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Editorial

The very essence of who we are plays a very important role in our lives: our gender and our sexuality remain discriminatory elements in everyday life. What are policies missing?

Humans are funny animals. They are strongly dependent on their biology yet strongly detached from it. This new Schlossplatz³ issue does not look into the nature versus nurture debate, but explores sex in society and its interface with policy.

On sex, a variety of perspectives can be taken. As a starting point: sex is a biological definition based on genetic and phenotypic attributes. This biological definition of humans is difficult to separate from the social definition of sex, i.e. gender. While these are two different things, they remain very connected in societies, as seen in education, politics, labour and environmental issues. In these spheres, sex is typically regarded as the societal distinction of gender, as corresponding to the biological sexes.

Sex, however, is not only limited to how individuals are defined; sex also brings about issues of sexuality and policy. How does one's sexual orientation affect their position in society? What policies are in place to create equality, not only between genders, but also between groups of people of different sexual orientations?

Sex also raises the issue of prostitution, the world's oldest profession. How do policies address it? What are viable solutions for protecting sex workers?

Sex is also a tool of violence. Rape is an unfortunately common example, along with instances of domestic violence. The punishment of sexual aggression raises complex societal issues.

It is also interesting to note which topics are not raised in this issue. Although we feel the topics covered in this issue represent a broad range of issues and perspectives, there are still some topics which were not explored in great detail. The inclusion of pieces which discuss the rigidity of social definitions of sex, sexuality, gender and health, and their exclusion from mainstream policy debates would have been interesting and beneficial; however, the identification and solicitation of such pieces proved to be difficult. This perhaps speaks to the taboo nature of sex in society, which is partly why we feel this issue of Schlossplatz³ was necessary.

The internationality of this issue is apparent: contributing writers come from all corners of the world and their articles focus on different regional areas.



About us

Schlossplatz³ is a policy magazine run by a student team at the Hertie School of Governance (HSoG). In our studies, we come across myriad fascinating and cross-cutting topics. We pick one of them for Schlossplatz³ and look at it from different perspectives.

In the current issue, a Hertie professor, Prof. Klaus Hurrelmann, has been invited to share the results of his research on gender balance and education. The Schlossplatz³ team also met with Prof. Rita Süßmuth, former German Federal Minister of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women and Youth to discuss the role of gender in different arenas.

Other guest writers include PhD candidates, researchers, a filmmaker, a literary scholar, and students and alumni from the Global Public Policy Network, especially from the Hertie School of Governance.

This issue of Schlossplatz³ not only addresses a very substantive and—at times—controversial topic, it also signifies a new direction for the magazine. One new element is an increased share of articles from Hertie students and alumni, as well as guest writers from the GPPN network. Also, as the only international student magazine on public policy, Schlossplatz³ is expanding the variety of perspectives found within each issue.

The literature corner provides a unique perspective on the gender equality debate, revisiting the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The film corner offers a list of films related to the current issue along with a review of a film screened at the Hertie School of Governance by the Hertie International Film Club.

As a student magazine, Schlossplatz³ also intends to inform you of life at Hertie. You will find pages dedicated to news regarding Hertie students and alumni, what we have been up to, and the recent successes that we have met.

Expect our next edition in the Spring of 2011, which will be published under a new name to reflect our newly refocused approach. Although further details regarding our name change shall not be revealed, we will inform you of our upcoming topic: “Identity (Crisis)”

In the meantime, we thank you for your continued support and interest, and invite you to enjoy our current issue.

Greetings from Berlin,
your Editorial Team

Gender Imbalance in Education: Ever More Women Make Use of the Historical Window of Opportunity

by KLAUS HURRELMANN

Over the past decades women have had an increasingly larger presence in academic and professional fields. What factors have caused this, and what are their implications?

Modern societies are characterised by social inequality. During the past twenty years, the distribution of economic and financial resources has become increasingly imbalanced. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. Such processes are well known in sociological research. Most societies tend to continuously reinforce the established hierarchies of social groups.

All the more surprising is a topical result of educational research: the gender hierarchy in an extremely important area of modern life, namely in education, is not continually reinforced; it has on the contrary been reversed. Young women are increasingly gathering more educational resources, and their exam performances at the secondary and college level are now much better than those of young men. Women obtain a majority of the best high school diplomas and university degrees in progressively more disciplines. Women are crowding into the higher education system; they make up two-thirds of the student body in the prestigious discipline of medicine at German universities.

This is very exciting from a political point of view. A long tradition of gender hierarchy which has existed for generations is now tottering on the edge. Formal educational institutions have been dominated by the male gender almost since their inception, both in

regard to the number of available spaces as well as the quality of the degrees. This era is drawing to a close. This is shown very clearly in the OECD's most recent comparative international school performance studies carried out in thirty of the world's leading highly developed countries. The "Program for International Student Assessment", called PISA for short, documents the educational disaster of the male gender in statistical figures. The PISA data refer to fifteen-year-olds, who have nearly completed their obligatory education in most countries. Competency in reading, science and math are ascertained in standardised texts. In a historical perspective, girls have improved their outcome, boys not.

This also applies to universities. Particularly in the US, there are considerably more women than men registered at universities and they more often also perform clearly better than their male counterparts. Many of them have even secured—unthinkable until recently—better positions at the start of their professional careers, including better incomes despite the fact that the traditional professions are still dominated by men and that the male networks function like a closed shop. The partition is crumbling, especially in the booming professional fields which deal with communication and knowledge processing.

The advancement of young women does not stop at the population groups which are usually at a disadvantage. For example, in the USA women obtain 66% of the bachelor degrees awarded to African Americans, 61% of the degrees awarded to Hispanic citizens, 60% of those awarded to Native Americans and 55%



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of those obtained by Asian Americans. Partly, the proportionate share of women is higher than among white Americans. This means that the advancement endeavours of young women are much stronger than those of men, also in educationally disadvantaged population groups. Women overcome the traditional socio-economic and socio-cultural barriers. This indicates very strong motivation and ambition. Furthermore, young immigrant women seem to receive more support from their families than do young immigrant men.

What is happening here comes close to a cultural revolution. Hierarchic patterns which have existed for generations are beginning to slide. If this trend con-

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tinues, a new phase of the “battle of the sexes” might be at hand, since young women have compiled so much educational capital that they are able to knock the men off their pedestal and take over in increasingly more political and economic fields.

How can these patterns be explained? In the last Shell Youth Study, the most important reference in adolescent research in Germany, the gender difference in family orientation caught our attention. Young women in Germany are committed to the traditionally established female role which requires a strong emphasis on harmony, community and network formation, social commitment and service to the community. They want to start a family and do not question “the three Ks” kids, kitchen and church (German: Kirche). However, they are not content to leave the traditional female role as it is and expand it. The Shell Youth Study breaks it down as follows: Nearly 80% of the twelve- to twenty-five-year-old girls

and young women want to have their own family and kids but also a successful educational and job career. They want to add a fourth “K” to the traditional “three Ks”, the career (German: Karriere)—and they are already on their way. This means that they are slipping in to the main areas of the traditional male role and developing a new, flexible way to femininity.

In contrast, among young men, only a minority of 40% at most are willing to abandon the traditional male role which is tightly connected to the professional career. The majority of young men are not willing to become involved in the areas of life deemed as “female” (kids, kitchen and church/community). They regard this type of role expansion as humiliating and beneath their dignity. Thus, they hold on to a very rigid male role and block alternative and flexible ways of exercising it. Most of the young men are completely unaware of how much they are limiting their own scope of action with this restriction and how they are impairing themselves in their capability to develop socially, culturally and economically. A critical reflection of the male role does not take place.

Similar tendencies can also be observed in other countries. In-depth analyses show that the slide in young men within the educational balance is connected to a lack of creativity and flexibility in coping with almost all the important development tasks in everyday life. This becomes apparent in three key sectors: leisure behaviour, value orientation and relationships.

The leisure behaviour is very important for regeneration, and in the case of children and young people, also for the development of creativity and reality perception. In this regard, young women demonstrate a widespread and multifarious pattern in which they combine handicraft activities with media and electronic impulses. In contrast, the use of electronic

media is most important to young men. Many of them spend too much time every day exposed to a constant media stream which lacks variety and stimulation and is hardly suited to promote intelligence or competence. This is detrimental to their overall development, including their school performance.

The same holds true with regard to their value orientation. Girls and young women are more skilful in exercising the virtue of self-discipline and self-management, in adapting to a kindergarten and school environment and in accepting the complex requirements of a social system. They are more flexible in adapting to their environment without giving up their opportunity of co-determination. Young men have

Looking closely at the educational statistics, it appears that young women have used this “window of opportunity” for the past twenty years. They recognised the unique chance to finally overcome their lower social status, as compared to that of men, by investing in education.

much more trouble in this respect. This could also have something to do with the fact that the majority of professional educators are women, especially in kindergartens and elementary schools. It has been proven in many surveys that the learning culture, selection patterns and evaluation criteria have been greatly feminised. Patterns oriented at harmony and smooth integration are not very much in line with the needs of young men.

Finally, in the third important development sector of relationships, it appears that young men have more problems in shaping their personal contacts than young women. Young men have more problems coping with the changed gender role in an individualised society. Most of the boys feel stressed by, and unable

to cope with, the openness of orientation, the vast variety of partnerships and lifestyle models. They yearn for a clear orientation similar to the social conditions their fathers and grandfathers experienced. Those days are long gone. But young men have not yet adapted to the changed requirements. At school, for example, they are very careful not to be regarded as soft or geeky. Many of them turn to primitive macho patterns of masculinity and put on a tough act, which is not quite performance enhancing.

The current research shows: young women are better equipped for shaping their own future in a changed environment. They are more innovative and flexible than young men and this is exactly the reason why their chances in the educational system are better. In addition to this, they encounter a female-dominated selection culture which constitutes a severe handicap for young men.

Looking closely at the educational statistics, it appears that young women have used this “window of opportunity” for the past twenty years. They recognised the unique chance to finally overcome their lower social status, as compared to that of men, by investing in education. Not necessarily consciously but nevertheless effectively, they play with the rules of the achievement-oriented society and make the appropriate investment: they collect educational capital which will sooner or later be useful for their career. The male defence bastions on the executive floors, also in German companies, will surely not withstand the female pressure very much longer. In addition to this, companies need innovative employees in order to meet the increased global competitive requirements, and this innovative potential is guaranteed by young women.

At the moment it does not seem as if there is any active male resistance against the progress of young women on the job ladder. Apparently, most men in executive positions and on established professional levels have not yet recognised the gravity of the situation. The young men in the educational system observe with confusion, and partly with anger, that women are surpassing them at schools, at universities and in professional training. As long as they do not protest against their structural disadvantages, but only moan with resignation, this round goes to their female competitors who use their chance in a discrete and elegant manner.

Do Women Act for Women in Congress?

Should They?

by ANGÉLICA PULIDO SOLARES

The article explores the increasing role played by women in the Mexican Congress as representatives and agents of women at large, and addresses the question of whether there is indeed a direct correlation in improvement of female rights and higher female representation in the Parliament.

