 poorest countries, the elimination of which would add \$40 billion per year to their respective economies. The FRG has committed

itself to helping to cut global poverty in half by the year 2015. The Cologne G-8 Summit of 1999 adopted a debt-forgiveness campaign amounting to \$70 billion. In March 2002, the German government removed the so-called Washington Consensus -- *Let the market rule!* - from its own agenda, replacing it with the Monterrey-Consensus, grounded in cooperation, "good governance" and new principles of "ownership." By 2006, FRG will increase its foreign aid to 0.33% of the GDP.

The FRG has likewise agreed to support a 2001 G-8 Summit resolution in Genoa to establish a global AIDS fund, sponsoring a public-private partnership with the firm Boehringer/Ingelheim to prevent mother-to-child transfer of AIDS. Indeed, for a former anti-capitalist, Wierczorek-Zeul has been surprisingly active in her pursuit of partnerships with "free-marketers," more than 800 of them extending across 60 countries to date. Over the last three years, they have sponsored over € 3.2 billion's worth of pilot projects.

Wierczorek-Zeul has further (re)shaped development policy through an adherence to new labor protection, social justice and environmental sustainability standards, ignored by NAFTA on this side of the Atlantic. She has adopted the *Round Table* model of decision-making, incorporating representatives from major companies, unions and NGOs to oppose forced- and extreme forms of child labor, to foster union-rights, collective bargaining, and anti-discrimination rules at the workplace. The entire German government has admonished the US for its refusal to sign the Kyoto Agreement, stressing that the USA generates ten times more carbon dioxide emissions than China.

The Development Ministry has worked closely with the Foreign Ministry to address crises in "failed states," especially in Afghanistan, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Reporting on the first three years of the Balkan Stability Package, the Minister highlighted its three boundary-transcending elements: *Human Rights and Democratization, Economic Reconstruction and Development*, along with *Security and Defense*. Contributions totaled € 5.4 billion during the first two years, added to €3.47 billion in 2002. In January 2000, the National Security Council imposed new restrictions

on weapons exports and small weapons production, affirmed by a 2001 EU Initiative "Everything-But-Arms."

Since 1999, Germany has moreover designated women "the heart of a peaceful Afghanistan," expecting them to play a seminal role in the construction of a democratic civil society there; in 1977, women had occupied 15% of the seats in the Afghan parliament. Subsequent to the fall of the Taliban, the FRG hosted the Petersburg negotiations that put the Interim Karzai government in place. Recognizing that the official talks included less than 10% female delegates, Wieczorek-Zeul hosted a parallel "peace" summit for Afghan women at the same time as the Petersburg negotiations. The Red-Green Government then provided organizational support for the 1,500 delegates who assembled in Kabul, June 10-16, 2002, to decide on a two-year interim government. Hoping to establish a minimum quota of 160 female participants in the Loya Jirga, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation staged Women's Congress in Kabul shortly before, to promote nominations of female "pioneers" (one of whom was my former student, Belquis Ahmadi).

Having cultivated positive relations with Afghanistan prior to the 1979 Soviet invasion, Germany was among the first countries to offer active assistance after the collapse of the Taliban. One absolutely crucial measure was to re-open schools for girls, to the tune of €15 million: some 10, 560 girls entered grades one through six in fifteen special winter schools which opened in Kabul on January 15, 2001. Financed through the German Foreign Ministry, girls were given "catch-up" opportunities prior to regular commencement of the school year in March; now girls receive morning instruction while boys attend afternoon sessions.

Prior to 1990, women had comprised 70% of all teachers, 50% of the civil servants, and 40% of all physicians in Afghanistan. The FRG plans to raise female enrollments in co-ed schools from the post-Taliban rate of 3% to 20% by 2004. Like EU officials, this Minister relies on evidence provided by way of many UN campaigns:

When women were given equal access to education and agricultural inputs in Kenya, their yields increased by as much as 22 per cent. Sub-Saharan African states which

failed to provide equal educational access for girls have suffered a 0.7% DECLINE in economic growth every year for the last 30 years.¹³

One chief Foreign Ministry official sent to aid in Afghan reconstruction is Ursula Mueller, the former Equal Opportunity Officer responsible for gender main-streaming within the Foreign Ministry itself.