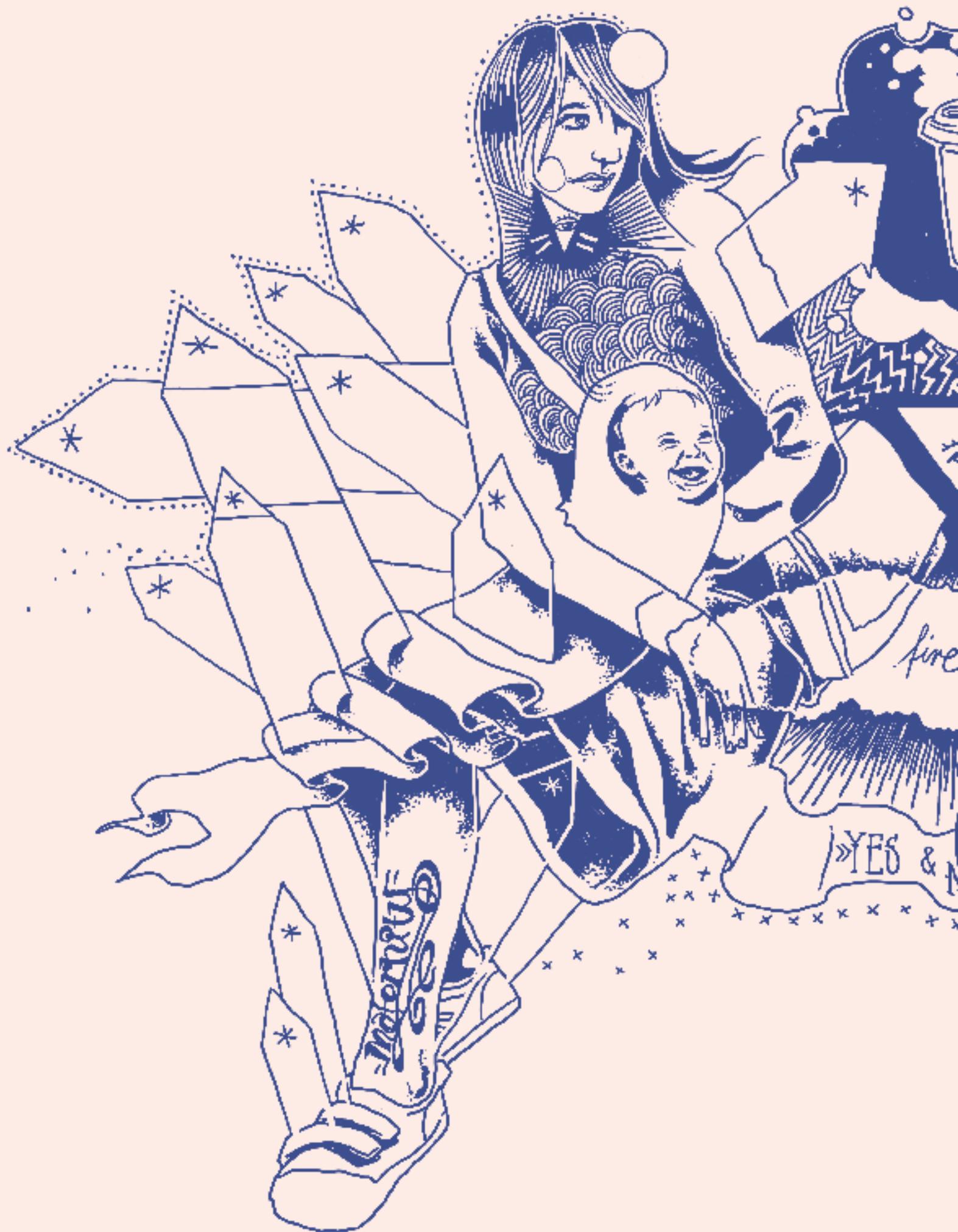
According to the Inter-parliamentary Union, only 19.1% of the parliamentarians around the world are women. This clear under-representation of women in Congress has sparked an on-going debate about which practices are best for dealing with this problem. Affirmative action tools are used in a lot of countries to successfully increase the number of women in Congress.

Are women more interested than men in defending women's issues? Is the division of issues into women's issues and other issues a legitimate one?

As most of the literature and the debate have been concentrating on the access of women to Congress, a topic that has been mostly ignored and scarcely researched is what women do once they are part of Congress. Are women more interested than men in defending women's issues? Is the division of issues into women's issues and other issues a legitimate one? The present article will explore the questions by reflecting about the role that women have been playing in the Mexican Congress and how gender influences the type of initiatives proposed.

The discussion about the representation of women comes hand in hand with the ongoing discussion on whether there is a "correct" composition of a Congress. One school of thought defends that the integration of Congress should mirror the exact integration of a population, recognising this type as "descriptive representation". The main argument is that descriptive representatives are more likely to pursue and defend group-related interests than other groups because they have common interests or have shared certain experiences. However, one question that arises is about the extent to which a group is important enough to acquire a seat in Congress. Who decides which groups are important and which are not, keeping in mind that there is an established number of seats?

In contrast to the idea of descriptive representation, the concept of substantive representation was defended by Hanna Pitkin in her book "The Concept of Representation"¹. According to the book, the actions of parliamentarians become more important than their presence and they are to act on behalf or in the interest of the represented. The problem with this view is that it is hard to know exactly for whom a representative is acting, if it's just for herself or if she takes into consideration her constituency.





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Before coming to Hertie, ANGÉLICA PULIDO SOLARES worked at the National Council for Culture and the Arts in Mexico. Her interests lie in gender studies and public management. She is now completing her MPP at the Hertie School with a focus on public management.

In response to both kinds of representation and trying to reconcile them, Anne Phillips² proposes the “politics of presence”. For her, political representation does not only entail a representation of diverse ideas, but also the representation of diverse groups of citizens. Active representation becomes more important than passive representation, or just “being there”. If women as a group become part of Congress, it is important to know what they are doing. When Congress was made up of only male legislators, most women’s issues were not brought into the legislative agenda. The presence of women has been needed in order for women’s issues to be included into the legislative arena.

In order to know if women propose and defend women’s issues more than men, a more comprehensive study needs to be done. For the purposes of the article, I will look only at simpler numbers and relationships. Mexico has 500 congressional seats in the lower chamber. During the LVII (1997—2000), LVIII (2000—2003) and LIX (2003—2006) legislatures, the percentage of women reached 17.4%, 16% and 22.6% respectively. The total legislative initiatives reached 5228 in the three legislatures, with only 198, i.e. 3.8%, being initiatives that deal with women’s issues. From this 3.8% of initiatives of women’s issues, 129 have been proposed by women and only 58 by men. The other 11 were proposed by the Executive, a party or a committee. Also, as the number of women increased (from 87 to 80 to 112) the number of initiatives on women’s issues has also increased, going from 29 to 42 to 116. The topics of the initiatives on women’s issues cover a very broad range, the most important topics being the institutionalisation and promotion of the gender perspective, labour rights and the right to a life without violence. Other topics that have also been discussed in initiatives are: political participation rights, childhood rights, access to social security rights, equality and non-discrimination rights, health services rights, sexual and reproductive rights and education rights.

Many will wonder about the division into initiatives that deal with women’s issues and others types of initiatives and how such a division can be done. Women’s issues can be defined as those issues where the consequence of a policy has an immediate and direct impact to a larger extent on women than men. Women’s issues can also be divided into two: issues that have a gender dimension and issues that deal with the more traditional areas of interest for women, like family, education and well-being.

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The presence of women in the Mexican Congress has changed the dynamics inside the chamber. Thanks to the presence of women, new topics have been introduced into the legislative agenda. Even if the universe of legislative initiatives on women’s issues is still a small one, its increase is a reality. The simple presence of more women has opened up the floor to new topics that had never before been taken into consideration.

Many will oppose the idea of women acting only for women in Congress. To them I respond, if not them, who will? Even if the role of congresswomen is not exclusively to promote and defend women’s issues, women have been playing the role of agents of change in the Mexican Congress.

1 Pitkin, Hanna. *The Concept of Representation*. Berkley, LA: University of California Press, 1972.

2 Phillips, Anne. *The politics of presence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Women's Reservation Bill: A Step Forward for India?

by SONJUHI SINGH

Debate regarding gender inequity and representation disparity in India reached a critical point with the passage of the Women's Reservation Bill. Is this the right direction for India?

The historic Women's Reservation Bill was passed by the Upper House (Rajya Sabha) of the Indian Parliament on 8 March 2010, securing the votes of 186 out of the 245 members. The bill now has to be passed by the Lower House (Lok Sabha) and receive the President's ascent to become a law. While the bill has a number of supporters with India's two biggest political parties, the Congress and the Baharatiya Janta Party (BJP) fully backing it, at the same time, it has received opposition from many political groups and intellectuals. The following essay aims to examine the bill from the liberal and radical feminist positions to gain greater insight into the controversy surrounding it.

The bill aims at strengthening the position of women by providing them with greater representation in government offices by fixing a quota. The quota states that 33% of the seats in the lower house and the legislative assemblies should be reserved for women. Seats are to be reserved in different constituencies every election based on a system of rotation. Every five years the reserved constituencies would change, covering all constituencies within fifteen years, after which the quota would be removed.

Before delving into the liberal and radical feminist view, it is important to note that both groups agree that there has been inequality of sexes in both the private and political sphere and that there is a need to bring about changes. The groups however differ in their views on the right mechanism to increase female participation in politics.

Jayanthi Natarajan, a congress MP to the Rajya Sabha, argued women need reservation in Parliament and state legislatures because society is “paternalistic” and it is difficult for them to contest and win elections against the “established and entrenched male chauvinistic order in the society.”¹ She maintains that “Unless this quota is given there will never be a chance

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of enough women in decision-making places, such as Parliament and the state assemblies.”² This statement sums up the main argument made by liberal feminists.

According to these women, affirmative action is needed for a variety of reasons: in the Indian context there are serious gender related problems like that of foeticide, a skewed sex ratio and domestic violence, which need to be addressed. Despite some big political leaders like Indira Gandhi, Sonia Gandhi and Mayawati, most women lag behind men in every field, especially education and employment. Presently women only make up 11% of the parliament unlike neighbours like Bangladesh and Pakistan where women have 15% and 30% of the parliament seats.³

It is believed that such an inclusion of women would lead to more gender sensitised politics. Such a policy would increase the pool of female talent at the top. The

success of women in the Panchayats (village level local governing bodies), with 33% reservation for women, has often been quoted as an example. “Women who head Panchayats have proved to be more focused than men on the real issues of roads, health, schools and water,” Ranjana Kumari, head of the Centre for Social Research, Delhi has mentioned.⁴

The Radical feminist position argues that women are still at a disadvantage in the parliament, which remains a man made structure that encourages greater male participation in the public sphere. Hence the redesigning of institutions and change in the mindset of people is needed rather than mere quotas for substantial change to occur. Such a bill is nothing more than an attempt on the part of the government to please the female population, while the power structure between the two genders remains the same.

Most powerful male members of the party would give tickets to these seats to female relatives who will remain nothing more than proxy candidates while the real power is still exercised by the males.⁵ Also, it might only benefit the educated elite and the higher caste women who have the capability and the acceptance to stand in these positions, hence the voice of the marginalised women would still not be heard.

The quota further cripples the women as they are seen as less able to win elections on their own terms and need to bend the system in order to get representation. Also, they would be fighting against each other, proving that they are not capable of contesting against men. It would ‘ghettoise’ women; force them to fight in constituencies where the reservations are, as they would not be allowed by their parties to fight from any other area.



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Due to the one third rotation, women will not be able to nurse their constituency and they will also be unable to establish strong ties with the electorate as they could govern one constituency for no longer than five years, reducing their chances of winning the elections once the quota is disbanded.

The way forward

While the radical feminist would argue for a complete overhaul of institutions, language and culture, the liberals would look at the bill as a great step forward. The complete change of the political system is impractical and unfeasible; neither those who are in power would let such changes happen and also, a large majority of people identify with this form of democracy as the right fit for India, making it hard to imagine the imposition of a different system. Hence

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the solution has to be worked out within the political setup. Under such circumstances, it can be agreed that while a quota is an affirmative step in the right direction, more substantial changes are required.

Madhu Kishawar, the editor of the feminist journal *Manushi*, argues that more comprehensive electoral reforms and far reaching steps need to be taken.⁶ According to the alternative bill suggested by *Manushi*, there should be reservation within the party where they are given a certain number of tickets to female candidates rather than reserving constituencies.⁷ By doing so, women have the freedom to participate in elections in any constituency and could compete with men.⁸ To conclude, while the liberal view highlights the merits of the bill, the radical view gives a good critique, highlighting the need to make more far-reaching changes. Incorporating insights from both these views can provide the right step forward for the Women’s Reservation Bill.

1 Sagarika Ghose, ‘Women’s Reservation Bill: the Facts, the Myths, CNN-Ibn, March 14 2010 <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/womens-reservation-bill-the-facts-the-myths/111485-3.html>

2 Ibid.

3 Indian MPs Approve Women’s Bill, BBC news, 9 March 2009, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/8557237.stm>

4 Amrit Dhillon, ‘Critics Question the Bill, Al Jazeera, 2 April 2010, <http://english.aljazeera.net/focus/2010/03/201032419359607137.html>

5 Putting up wives and Daughter in laws as proxy candidates has been common practice. The most famous example is that of Lalu Prasad Yadav, the Chief Minister of Bihar, when he was caught in the fodder scam he resigned and Rabri Devi, his wife, became the chief minister and was nothing more than a puppet in Lalu’s hand.

6 Madhu Kishawar, ‘Equality of Opportunity vs. Equality of Results: Improving Women’s Reservation Bill’ *Economic and Political Weekly* 35 (2000), 4151–6.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

A Discussion on Gender with Prof. Rita Süßmuth

Interview carried out in German by JOST GEIMER and SASCHA WAGNER

Schlossplatz³ met with Prof. Süßmuth in her Berlin office and discussed the role of the equality of the sexes in our present time. What is the key to overcome inequality and can we even observe a new perception of the social role of sexes?

Schlossplatz³: As minister of health, family, youth and women you actively worked for equal women's rights. What is the situation today, are women still discriminated against in the year 2010?

Rita Süßmuth: One topic, which plays an important role in the current media and business associations, is women in leadership positions. If there were enough,

**Education is the most important basis
for increasing employment.**

no one would talk about it. In the 80s it was not an issue which was addressed by the industry with the level of attention and support we see today. Then it was more a consequence of the general neglect of women's competence. Today's discussion shows that there is a positive development, but we are still in the process not at the end.

Second of all: The issue would not be discussed as much, if women were not needed. All sectors have had bad experiences and the economy recognises that we are heading towards a massive bottleneck due to



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the Consortium of Germany Universities for the Turkish-German University in Istanbul (K-DTU). Prof. Süßmuth was Chair of the Independent Council of Experts on Migration and Integration and holds a series of other positions with national and international bodies such as President of the German Poland Institute and member of the UN high level commission UNAIDS.

the demographic change. We had early indicators for this development. When I was minister (1985—88), 38% of women were in work, today the percentage well above 60%. But still women are paid less, even though they have the same qualification. Today there is no more women’s movement in the original sense. But change is possible. We have to focus the debate on the social disadvantages women still experience, but at the same time point out the potential of their higher education. To reach this goal we need both: legislation and change in consciousness. In some areas this process takes a long time, while in others progress is being made fast due to several reasons. The industry for example has realised that heterogeneity of gender, as well as cultural, strengthens our workforce and creative power.

Given that women in the former GDR were employed in high numbers, couldn’t the employment rate in the unified Germany have been affected by the accession of the new East German states?

I would not exclude this factor, but I could point to more relevant fields. It should be noted that women’s participation in the GDR was partly enforced by the state. There were also other issues in the reunification process, such as the protection of unborn life and the right to a kindergarten, which were introduced after reunification. It is a multifaceted process; the expansion of childcare can be attributed to the former GDR. Ideology aside, the former childcare in (West-) Germany could not keep up, to some extent due to the increasing employment of women. If asked “what was the most important basis for the increasing employment of women”, I would answer that it was and

continues to be education! And women have made much use of it. It used to be the idea that professional education for women could do no damage—from the men’s point of view—but it would not lead to a profession, instead end in marriage.

As women were increasingly educated, they acquired the necessary skills that allowed further steps towards independence. The previous situation of women was similar to that of functioning illiterates today. With this example, I am attempting to highlight the role education plays in both processes: when illiterates learn to write, it opens up a whole new world to them. However, this notion that achieving talent and education comes together with the right and will of women to professionally use it, has not arrived in our society and we still have a long way to go.

Are you in favour of a quota in management areas?

The short answer is yes, I am in favour of a quota. I have always maintained that if one does not want the quota, the woman must take the initiative. The question whether to have a quota or not cannot be answered easy, but in times without a quota, hardly anything had been done for women in leadership positions. In the fields of science and economics there is still a lot of catching up to do. It is not about quota over quality; it is about the same quality for a prescribed fraction. To me, the justification is political, if nothing has happened to close the gap, something has to be done in form of target agreements or quotas.

It is our understanding that you have opposed your own party on this subject. Is this the case?

Yes and I encountered some considerable resistance in doing so. But if I would have refrained from acting just because I feared resistance in my party, I hardly could have done anything. Not only in politics but in various fields one will have to face opposition when

trying to make changes. Furthermore, such cases are not just about women but also about all disadvantaged groups. One's attitude must remain that change is possible, even when the extent of the resistance seems daunting. If you do not try, you already failed. One should not give up but rather discover where the error was made and adjust to it; when defeated, we learn from our errors.

Today there is no more women's movement in the original sense.

Are men discriminated against?

You have to keep in mind that the over-emphasis of one group does not lead to the discrimination of another, such as the role of the man. These things have to be carefully monitored to prevent future issues from arising.

Much more positive is the transformation of men, for example their role in raising children. Our society is very heterogeneous and chauvinistic tendencies still remain, but I believe that these tendencies are giving way to favourable ones. The previous image was that a man does not cry, is completely disciplined, and has no fear. Today, something has changed in the young generation and they admit fear. This opening up of role models via bringing in both brain and emotions is undoubtedly rising.

Which country is an example of equality?

In regards to women and gender issues, much can be learned from the Scandinavian countries. France and Belgium stand as good examples when it comes to balancing work and family. And Canada comes to mind when the issue is dealing with disadvantaged groups. Most European countries address the issues in a much more pragmatic way as Germany does. One can also learn from Africa and India, where we see lots of strong women in many positions in society, politics and economy. They were strengthened by resistance as well as distress.

How should we deal with cultural and social thinking, in which the role of women is still extremely conservative?

Just as we deal with ourselves. What I learned in time of emancipation is that one must free one's self from heteronomy.

Some 100 or 150 years ago, our society was not too different from today's Muslim societies. But we have gone through a long, long process. For the societies which still have a strong patriarchal order, this process will be shorter, but not just 3 to 4 years as people seem to expect. The right to education is a fundamental human right and the key to equality, whatever the cultural background might be. I believe that all human rights are not partial, but universal. The greatest difficulty is how to help those who lack education.

Role models are opening up.

One answer is adjusting and enforcing the legislation. Living together only works on the basis of agreed rules. People from extremely conservative societies are subject to the same conditions as everybody: give them the chance to learn, give them education and training opportunities, give them the opportunity for an independent living and their willingness to accept and live by these rules will adjust.

Gender Equality Backstage:

Who is Taking Care of Households When Women Work?

A Look behind the Scenes

by ELISABETH MUELLER and GREGOR EPPINGER

Over the last decades, the employment rate of women increased significantly in Germany. Many women found and fought their way from kitchen stoves and low paid labour to prestigious and interesting jobs. Although still underrepresented in upper management, and overrepresented in low wage positions. The numbers are impressive. But who is actually taking care of all the households, when women work for money and self-realisation? Who nurses the babies and the elderly, when the mothers, daughters and wives labour elsewhere? Do private or public institutions step in? Or was the gender equality discourse so fruitful that men share the workload at home?

With these questions we start our journey at households in Berlin and find that usually women are doing the so-called second shift in their spare time. We also find some partnerships where role models have been transformed. But there is another phenomenon in reproductive work that is more dominant than men in aprons, which leads us to Adrian. He is a young schoolboy who lives in Choszczno, a small country town in the West of Poland 210 km east of Berlin. In Poland, about 30% of all people live below poverty level. Adrian lives above the poverty line, as both his parents have jobs. His father works in the local grocery store, his mother works in Berlin. About one third of all children in Poland have one parent working abroad.

In Adrian's class, even half of the children have a parent migrating for labour—revealingly—in all cases the mothers. Adrian considers himself lucky, because his mother comes to visit once a month. His friend Piotr is less fortunate, as his mother works in Ireland and can only visit once every four months. Children like Adrian and Piotr are called Euro orphans. The situation is so prevalent, that their school even offers psychological assistance to these children.

Many economists consider the global care chain a win-win situation: the need for reproductive labour in industrialised countries is filled by migrants who prosper and are able to support their families. However, this perception overlooks the issues which are created along the chain.

Back in Berlin we meet Paula. She is seven years old and lives with her parents in an apartment in Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin. Both of Paula's parents work, like Adrian's. But luckily they work in Berlin, so she is not a Euro orphan. Her mother started working full-time again when Paula was four years old. Paula's father also has an interesting career, which often requires long hours. Since both of them work full-time, Elena picks Paula up from school, cooks and has lunch with her. When we ask Elena how she feels about Paula, she tells us that Paula reminds her of her own son, who is about the same age.

Elena explains to us that she misses her son Adrian terribly. But her husband's income is not enough, and jobs in Choszczno are rare and low paid. So she decided to work in Germany for a few years. In order to send as much home as possible, she rents a small room in a shared flat with other Polish women. Elena starts her workday at five thirty, cleaning office buildings in the early and private homes during the later morning hours. Then she labours the rest of the day at Paula's.