"Red Heidi's" ability to introduce these changes has been strengthened considerably by the undertakings of her female counterparts in the Cabinet. Soon after her appointment, Justice Minister Däubler-Gmelin insisted she would mount an active campaign against pornography, sex-trafficking, and domestic violence, issues directly linked to the rights of migrant women in the FRG.¹⁴ Foreign women (and men) are still denied "equal protection" under both German and EU regulations. Women abused as the spouses of migrant workers or as mail-order brides, and even women forced into prostitution by mafia-groups have been routinely deported for violating immigration law before they can testify against their abusers. During her previous tenure as Berlin's Senator for Labor, Christine Bergmann had provided new financial support for projects offering language and job training to Asian women, particularly from Thailand, forced to flee abusive partners; serving as Schroeder's Minister for Women, Seniors, Family and Youth from 1998-2002, she reinforced MDEA efforts along these lines. The adoption of a new Citizenship Law in 1999 (effective as of January 2000) has reduced the number of years required for naturalization, affording greater protection to second and third generation Turkish women regarding forced marriages, child-custody, and domestic violence.

Women were given special status under the 2002 *Law on Immigration and Integration*, although the Green's Federal Commissioner for Foreigners, Marieluise Beck, was afforded little opportunity to shape the legislation -- decisions in this policy area were controlled by (Green turned SPD) Interior Minister Otto Schily. While Schily had courted Conservatives in the Bundesrat on immigration issues at the expense of his Green coalition

partners, he did make one crucial concession during the final phase of negotiations over the immigration law (spring 2002) in that he incorporated a provision recognizing an independent right to asylum for women, based on gender-specific forms of oppression, e.g., female genital mutilation. This policy shift was an outgrowth of mass rapes perpetrated against the women of Bosnia-Herzegovina and women's persecution under the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Prior to a 2001 High Court ruling, the Federal Republic had refused to recognize asylum claims filed by Afghan women on the absurd grounds that they were not subject to persecution by state actors. According to legal purists, the Taliban regime that seized power in 1995 had only been recognized by two other governments. By contrast, the FRG had been uncharacteristically liberal in extending full asylum rights to persons fleeing persecution by the fundamentalist Islamic government in Iran since 1979, as well as in granting asylum to Turks who fled their country after the 1980 military coup. Unfortunately, Conservatives have used the Constitutional Court to block implementation of the new law, due to a controversial procedural move used to secure its passage in the Bundestag in April 2002. As of this writing, the law will have to run the gauntlet of parliamentary debates and approval all over again.

CONCLUSION

The European Union has become a key shaper of regional, structural and environmental policies, although completion of the Single Market and the three pillars of Maastricht have held mixed consequences for women as workers. The 1997 Amsterdam Treaty provides a new constitutional foundation for pressuring national governments into more expansive anti-discrimination and comparable-worth legislation, and offers a new foundation for combating racism and unequal treatment grounded in sexual orientation. The harmonization of immigration, asylum and European defense policies has a long way to

go, but the outcomes need not be detrimental to women - if women are included in ALL stages of the policy process.

EU women have entered a new stage in their *long march through the institutions*. The last five years offer tons of evidence ([www.europa.eu.int!](http://www.europa.eu.int)) of real political changes deriving from feminists' *critical acts*.¹⁵ Women's presence in top decision-making organs is now a given at national, international and supranational levels. The performance and efficiency of individual women leaders has increased dramatically over the last decade. Gender mainstreaming has modified the respective institutional culture by requiring that women's issues be made a routine part of the agenda. The prevailing political discourse has changed at virtually every level, accompanied by gender-sensitive changes in policy substance. Collective displays of *girl power* are beginning to reshape policy even in non-traditional arenas.

Perhaps the ultimate irony regarding the problem of unequal representation in Europe is that the Union as a whole has come to embody what might be labeled a *feminist concept of power*.¹⁶ During the course of its fifty-year history, a distinctive mode of (what feminists call) *power with* has replaced the more conventional mode of decision-making known as *power over* ("A's ability to make B do what B would not necessarily do"). The type of *supranationality* practiced by the Member-States entails neither an abdication of national authority nor the outright imposition of decisions from above but rather a "pooling" of sovereignty. The synthesis of inter-institutional and inter-governmental cooperation no longer allows for an exercise of power understood as a winner-take-all proposition. Rather, the most efficacious use of power in an age of increasing regional and global interdependence is one that invokes a *win-win* strategy.

If we really want to undermine our enemies, as well as the enemies of our enemies, NOTHING works as well as female literacy and equitably compensated employment, mixed with a liberal dose of freedom of expression. We now have a plethora of national, international and supranational data banks capable of proving this. Just look at how subversive education is: it allows people like me to fly around the country, urging women, in

particular, to reflect critically on the failure of US foreign policy under male-dominated War Cabinets! In Europe, meanwhile, it no longer comes as a shock to see a female Defense Minister discussing global conflicts on the evening news.

To achieve *sustainable peace*, we need to do much more than simply "avoid war," preemptively or otherwise. Imagine what kind of a world this could be if each and every one of our foreign policy decisions BEGAN with a consideration of how it would affect the life-prospects of women.