Elena is part of what Arlie Russel Hochschild coined the global care chain, a series of links between people across the globe based on reproductive work. In Elena's case the chain looks like this: Because Paula's mother in Berlin got a job, she cannot take care of her child and household. Since her husband does not step in either, they create a deficit of labour. Elena from Poland—who is able to earn more when she migrates to a richer country—takes care of the child and household in Berlin. As her home is too far to commute every day and her husband does not participate in domestic work, her migrating creates a new gap. Elena's mother who lives in the neighbourhood fills this gap. In other cases, if grandmothers or sisters cannot step in, the chain might link another woman from rural Poland

or from poorer countries such as Ukraine. The global care chain is predominantly female. Almost every chain ends with a woman who does care work without getting paid.

Elena is only one example of the new domestic world order. The feminisation of migration has become a global phenomenon. Women already account for 48% of all labour migrants. Whereas in traditional migration countries like the U.S.A., Canada and Australia the percentage is even higher, Europe is catching up. Many economists consider the global care chain a win-win situation: the need for reproductive labour in industrialised countries is filled by migrants who prosper and are able to support their families. However, this perception overlooks the issues which are created along the chain.

Industrialised countries do not see an issue with female migrants, as they are invisible. The effects on their economies are more subtle. With the brain drain in poorer countries, these economies can hardly improve. Moreover, women like Elena usually invest their earnings in fixed private assets instead of infrastructure and business, creating a price increase in real estate and consumer goods. Consequently, the labour migrants press others to leave the country as well. This fluctuation fires back on richer European nations, as they have to support the economically underdeveloped regions.



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A look into how the Polish media recently changed its tone shows another issue: tensions arise when millions of wives and mothers work abroad and suddenly become the principal earner. Once celebrated as patriots, these women are now denounced as egotistical capitalists who abandon their families—hence the term Euro orphans. In order to live with these accusations, prosperity becomes even more important to them for compensation. Elena tells us about many fellow women, whose marriages broke and who

Is this what we call gender equality? Until now, in Germany, the costs of gender equality in economy are carried by women, whether nationally by German women doing the second shift or transnationally by female migrants within the global care chain. In other words, we have to seriously reconsider the distribution of reproductive work, when analysing gender equality. With demographic change progressing, the care deficit will only increase over time. Certainly, the discourse about work life balance has to include broader structures of employment. We have to start thinking about how to seriously increase men's contribution to domestic labour, how to institutionalise reproductive work, how to make it more visible and actually remunerate it appropriately.

The authors thank the Stiftung Menschenwürde und Arbeitswelt (Foundation Human Dignity and Working Environment) for funding the research.

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decided to stay in Germany, although—having the least respected jobs—they do not really participate in German society. Many start with the intention to stop after a couple of years. In their hometowns they are rich and respected, and there is always another dream, which has to be earned for first. And then it is suddenly too late to stop, ongoing expenses which are far too big have to be covered, and children and husbands become alienated. Some of them do not even stop labouring when they are eighty years old.

Of Women, their Babies and Men

by CORINA MURAFI and ZOË ROBAEY

Gender equality is certainly in a better shape in today's world. However, structural issues keep hindering the achievement of true equality. This article questions how policies for mothers try and yet fail to promote greater gender equality.

In the context of a welfare system that is increasingly pressured by its ageing population, one thinks governments would employ all possible means to encourage women and men to build or expand their families, helping countries reach the 2.1 replenishment rate required to sustain a population. However, birthrates remain at their usual low, while the ageing population increases the stress on the current working population. The result is an imbalance of the welfare system found in most European countries. What are governments missing? Simply put, they do not understand what women want and need.

In general, both women and men participate in the making and rearing of a child, however, it is the woman who bears the child for nine months, gives birth and stays with it in its young years. Over the past decades, middle class women have become increasingly educated. In their fight for workplace equality, women have slowly given up their role at home. Several career women never find the "right" time to start a family, miss their "window of opportunity" and become comfortable in their way of life without children. Child bearing is socially desirable, yet amongst educated women in the workforce, it has become a

question of choice. Would they choose to halt their career and go through the physical hurdle of rearing a child? Rationally, many would say no.

This is mostly because the policies of equality in the workplace have not yet reached home. In this sphere, the woman is seen as the breastfeeder, not the breadwinner. Policies encourage her to stay at home and take care of the child, but disregard the effort she has put in building a career. In the meantime, the other parent, the father most of the time, becomes the main breadwinner. His career continues, while hers stagnates.

An ideal set of policies for increased gender equality would allow women and men to split their parental leave however they decided, would provide a better financial incentive for parents to choose to have children and would provide for reliable childcare for parents who cannot afford a private one. Governments need to provide a fluid system for supporting women to choose different possible paths for how they would like to imagine their family lives. In broad terms, women could be divided into three socio-economic

categories: the poor, who usually have high fertility rates; the mid-income ones, for whom government pro-maternity policies play a role in their childbearing decisions; and the very rich ones, who have babies (or not) irrespective of what the government mandates. Unfortunately, governments seem to be targeting the middle category the least, as illustrated by the cases of Romania and Germany, a new and an old EU member state.

Like most other Eastern European countries twenty years into the post-communist transition, Romania is faced with a dire demographic future. Extremely low birthrates (from 2.2 children/woman in 1989 to a constant of 1.3 children/woman from 1995 onwards) are coupled with an increasing outward migration of young people. In 20 years Romania has lost more than 2 million of inhabitants. The so-called dependency report right now in Romania is 1:3. This means that for every breadwinner, man or woman actively participating in the labour market, there are 3 dependents—senior citizens, disabled, children. The United Nations Population Fund has warned that by 2050, the dependency report in Romania will triple. Every worker will need to sustain nine dependents, in a country whose welfare and pension system are based on the “contract between generations”. Romania is following the general European trend of increasing life expectancy rates, so the only solution for ensuring a sustainable development for future generations is at the bottom of the age pyramid. Women and families must be encouraged to have more children.

Unfortunately, the Romanian government seems to be really confused as to what it should do to encourage fertility and gender equality at the same time. Each newborn receives about 50 Euro per month, for two years. Afterwards, the child receives 10 (ten!) Euros per month, until he/she turns eighteen. The mother is

entitled to a maximum of four months maternity leave, split equally before and after the child’s birth. During this time, the employer pays her normal wage and is not allowed to fire her. In addition, the mother or father can opt for quitting their job and staying home with the baby, for a maximum of 20 months, after the mother’s initial maternity leave is over. During this time, the government pays the non-employed parent a monthly allowance worth 85% of his/her average salary during employment, with a minimum threshold of 150 EUR and a maximum one of 800 EUR. In 2007 Romania had 40 public nurseries for its entire population of 21 million people. Costs in a private nursery can go up to 400 EUR/month. Given the recent need for budget cuts, the policy area where the government decided to save money was the parental allowance: it was cut 15% starting June 2010. It still seems having both a job and a child will remain difficult.

In Germany, the shy birthrate of 1.38 children per woman in 2008, shows a very slight increase from 2007, a year that marked the instatement of several reforms in parental leave policies. Today, if only one parent goes on leave, she/he can take 12 months of paid parental leave, if both parents do, they can share a leave of 14 paid months with a financial sup-

The woman is seen as the breastfeeder, not the breadwinner.

port going up to 67% of her or his salary. The first 14 weeks are covered to a 100% for the mother. The monthly compensation can go between 300 EUR and 1800 EUR/month. The leave is financed partly by health insurance and the employer, and must not be taken consecutively in the first year of life of the infant. Parental leave can be extended for up to three years for both parents, although without financial compensation, and their position or a similar one remains guaranteed at their workplace. This policy has allowed the number of men applying for parental



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leave to increase from 3.5% to 7%, nevertheless, only less than 1% of German men do stay at home for a year. These policies are clearly geared towards more gender equality and face perhaps cultural resistance explaining the limit in their impact so far.

However, this policy is accompanied by policies for childcare including allowances and infrastructure for children. Child allowances (Kindergeld) consist of 184 EUR/month for the first and second child, 190 EUR/month for the third child and 215 EUR/month for all further children. Is this a real incentive to expand a family? In France, the first child does not qualify for allowances, only the second, making it an incentive to have a second child. Hand in hand with allowances

If governments want to support middle class women in pursuing both having a career and a family, they need to look at the ensemble of their policies and make sure they all go in the same direction

for children are the places in kindergarten (Kitas). Currently, the capacity of kindergarten is insufficient. Plans to expand until 2013 should create a guaranteed space for 35% of children under three years old. This still remains highly insufficient and middle class women will more likely have the means to stay at home than poorer women, further anchoring them in a traditional gender role and impairing the success the equalitarian parental leave policy.

If governments want to support middle class women in pursuing both having a career and a family, they need to look at the ensemble of their policies and make sure they all go in the same direction. This article outlined strength and weaknesses found in Romania and Germany through a critical view on family policies. Different countries face different challenges because of their history and socio-economic context, however, they face the same challenges in the ageing population and overloaded welfare system, there they can look for inspiration from each other on how to create a better life quality for young parents.

Gender and Climate Change

by GODEFROY GROSJEAN

The issue of gender and climate change is rarely on top of people's minds. This article sheds light on the reality that natural disasters have more adverse effects for those of the fairer sex. The analysis touches on topics ranging from agricultural output to psychological ramifications and provides a number of solutions to decrease their vulnerability.

There is no doubt that climate change has gained momentum over the last years both in the media and in political spheres. In November and December 2010, debates on the issue are likely to gain even more public attention during COP-16, the Conference of Parties under UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, in Cancún. While these discussions concentrate mainly on international CO₂-emissions mitigation and finance, the potential effects of climate related disasters on vulnerable populations are often neglected. However, the intensity as well as the likelihood of natural catastrophes are expected to increase due to global warming, weakening dangerously countries with low capacity to deal with the consequences of climate extremes.

If less developed nations are more likely to be hit harder by climate change related disasters, differences in resilience within those countries are also growing. Richer, urban and educated people are often more resilient than poor and rural populations. In addition, the impact of natural hazards is not the same when differentiating the male and female populations. Indeed, gender inequalities related to catastrophes worsened by climate change are increasing. International research has shown that women tend to be much more vulnerable to such events than most men.

In fact, women, boys and girls have a 14 times higher chance to die during natural disasters. During the tsunami in 2004, nearly 80% of the victims were women.¹ Higher vulnerability of the female population is linked to existing gender inequalities, such as socialisation differences (they are less endowed with skills such as swimming or tree climbing than males) or restricted mobility in public places. Women accounted for 90% of the 140,000 fatalities of the floods in Bangladesh in 1991; many of them died waiting for relatives to return home and escort them to a safer place.²

Women are paying a particularly high price to natural disasters. In emerging countries like Vietnam or China, large migration trends from rural to urban areas can be observed. When the husband is migrating, his wife is usually staying at home taking care of children and older relatives. Mobility and migration possibilities of those women are thus restricted and their responsibilities increase, notably for agricultural production. Women tend to stay behind in disadvantaged villages to look after their family and





for instance small livestock production, whereas men try to earn additional income in urban centres. This also considerably weakens women in times of climate hazards as they are left alone to face the potential consequences.

Women are paying a particularly high price to natural disasters.