----- P-E-A-C-E GRAPHIC -----

***P* overty alleviation**

***E* ducational opportunity**

***A* ccess to political office**

***C* redit & resource distribution**

***E* nvironmental sustainability**

SOURCE: Joyce Marie Mushaben, "Girl Power: Looking for Peace in New Places through a European Lens," Presented at the 6th North Texas UN Conference on Women, University of Texas-Dallas, November 2, 2002.

Appendix A: Gender Mainstreaming: Concept and Definitions

GENDER: A concept that refers to the social differences between women and men, as opposed to the biological ones, learned or changed over time, often producing wide variations within and between cultures.

GENDER ANALYSIS: The study of differences in the conditions, needs, participation rates, access to resources and development, control of assets, decision-making powers, etc., as pertain to women and men in their assigned gender roles.

GENDER DISAGGREGATED DATA: The collection and separation of data and statistical information by sex to enable comparative evaluation and gender-specific analysis.

GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT: Established procedures for examining policy proposals to determine whether they will affect women and men in different ways, for the purpose of adjusting or adapting these proposals to ensure that discriminatory effects are neutralized and that gender equality is promoted.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING: The systematic integration of the respective situations, priorities and needs of women and men into ALL policies, in order to promote equality between women and men and mobilize all general policies and measures for the specific purpose of achieving equality by actively and openly taking into account, at the planning stage, their effects on the respective situations of women and men in implementing and monitoring.

GENDER PLANNING: An active approach to planning that takes gender as a key variable or criterion and seeks to incorporate an explicit gender dimension into policy or action.

Endnotes

¹ Joyce Marie Mushaben, *From Post-War to Postwall Generations. Changing Attitudes towards the National Question and NATO in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

² Michael Dobbs, "When an Ally becomes the Enemy. The U.S. supplied weapons to Iraq before 1990, now it denounces the buildup," *Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, January 6-12, 2003.

³ "The World at War - January 1, 2003," *The Defense Monitor* (Washington, D.C.: Center

for Defense Information, Jan/Feb. 2003).

⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, adopted 31 October 2000; further, Tatjana Sikoska and Juliet Solomon, "Introducing Gender in Conflict and Conflict Prevention: Conceptual and Policy Implications" (INSTRAW).

⁵ As cited in the Women in International Security (WIIS) JOBS HOTLINE Newsletter of September 27, 2002.

⁶ Glenn Frankel, "They Don't Like Us. The Iraq Crisis has pushed anti-Americanism into Europe's mainstream," *Washington Post Weekly Edition*, February 17-23, 2003.

⁷ Marc Kaufman, "Where War Continues. U.S. soldiers are fighting off attacks and instability in Afghanistan," *Washington Post Weekly Edition*, February 3-9, 2003.

⁸ Lesley Abdela, Abdela, "Peace-keeping missions are damaging the UN," *The Guardian*, February 3, 2000.

⁹ Unless otherwise noted, this information has been culled directly from the EU website.

¹⁰ Speech delivered by EU Commissioner Poul Nielson at the International Peace Academy, New York, 8 February 2002.

¹¹ For detailed profiles and evaluations of all of the women covered by Cabinet portfolios (including a few federal Commissioners), see Joyce Marie Mushaben, "Girl Power: Women, Politics and Leadership in the Berlin Republic," in James Sperling, ed., *The Federal Republic of Germany at Fifty-Five* (Manchester University Press, forthcoming 2004); and "Girl Power, Mainstreaming and Critical Mass: Measuring the Effectiveness of Female Ministers in Germany's Red-Green Coalition, 1998-2002," forthcoming (*Women & Politics*).

¹² All information regarding the Ministry's activities derives directly from the official web-site, which can be accessed at <http://www.bmz.de>.

¹³ For more data along these lines, see *Engendering Development. Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice* (World Bank/Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁴ Däubler-Gmelin was forced to resign shortly after the 2002 elections, based on a specious comment she made in a pub during her own campaign., comparing the war-mongering activities of George W. Bush to the efforts of Margaret Thatcher and Adolf Hitler, *inter alia*, to distract the attention of voters from major economic problems at home. Shortly thereafter, Chancellor Schroeder took a concrete stand against aiding a US invasion of Iraq, which Condoleeza Rice then cited as evidence of a "poisoning of relations" between the two countries. US-FRG relations have been pretty horrible ever since.

¹⁵ Joyce Marie Mushaben, "The Politics of *Critical Acts*: Women and Leadership in the European Union," *European Studies Journal*, Vol. XV, No. 2: 51-91.