Women now represent the majority of farmers in developing countries and they are producing 60% to 80% of the agricultural output. Consequently, they are strongly dependent on natural resources and at the same time affected by the degradation of environmental conditions.³ As such, increased number and intensity of floods as well as droughts due to climate change have a significant impact on women's crop and livestock production. Their situation is further aggravated by the lack of land rights or access to additional financial resources such as loans, which reduces their options to alternative livelihood.

Women's needs for coping with extra stress are generally less recognised by society. The UN (2009) has found that both female and male population in rural areas in Vietnam perceive it as "legitimate" that men have the priority of eating and drinking during periods of food and water shortage.⁴ This is mainly because the work of men is seen as more physical. This tends to negatively affect the physical condition of women, with even more severe consequences if they are pregnant or nursing. As a result of weakened health in the post-catastrophe period, their capacity to perform their expected roles is considerably reduced.

Furthermore, gender-based violence and tensions within the family tend to be aggravated during periods of stress, such as disasters. According to a population survey undertaken by UN Vietnam (2009), women are more inclined to complain during catastrophes and men have reportedly more difficulties containing their anger, thus reacting more violently.⁵ Women are therefore not only exposed to additional stress but are also increasingly at risk of domestic violence, which further deteriorates their health and psychological equilibrium.

The long-term psychological impacts of natural disasters are particularly severe for women. Men tend to be more involved during the occurrence of the event and the immediate aftermath; their emergency response efforts are intense but often limited in time. The contribution of women, on the other hand, is more lasting: women are traditionally involved in preparedness work (securing food, water, wood and fuel provisions). These responsibilities pose additional stress to the other consequences such as treating the sick, injured and elderly as well as cleaning up contaminated areas. All this reduces considerably the time they can spend on income-generating activities, particularly in the case of female-headed households. This situation is further worsened by the reported lower willingness of women to move into shelters and seek assistance when their houses are destroyed due to fears of being physically and sexually assaulted.⁶ The mixture of limited access to aid and burdening responsibilities can be psychologically devastating for these women.

Agenda 21, the outcome document of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, called for the removal of obstacles to women's full involvement in sustainable development and for securing gender equality in all aspects of society.⁷ This has inspired many governments to act. However, more work has to be undertaken to ensure that women are not doubly hit by climate change: once due to the increase in disasters and secondly because of their gender.

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Given the urgency of the situation and the fast changing climate, it is absolutely necessary to raise awareness at all levels on gender inequalities when it comes to exposure to the consequences of global warming. Nevertheless, this is also an opportunity to promote women's rights and female empowerment. The climate change strategies and adaptation plans in the context of the UNFCCC and international official development assistance (ODA) could become an additional platform to address gender equality. It is essential that vulnerable women and especially female-headed households are given particular attention in projects aimed at increasing societal resilience. This also includes financing solutions to create diversified livelihood opportunities for women in rural areas as well as to facilitate their migration or resettlement.



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To conclude, it is imperative to reinforce women's rights before, during and after natural catastrophes as well as to design innovative tools to decrease their vulnerability. Micro-finance, special education schemes or deployment of small-scale renewable energy production units for isolated women in rural areas are potential tools, which should be explored. This is indispensable for preserving social stability in vulnerable countries.

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The MILK Career Fair: Raising Awareness for LGBT Friendly Work Environments

Interview conducted by DIANA KALLAS

Schlossplatz³ met with Stuart B. Cameron, the co-founder and managing partner of Camwik UG, a personal consulting and employment company which promotes work environments that embrace a culture of open-mindedness and appreciation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons (LGBT). Camwik UG has launched several initiatives aiming at introducing the German public to “gay-friendly” companies: the MILK talent network, the MILK index and the MILK career fair.

Schlossplatz³: What is the main idea behind MILK?

Stuart B. Cameron: The main aim is to provide professional networking opportunities for LGBT and to put them in touch with LGBT-friendly companies. There needs to be more awareness about the difference between companies who merely tolerate LGBT and companies who positively appreciate them.

My main idea was to organise a career fair in order to promote LGBT-friendly companies. I met my business partner Anders Wikberg at a career event and presented him with the idea. He was immediately enthusiastic and we decided to launch it in Germany. During the inception process, we realised that some of the concepts already existed in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom, which also allowed us to draw on their experiences in order to further develop our initiative.

Is there already an LGBT professional network in Germany?

There are indeed certain networks gathering either gay or lesbian professionals. Our aim is to bring together both students and professionals from the entire LGBT circle. We work with LGBT, but also with heterosexuals who support our mission, be it companies, students or professionals. Our main focus is to shed the light on the importance of an LGBT-friendly work environment. We encourage companies to adopt LGBT-friendly policies and we encourage both LGBT and heterosexuals to choose to work with an LGBT-friendly company.

How does the MILK talent network function?

We bring highly skilled people together in extraordinary networking events, thus allowing them to share problems and experiences and to meet like-minded career-oriented brain-workers. This is a talent network that targets highly qualified students and professionals and aims at placing them in positions that both fit their qualifications and allow them to be open and confident about their sexual identity.

Do you already have a list of LGBT-friendly companies in Germany?

We are working on it. Next year we will issue the MILK index ranking top LGBT-friendly employers in Germany. It will be based on surveys we are currently conducting to gather input from both companies and employees. We built our surveys by referring to models from the UK and the US, but also by including questions stemming from our own understanding of an LGBT-friendly work environment. The company surveys comprise questions pertaining to HR support for LGBT employees, specific HR policies related to LGBT, LGBT employee networks, etc. The aim is to encourage the companies to adopt proactive HR policies in this field.

Why is the MILK Index so important?

Studies have shown that more than 50% of LGBT are afraid to come out in the workplace. Our aim is to raise awareness among companies in order to take the LGBT issue more seriously, act against discrimination, and see the true potential of LGBT. Our talent network is comprised of international professionals and top graduates coming from prestigious universities. People with such potential do not want to make the concession of working in a company that does not appreciate them.

There needs to be more awareness about the difference between companies who merely tolerate LGBT and companies who positively appreciate them.

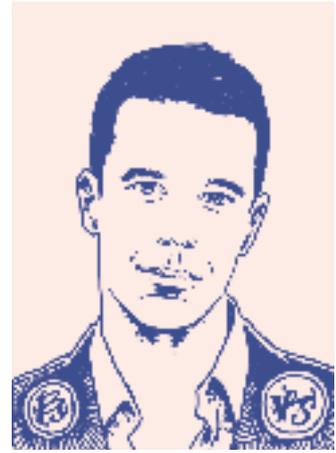
The MILK career network is starting to grow; in a couple of years it will be composed of thousands of highly qualified students and professionals, both LGBT and heterosexual. We will be giving them professional advice, especially as to which companies provide a friendly work environment. We believe that companies will want to adopt LGBT-friendly policies if this means opening up to a network of highly qualified individuals who are seeking an open-minded work-environment.

Tell us more about the MILK Career Fair

The fair is held over two days, each with a different focus. The first day consists of a congress where the LGBT society presents itself, its problems, potentials and aspirations, through workshops and seminars given by high quality interveners and attended by HR representatives and managers from different companies. The subjects tackled range from transsexual identity and problems encountered in the workplace to the benefits for a company from having an LGBT employee network.

The second day witnesses the career fair where companies present themselves and their LGBT employee networks and offer job opportunities, and where students and professionals participate in workshops,

STUART B. CAMERON is the co-founder and managing partner of Camwik UG, a personal consulting and employment company founded in 2009 and aiming at bringing together highly talented professionals with LGBT-friendly employers.



networking and speed-networking activities. Heterosexuals also participate in the career fair because they are interested in working with LGBT-friendly companies that demonstrate open-mindedness and respect for social minorities.

This event is not about partying and extravaganza. There will be no leather or feathers, but rather suits and ties. It's a different image of LGBT that we present to the world. It is the image of the majority of LGBT that usually remain invisible to the public eye. Some companies believe they do not have gay employees simply because most LGBT do not act out. They live and behave just like everybody else. We are simply telling the companies and the public that LGBT are normal people leading a normal life. They can be high achievers with high professional ethics. These people deserve a fair chance to come out in their workplace and still be respected and more importantly appreciated.

How many MILK Fairs have you organised so far?

The first MILK fair took place in March 2010 in Munich. It was relatively small, but hosted big companies such as IBM, SAP, Google, Volkswagen Financial Services, Deutsche Bank and Axel Springer as well as 400 visitors. Now that people are getting familiar with our work and our mission, we expect to host around 30 to 40 companies and around 1000 visitors in the next career fair which will take place in Berlin on the 27th and the 28th of May 2011 under the patronage of the Mayor of Berlin Klaus Wowereit.

Is this a profitable initiative for your company?

We are actually still working with low budget and low revenue, mainly driven by our passion and motivation. However, we have a network of friends who volunteer to help us organise the fair and we provide internship opportunities to students who are interested in supporting us in different aspects of our work. We expect nonetheless to start making profits with the third MILK Fair. Our target is to host around 3000 visitors and 200 companies in 5 years time, and to increase the number of Small and Medium Enterprises participating in this event.

Do you expect MILK to have a political impact?

We come from the private sector and do not directly take part in party politics, but we would like to see some laws change. Some politicians have already shown interest in what we do by inquiring about our mission and our assessment of the job market. We are confident that in a couple of years, the MILK talent network will include a substantial number of

This event is not about partying and extravaganza. There will be no leather or feathers, but rather suits and ties. It's a different image of LGBT that we present to the world.

members, which will inevitably put the pressure on politicians to pay attention to our message and adapt the law to social reality.

Prostitution: to Ban or not to Ban?

by EMILIA ROIG

The sex industry is complex and messy to deal with from a policy perspective. Its regulation is controversial, nuanced, and many countries have taken varied approaches.

The regulation of prostitution has long been an issue on policymakers' agenda, especially since a larger debate on prostitution and human trafficking has emerged worldwide. Many governments are combining the fight against human trafficking with the fight against prostitution, which results in a puzzling paradox: the persons whom the law is supposed to protect become criminals and are treated as such.

On one side, sex workers' rights activists, many trade unions, and most migrants' associations advocate for the regulation and decriminalising of prostitution, demanding that sex workers benefit from the same rights and protection as any other worker and be given their freedom of choice. They consider coercion, abuse and exploitation as elements of violence, but do not consider prostitution as violence per se. On the other side, radical feminist theorists, abolitionist activists, and religious organisations view prostitution itself as exploitation, violence against women and inhuman

Supporters of the prohibition of prostitution argue that abusive and dangerous activities such as child prostitution and human trafficking can only be prevented through the prohibition of prostitution. They argue that systems which allow prostitution only lead to crime and abuse as the creation of a legal prostitution industry leads to another parallel illegal industry, as many women refuse to register and work legally and a large proportion cannot be hired by legal brothels because of their illegal migration status. Another popular argument is that legalising prostitution makes it more socially acceptable to buy sex, creating a huge demand for prostitutes and, as a result, human trafficking and underage prostitution increase in order to satisfy this demand.

The persons whom the law is supposed to protect become criminals and are treated as such.

treatment, and call for an absolute ban. Arguments on both sides may diverge, but most justifications behind them are directed at the same objective: the protection of women. The questions to be tackled are thus: Can sex trafficking be curtailed through a total ban on prostitution? Does the criminalisation of sex work entail better protection of sex workers?

The debate should be less on whether sex work is legitimate or immoral, than on whether the rights and situation of sex workers can be improved through restrictive legislation. No country has yet managed to abolish prostitution with legal provisions. Thailand is a counter example, considering the widespread sales of sex despite the prohibition of prostitution. Many studies have shown that driving prostitution off

Can sex trafficking be curtailed through a total ban on prostitution?

Does the criminalisation of sex work entail better protection of sex workers?

the streets merely exacerbates the negative aspects of prostitution both for society and the prostitutes themselves. In reality, a ban on prostitution renders the visible activity and its participant invisible to the public eye. Social invisibility means that decisionmakers can ignore prostitution because ordinary citizens have the illusion that it is only a marginal activity on the fringes of society. Sex workers are pushed underground and suffer more discrimination, violence and stigmatisation, and become excluded from the legal and social protective framework of the state. This is highly problematic because prostitution is not a phenomenon outside of society. It is, on the contrary, constructed by society, and reflects the societal gender and power structure and is thus not abnormal.

The legal and social treatment of prostitution differs widely by country. Some countries like France, the UK and Ireland, adopted restrictive prostitution policies and officially affirm an anti-prostitution stance. Others, such as Spain, Belgium and the Czech Republic, have a tradition of *laissez-faire* and tolerant attitudes in the absence of legislation. In countries such as Germany and the Netherlands, prostitution is legalised and regulated. Such approaches are taken with the stance that prostitution is impossible to eliminate, and thus these societies have chosen to regulate it in an attempt to reduce the more undesirable consequences. Other countries, such as Sweden, Iceland and Norway, aware that the criminalisation of

prostitution as a whole would primarily be detrimental to sex workers and worsen their situation, opted for the criminalisation of customers. The rationale given for criminalising the buyer and not the provider is that prostitutes are perceived as having less choice than their customers. A positive advancement about such laws is that, unlike earlier legislation, they have brought the customer's role into the debate on prostitution. However, like other restrictive legislation, the risk is that the activity will be pushed underground and away from public supervision and control. Research has shown that the customer alone cannot always be seen and interpreted as an abuser of power. But there are areas of prostitution which attract criminals and abusers, which is exacerbated when these areas are further marginalised and placed outside public supervision.

An important factor which contributes to the view that prostitutes are objects instead of agents, and supports the application of sexist stereotypes that are restrictive of women's rights in the name of protection, is the conflation of prostitution with all forms of trafficking. The majority of laws and policies meant to fight trafficking typically target traditional female occupations, and by being overly protective, exacerbate gender inequalities by denying adult women the right to make decisions that their male counterparts are able to make. The consequence of such an assumption of female vulnerability tends to be the creation of laws that disempower women in the name of their own protection.



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Likewise, assistance and support to victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation highly depend on the ‘severity’ of the abuse, meaning that women who admit to being aware they would be working in the sex industry, or who express any kind of agency, risk seeing their victimisation questioned and therefore not be entitled to the same assistance as a ‘deserving victim’, who fits into the picture of a vulnerable and naïve victim in need of the paternal protection of the state.

Many governments have attempted to justify the creation of gendered, ‘protective’ policies by arguing that women and girls’ inherent vulnerability makes them more frequent victims of trafficking and exploitation.

The debate should be less on whether sex work is legitimate or immoral, than on whether the rights and situation of sex workers can be improved through restrictive legislation.

But being oppressed is not the same as being weak and passive. In fact, though one cannot deny that victimisation is closely linked to economic hardship and social disempowerment, both of which are disproportionately experienced by women worldwide, framing human trafficking within such a gendered paradigm is counterproductive. Most importantly, by focusing on the vulnerability of women, the discourse on prostitution and human trafficking revolves around abolitionist rhetoric that see pimping and trafficking as simple evils to be eradicated while failing to address the root causes of the problem, namely economic motives and social justifications.

To conclude, it is essential to take the voices of the people concerned into consideration. Attributing feelings, thoughts, and ideas to the whole sex workers community can be grossly misleading. Sex workers cannot speak with one voice. Their experiences are as diverse as their profiles. Some are extremely unhappy with what they do, while others seem to go through it without a problem. But they all have one thing in common: they know that society condemns them for what they do. The primary concern of our society should be to demonstrate solidarity with sex workers. Measures which help strengthen sex workers’ human and civil rights should be prioritised over laws which prevent solidarity and support. A social welfare policy that provides support to prostitutes who want to quit the profession should be developed. At the same time, initiatives aimed at fighting the oppressive and degrading aspects of prostitution should be encouraged. While prostitution itself should not be a crime, coercion, violence and deception should still be. However, it should remain clear that burdens imposed by restrictive laws will always be borne by sex workers.

Demonising Youth: The Implication of Sex Offender Policies on Youth

by DOYLE PRUITT

In this article the author addresses US sexual offence policy as it pertains to youth offenders. The text delves into past legislation and hints to various explanations for the seemingly paradoxical treatment of youth. The conclusion then outlines a number of considerations for the development of future policies and eludes to the grave future for those impacted by current legislation.

Historically, U.S. social policy has developed in response to public need and demands. While this responsive approach to policy development ensures the needs of a society are heard and addressed, it risks incorporating irrational and emotionally-ridden perspective that do not necessarily reflect a clear understanding of the social problem or phenomenon. Further complicating policy developments are the pervasive religious and moral values that they encompass which tend to be paternalistic, punitive, oppressive and discriminatory. An excellent example of how such a hasty approach to social policy development can incorporate these repressive beliefs and cause unforeseen harm is the creation of laws targeting sexual offenders.

This is not to say that sexual assault is a crime that should be blindly accepted and free of legal sanctions. After working for years as a psychotherapist with adult and child victims of sexual assault, I have been witness to the immediate and prolonged personal, psychological, familial and social destruction sexual abuse causes. I strongly advocate for just laws that hold the offender accountable, keep potential and actual victims safe, and prevent future sexual assaults.

Over the past several decades, America has become increasingly aware of the presence and dangerousness of sexual offenders, typically after a highly publicised report of a child abduction, rape, and murder. In response, legislation intended to protect children and other “vulnerable” (i.e. female) populations from these “predators” is typically enacted. The first major piece of legislation specifically pertaining to sexual offenders was the ‘Jacob Wetterling Crimes against Children and Sexually Violent Offender Registration Act’ (1994). This federal law required states to implement a sex offender registry. The act was named after Jacob Wetterling who, in 1989 at age 11, was abducted by a masked man at gunpoint. A subsequent and equally important policy development occurred several years later in response to the rape and murder of seven-year-old Megan Kanka. In 1994, Megan was lured by her neighbor, Jesse Timmedequas, into his New Jersey apartment in hopes of seeing his puppy. Instead, Mr. Timmedequas, a convicted sex offender, raped and murdered her. It only took the state eighty-nine days to pass legislation (Megan’s Law) mandating community notification of registered sex offenders in the state. Megan’s Law extended the policy of a sex offender registry enacted under the Jacob Wetterling Act, by allowing for community notification of local sex offenders. The most recent federal legislation, the ‘Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act’ (2006), augmented previous sex offender legislation through the creation of a mandated national tracking and notification system of sex offenders (also known as the Sex Offender Registration and Notification Act or SORNA). In an attempt to demonstrate the importance of the sex offender registry, The Adam Walsh Act identifies seventeen sexual assault victims between the ages of 5 to 11 years. Out of the seventeen victims listed, only one was assaulted by a juvenile.

The Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (1974) established a preventive focus and practices with regard to the legal handling of juvenile delinquents. It further served to demonstrate the government’s attempt to differentiate youthful offenders from their adult counterparts via the policy’s inherent belief that youth can be rehabilitated with proper resources and guidance. This developmental focus in treating youth as a dynamic and malleable group has, unfortunately, been overruled by the provisions of SORNA.

Under the SORNA provisions, youth who are at least fourteen years of age or older and are adjudicated delinquent or who have been convicted as an adult for a crime of aggravated sexual assault or worse, are required to register in the sex offender registry. Registration is based on a tier system, with tier design-

This is not to say that sexual assault is a crime that should be blindly accepted and free of legal sanctions.

nation determined by severity of crime. For juveniles, they would be classified as a tier III (most severe) sex offender because of the probable age of their victim (most youthful offenders have victims younger than them). This level subjects the person to a lifetime commitment to the registry that posts, at a minimum, their name, picture, home address, school/employer address, type of crime committed on the web-based registry. Further, a tier III designation prohibits the individual from residing in certain locations (i.e. near schools or playgrounds), from working in particular fields (i.e. with vulnerable populations), and mandates the disclosure of sex offender status to higher education.

As one can imagine, the ramifications of a youth being held liable in a consistent manner as an adult sex offender, thus requiring him/her to accept the lifetime designation of a sex offender necessarily encompasses severe and extensive consequences which directly contradict America's historical perception and treatment of youth. The question then that begs to be asked: where did this paradoxical view and treatment originate?

The answer: fear, particularly fear of sexuality. Obviously, a certain degree of fear in experiencing a sexual assault is natural and warranted. No one wants themselves or their loved one, especially a child, to be vio-

Instead, current sexual offence policy takes a one-size-fits-all approach, and that size is as punitive and inclusive as possible.

lated in such profound and offensive manner. Yet, in the dichotomy of past and present view and treatment of youth who cause sexual harm is the fear of sexuality that has been institutionalised for centuries: from the colonial era (Native American's raping of the white woman) to present day (paedophiles defiling our nation's children). This particular form of fear does not only pertain to sexual assault, but also to sexual orientation, expression, and identity.

Americans live and operate in a hyper-sexualised environment. Throughout the course of one's day, images of heterosexuality are omnipresent across multiple media outlets and social contexts. The messages both explicitly and implicitly convey the notion that het-

erosexuality, interactions, and relationships equates to power, prestige, desirability, and success. From the "boys will be boys" to the selling of male sexual enhancement drugs (i.e. Viagra) during prime time television programming, ideologies supporting the permissiveness of male sexuality while oppressing and subjugating female sexuality is clear. Within this ideology are the social messages denouncing asexuality and homosexuality in its fragility, intentional deviancy and disconnection from mainstream society.

Fear of sexual orientation has never received as much attention as it did in early October 2010. During the previous month, six young people, between the ages of thirteen and eighteen, killed themselves after being victims of bullying for their sexuality. While these are extreme cases, on a fairly daily basis, youth, particularly male youth, must defend their masculinity, and thus power and fertility, after being called a 'fag', 'sissy' or 'queer', words that threaten a young man's masculinity by questioning his sexual orientation and contribute to a culture where sexual conquests assert his heterosexuality.

So how does this relate to social policy with youth who cause sexual harm? When considering that a disproportionate amount of youth who cause sexual harm are males, and that significant majority of these boys have been a victim of a crime that has disempowered, oppressed and emasculated them (about 63% have been physically abused, 86% sexually abused, and 63% witnessed domestic violence, 35% of which is considered severe domestic violence), it should come as no surprise that the youth uses sex as a way to regain a sense of power and belonging. Further, many of these youth are socially awkward or isolated, which limits their access to age-appropriate relationships and experiences. The offense may serve as a



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way to exert power over another person or as a way to prove (to self and others) that he is not gay (especially when his offender was a male). The same society who fears these youth and the crimes they commit, serve to create the context in which sexual aggression is supported.

While legislation aimed at protecting society is, to some degree, achieving its goals, it also has ostracised and stigmatised a group from academic, career, social, and relational opportunities that could serve as protective factors to deter them from future crimes. 'Juvenile sex offender' is a debilitating and stigmatising label which, when assigned, inhibits a youth from achieving their full emotional, relational, and professional capabilities and aspirations. Current policy

For public policy to more effectively deal with youth who cause sexual harm, it must, at a minimum, consider: (1) the existence and development of typical sexual behaviours across the lifespan (including those present in children), (2) the precipitating and contributing causes for the inappropriate or harmful sexual behaviour, (3) the individual youth's level of risk, openness and ability to change, and (4) societies moral panic and fear of sexual offenders, as well as their tendency to demonise the offender. Only 20% of youth who cause sexual harm are known to re-offend sexually. Research has yet to tell us what impact SORNA has on recidivism rates of youth. It can be presumed though that diminished access to resources and the increased stress that registration causes will have the unintentional effect of raising this rate. Unfortunately only the passage of time will tell the impact that juvenile registration has on the youth and the American society.

Americans live and operate in a hyper-sexualised environment.

fails to consider the complex and diverse array of factors and processes that contribute to the development of sexual behaviour, the malleability and rehabilitative nature of youth, and the inherent diversity, intensity, and motivation for sexual offenses. Instead, current sexual offence policy takes a one-size-fits-all approach, and that size is as punitive and inclusive as possible.

Domestic Violence and the Need for a Gender Mainstreaming Approach in Developing Public Policies

by DIANA ELENA NEAGA

In this article, the author looks into the roots and the consequences of domestic violence as well as the policies in place to accompany victims. Several difficulties exist in formulating good policies to counter domestic violence, however a gender mainstreaming approach offers hope to formulating better policies.

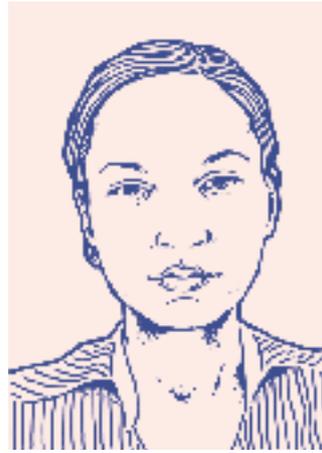
Domestic violence is a phenomenon that affects women and men, children, young and old people from all social classes and from all over the globe. However, the gender dimension within the discussion is undeniable. Women and children are more vulnerable and likely to be the victims of physical and psychological aggression perpetrated by one family member. Even though statistics about domestic violence must always be treated with caution because of a large number of abuses that remain unreported and hid-

Coping with questions like “What can be done to reduce the phenomenon of violence against women?”, “What are the tools available for confronting violence against women?” and “Which are the main actors in solving this problem?” is not a easy thing to do especially because these abuses take place mainly in an intimate and familial context. The abuser is frequently a husband or a father and those abuses usually take place in what is generically known as being part of private sphere, “deconstructs the myth of dangerous strangers” and the norm of family as a protective space. The implications of such “deconstruction” are reflected on the one hand through the reluctance with which victims or a third party report cases of domestic violence, and on the other hand through the difficulty of authorities to interfere with some individuals’ private sphere in the absence of such a complaint.

Female victims of domestic violence can be affected in multiple aspects of their lives and in very subtle ways starting with health, education, employment, civic and political engagement.

den, lots of studies and reports connected with this topic show clear trends. Women are more likely than men to be the victims of multiple incidents of abuse and of sexual violence. They are more likely to have experienced all types of intimate violence. Women are at greatest risk of homicide at the point of separation or after leaving a violent partner. From a feminist perspective the causes of such a state of affairs are directly connected with “the traditional power relations, which endorse male gender roles to include abusive behaviours to gain or hold on to control over a woman”.

At the same time, the victims of domestic violence suffer not only physical damages but also psychological and social ones like the inability of exercising rights and responsibilities as a citizen, inability of being self-reflexive and autonomous. Female victims of domestic violence can be affected in multiple aspects of their lives and in very subtle ways starting with health, education, employment, civic and political engagement.



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As a result of sustained lobbyism from women rights organisations from all over the world due to its extreme effect on women lives, domestic violence is increasingly becoming a priority on the public agenda. Nevertheless, the fight against male domination in the name of commitment to equality, especially when talking about a problem as delicate as domestic violence, cannot be efficient if it concentrates only on one or another aspect of the problem. For example, advancement in employment policies can facilitate women's autonomy by offering them financial resources to be able to support themselves and thereby giving them the option to leave the aggressive environment. However, women that have not benefited from adequate health-care after being abused would find it difficult to recover and integrate in the labour market.

However, women that have not benefited from adequate healthcare after being abused would find it difficult to recover and integrate in the labour market.

Furthermore, creating focused policies concerning domestic violence from a positivist approach based only on surveys is tricky for two reasons: firstly, statistics in this area are not entirely relevant. Secondly, in treating a problem as delicate as this, the lack of flexibility may leave away variables that can become decisive in different contexts—depending on the way in which individuals choose to offer signification and meanings to what they are living.

Thus, in this case, a gender mainstreaming approach, i.e. strategies to promote gender equality, is more appropriate, but only if it is sustained by a solid juridical framework based on zero tolerance to domestic violence and by governmental funding for rehabilitation of the victims and of the aggressors. At the same time, when talking about gender mainstreaming, one must underline the absolute necessity of a solid gender education of all relevant professional groups: police, judges, journalists, social workers etc. A solid gender education entails a good understanding of concepts like biological sex and social constructed gender and of the implications of the inequalities resulted from valorising and making hierarchies on the basis of sex or/and gender.

In the Garden of Man and Woman: A Defense of Religious Romance

by ALEXANDRE ROBAEY

Schlossplatz³ is broadening its horizons and introducing a literature corner. In the following essay, Alexandre Robaey provides an interpretation of Milton's "Paradise Lost" on the topic of gender equality through the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

There are few romances more often maligned than the one between Adam and Eve. Despite being, as the good book tells us, the first in the history of the human race, the biblical romance has more than its fair share of critics. It seems that the Church's historically unsavory attitude towards women, which has ranged from contemptuous to straight-up homicidal during the witch-hunts of the Middle Ages, has had something of a retroactive effect on the first portrayal of gender relations in religious history. As a result, it is a popular opinion amongst those who endeavored to read the Bible but never quite got past Leviticus that Eve was the first example in a long line of undesirable portrayals of women by the Church. Being uncharacteristically short on that passage, the Bible itself only succinctly describes the events that transpired in the Garden of Eden. As such, it leaves much to interpretation and, well, more often than not, those interpretations are not exceedingly kind.

However, before one wholly condemns the story of Adam and Eve, one should remember that artistic interpretation works both ways. Just as critics are

able to interpret that story, so have a great many scholars who wrote long, detailed treatises on the Creation and Fall of Man. One such analysis is made in Milton's perennially famous work, *Paradise Lost*. Arguably one of the most famous and greatest poems of the English language, *Paradise Lost* distinguished itself by recreating the image of Lucifer into an actual character instead of the roving monster he was before. It is also recognised for pushing the boundaries of English verse, giving a compelling depiction of the nature of Sin. However, amidst the trashing genius of his culture-defining magnum opus, Milton also turns to a smaller, though no less important, issue: that of Adam and Eve. Indeed, in his depiction of the two beings' time in the Garden of Eden, the poet not only portrays the relationship between Adam and Eve as being based on mutual respect and equality, but also shows Eve as a strong, independent character.

As one would expect, being the only human being in the universe is an awfully lonely thing. And so, after he has named all the animals and plants in the Garden, Adam seems to come to the realisation that he feels alone. When asked by God about this feeling, he answers that, though he is surrounded by life, none is like him. Angels and God are beyond his own state,

And thus, we can see that, in the creation of Eve, Milton tries to depict the fashioning of another human being.

and all the things in the garden are below. As he sues the disembodied voice in the sky for a companion, he describes Man as "In unity defective, which requires/ Collateral love and dearest amity"(Milton, Book 8, ll. 425—426). In saying this, he effectively claims that man is by nature imperfect, and that to be improved, it requires someone with whom he can share respect and love. In other words, he says that, in order to be happy, Man must live among equals. And it is this very plea for equality that catches God's ear. Indeed, after Adam has finished presenting his argument, God decides to grant him what he desires. But the only reason for which he does so is that Adam asked for an equal. Not a being inferior to him, or a subordinate. He wanted a human, one who was the same as him, and that is what the Lord decides to grant him. In God's own words, "Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self"(Milton, Book 8, ll. 450). And thus, we can see that, in the creation of Eve, Milton tries to depict the fashioning of another human being. Eve is not meant to be an inferior to Adam, as that would defeat the very purpose of his request. She is an equal to him, one with whom he can share mutual love and compassion.

However, there still remains the rub of the tale, so to speak. Indeed, despite whatever artistic interpretations one may conjure, there still remains the fact that Eve succumbed first to the Snake's temptation. She allowed herself to be swayed by the entangling rhetoric of Lucifer and was seduced by his charm. She ate from the Tree and, in doing so, doomed Mankind and dragged Adam down with her on her fall from Grace. But, when confronted by this damning set of evidence, one has to consider why, in fact, she was alone when Satan came calling. Indeed, after being warned that the Betrayer was about the Garden of Eden, Adam is quite dismayed when Eve tells him that they should separate in their work. Out of fear that one of them would meet the intruder, Adam tries to make Eve renounce her suggestion. However, the young woman does not abate and tells her companion that it is no use to live in fear of evil. Eventually, she argues, evil always comes, no matter how one may try to hide or run. Thus, the only way to truly defeat temptation is to confront and deny it. Eventually, Adam is convinced by her argument and agrees to separate for the day. And so, we can see that the only reason why Eve was alone that day is because she would not be covered by an unseen threat. When even Adam wanted to run



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and hide, she sought to assert her virtue and defeat evil, instead of simply avoiding it. And, one has to admit, to defy Satan himself and stand fast against temptation is not exactly something a meek and weak person would do.

Unfortunately for Eve, her eagerness to prove her virtues also was the instrument of her downfall. Indeed, when she is confronted by evil, it is not under a form she expected. Under the guise of a serpent, Lucifer tempts her with the possibility of transcending her state. Eating from the tree, he professes, would allow her to ascend to a higher, god-like state of existence, just as he claims it granted him the power of speech. Unsuspecting that evil would come under the guise of one of the Garden’s animals, Eve is swayed and eats from the tree, thereby precipitating the Fall of Man. However, one has to consider that her fault was not weakness against adversity. If anything, she fell because of her innocence, coupled with pride and ambition. And, though damnable, those are not the faults of a woman. They are the faults of a sentient human being. A third of Heaven’s angels were swayed by Lucifer’s promises of powers, and Lucifer himself only fell because of his incommensurable pride. Eve did not fall because she was a woman. She fell because she was human.

And thus, we can observe that, In *Paradise Lost*, John Milton draws a sharply accurate portrait of a strong, realistic female character. In Eve, he shows a human being first and a woman second. From her creation as an absolute equal to Adam to her fierce independence and pride, she is as real a character as one could expect. And while she does have her faults, it is important to remember that Adam has failings too. Indeed, Adam himself turns to sin, as he lets his passion for her overtake him and cloud his moral judgment, leading him to eat the Fruit. Though he tries to rationalise it as love, his failing was no less than Eve’s. While Pride was the cause of her downfall, Passion was the cause of his. And thus, in both of them, we see human beings, flawed, but equal in their imperfection. As Adam himself put it, “in unity defective”(Milton, Book 8, ll. 425—426), but of “one flesh, one heart, one soul”(Milton, Book 8, ll. 499).

In both of them, we see human beings, flawed, but equal in their imperfection.

The Hertie School of Governance has developed a lively and extensive net of extra-curricular activities. Next to the Editorial Team Schlossplatz³, there are also various student groups, such as Macht Morgen (Hertie's Young Politicians Series), the Hertie International Film Club, and sports groups such as the Berlin Marathon, Basketball and Soccer teams. Hertians do not simply stay inside their school walls but take part in events and the life outside. Here are some news of Hertie life starting with a brand new section, the Film Corner!

Film Review

Born into Brothels

by ANA CAROLINA ALFINITO VIEIRA
and MARIE-CHRISTINA DANKMEYER

DIRECTOR: Zana Briski, Ross Kauffman
PRODUCERS: Red Light Films,
HBO/Cinemax Documentary,
Sundance Institute Documentary Fund
COUNTRY OF PRODUCTION: USA
YEAR: 2004
LANGUAGE: English, Bengali
MINS: 85 mins

In 1997, the New York-based photographer Zana Briski moved to Calcutta, to film the day-to-day lives of sex workers in the city's red-light district.

Shooting in the area was, however, nearly impossible, as a large part of life was permeated by illegality and silence, taking place behind closed doors and curtains. Prostitution was everywhere, but was impossible to document or capture on film, it was invisible to the cameras.

What Briski did see all around were the children of Sonagachi, born into the brothels and hence, into a virtually inescapable future. With no access to education due to their parents' social conditions, the girls had few possibilities other than growing up to join the line of

prostitutes. Zana Briski engaged a few of these kids in a project (later to be known as project 'Kids With Cameras'), giving each of them a camera and teaching them to look at the world with new eyes. The results of this project are documented in the Academy Award winning movie 'Born Into Brothels', in which Briski and co-director Ross Kauffmann portray their interaction with the children and the children's interaction with art.

By focusing on the children's perceptions of day-to-day life in the brothels, the documentary captures a colorful and vivid picture of the circumstances; thus, it steers clear of commonplace takes on prostitution, poverty and exploitation. It portrays the children themselves, their wishes and creativity— notions that seem so remote from their reality. Through the lenses, the children distance themselves and emerge—even if only for a moment— from the invisibility of the red light district.

Nevertheless, the narrative and images of the children are deeply conditioned by the surrounding background and social

settings—a landscape greatly left aside by the filmmakers. Little effort is made on their part to gain deeper insight on the larger social structure in which these children are immersed. Hence, they stumble upon ethically unstable grounds, engaging in a mission to actively better the future of the children by enrolling them at boarding schools and displacing them from their milieu. The plan largely fails, in part because the strength of the children's social ties is misunderstood or underestimated.

Information on the project can be accessed via www.kids-with-cameras.org/bornintobrothels/

Film Recommendations

by DEBASHREE ROY
and CORINA MURAFĂ

“Children of the Decree/Decreteii”

DIRECTOR: Florin Lepad
COUNTRY OF PRODUCTION: Germany,
Romania
YEAR: 2004
LANGUAGE: English, Rumanian
MINS: 52

“Children of the Decree” is an hour long documentary about the twenty-five years of the dictator Ceausescu’s rule in Romania, during which he tried to increase his country’s population by banning all contraceptives and outlawing abortion. Aiming to raise a generation of baby boom that would fulfil the People’s Party’s vision for Romania, President Ceausescu issued Decree 770/1966. Only women over 40 and those already having carried 4 children were allowed to drop out of Ceausescu’s dramatic family policy. By 1969, the country had a million babies more than the previous average. To revisit this period of oppression, the film brings together archival footage, interviews with famous personalities of the time, but also with regular women fallen victims to the regime’s family policy (or with their relatives—in brutal cases where women had lost their lives because of illegal abortions), as well as with children of the decree themselves. Ironically, the new generation, that was supposed to carry out Ceausescu’s vision, reached adulthood in 1989—the year when Romanians rose against the regime and executed the dictator and his wife.

“Women on the Frontline Series”

PRODUCERS: UNIFEM, UNFPA, dev.tv,
Austrian Development Cooperation
Country of production: worldwide
YEAR: 2008
LANGUAGE: English
MINS: 7 short films, each lasting
between 10 and 30 mins

“Women on the Frontline” is a video documentary series, presented by artist Annie Lennox and broadcast by BBC World in 2008. It tells the story of violence against women and girls, a bigger cause of death and disability than cancer, which affects 1 out of 3 women worldwide. The series takes viewers in villages and towns across the world, from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where rape is a weapon of war, to Turkey (where honour killing still take place), to Nepal (where thousands of women are being traded as sex slaves every year), to Mauritania (where women are fighting against strict interpretations of Sharia), to Austria (where 7000 cases of domestic violence are reported every year to the police, which enforces a very ambitious Protection Against Violence law), and then to Colombia and Morocco, where inspiring women show extraordinary courage in the face of violence.

All short films can be viewed online, under http://www.unifem.org/materials/item_detail.php?ProductID=111

“Between the Lines: Indiens drittes Geschlecht zwischen Mystik, Spiritualität und Prostitution”

DIRECTOR: Thomas Wartmann
PRODUCER: Thomas Wartmann
COUNTRY OF PRODUCTION:
India, Germany
YEAR: 2005
LANGUAGE: English, Hindi, German
MINS: 95 mins

‘Between the Lines’ is a documentary film capturing the life of India’s eunuch (also known as the ‘Hijra’) community. Outcasts to the main society and forced into begging and prostitution, the lives of members of this ‘Third Sex’ has been well captured by the photographer Anita Khemka in this powerful documentary. The film speaks of the lives of several Hijras, most prominently Laxmi Narayan Tripathi, fighting for the recognition of the civil rights of the Hijras in India. It shows how their lives are organised into self-sustaining communities, of their dreams, aspirations and hard realities of life in a diverse yet discriminatory country like India.

Watch the trailer on
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iMuGkOrzHCo>

**Felix Lill , MPP 2012,
receives the 2010 Austrian
Sports Journalism Award**

“It was nothing but a surprise, quite a nice one though”, Felix Lill recalls the moment when he was notified to have won the 2010 Austrian Sports Journalism Award, awarded by the Austrian Sports Journalists Association (Sports Media Austria). “Initially, I had submitted my work for the ‘under-25 young journalists’ category’ and then in June was told that I won the ‘adult’s’ print category.” But the surprise developed further: Beginning of November, Felix, a current Hertie MPP student, even won the overall prize out of the several category winners and now can be called “Austria’s Sports Journalist of the Year 2010”.

Felix Lill, a 24 year-old German citizen, holds a BSc in Economics from Vienna University of Economics and Business, an MSc in Philosophy of the Social Sciences from the London School of Economics, and is currently studying Hertie’s MPP programme in the 2012 cohort. He has been working as a freelance journalist for around seven years. In 2008/09, Felix undertook a one-year journalistic world trip during which he travelled 14 countries and his works were published in seven countries and five languages. On this long journey, Felix also got to interview world record sprinter Usain Bolt in Kingston, Jamaica, to write a report about Bolt’s character and his meaning for Jamaica, which turned into his award-winning story, published in Kurier,

Austria, FitForLife, Switzerland, and Hamburger Abendblatt, Germany. Felix’ journalistic focus lies on various everyday topics approached from a political, social or economic viewpoint. Among others, he writes for Die Presse, Spiegel Online, taz, Die Welt, Tages-Anzeiger. Felix’ studies at Hertie shall provide him a more hands-on approach to political and economic journalism.

**European Public Policy Conference
2010 in Istanbul**

by JUSTYNA WESOŁOWSKA

The overarching goal and idea of the student-led European Public Policy Conference (EPPC) is to foster exchange between students from schools associated with the Global Public Policy Network (Sciences Po, LSE, SIPA, Lee Kuan Yew, Hertie School of Governance) in a European context. Future policy makers particularly interested in European affairs have the opportunity to lead vivid discussions in this domain with participants from top public policy schools. Moreover, the debates are enriched with first-hand policy insights provided by prominent speakers.

The EPPC 2010 was hosted by the Koç University in Istanbul and focused on EU-Turkey relations, in particular, on the possibility of Turkey joining the EU in the future. Students worked in groups to elaborate on advantages, risks and dangers for both Turkey and the EU after a potential accession and discussed the results with the speakers during plenary sessions.

Thanks to the presentations of our speakers representing research institutions, political parties and diplomatic units in Turkey, the participants could gain a very interesting and diversified image of this country. On the one hand a country already being part of Europe due to its history and geographical location and on

the other, the one being so different in terms of religion and mentality. Starting with the question whether Turkey was ready to join the EU, the conference actually ended with the inverse one: Is the EU ready to accept Turkey?

The concept of the EPPC is to have organisers each year from a different European public policy school. Given the fact that the first EPPC was organised by students from the LSE and the second by Sciences Po, this academic year (2010—2011), the Hertie School will take the lead in making the third European Public Policy Conference a great success.

Hertie graduates work around the globe in diverse jobs. In this section, they keep us updated and share their recent accomplishments.

Sebastian Duwe (Class of 2009) presents the new Alumni Council and its activities, and Bidjan Nashat (Class of 2007) shares his work experience by presenting his most recent publication.

News from the Alumni Council

In May, the new Alumni Council was elected by the Alumni body of the Hertie School and has taken over the responsibilities for alumni affairs shortly after. The 2011 Alumni Council consists of four MPP representatives (Sebastian Duwe, Henry Haaker, Katri Kemppainen-Bertram and Jan Regler), four EMPP representatives (Karen Costa-Zahn, Daniel Lübbert, Yair Re'em, Hilke Thordsen-Böhm) and the Executive Education representative Simon Vaut. We would like to thank all past members of the Council for their commitment and effort and for their trust shown in electing us. The Council is supported by faculty representative Prof. Dr. Nico Krisch and administration representative Jan Fiscoeder.

With currently more than 200 alumni, the alumni community of the Hertie School is growing fast. In this context, it is the Council's task to strengthen the relationship between the alumni and the school and among the alumni of the various degrees offered. With the number of the alumni growing rapidly, it is of highest importance for us to lay a stable foundation for future alumni work.

We plan to build on and improve existing initiatives, such as:

Annual Alumni Reunion

which will coincide this academic year with the MPP Graduation in May 2011. So, mark the last weekend in May 2011 in your calendar and plan a trip to Berlin! More information will be distributed in due time.

Hertie Internship Fund from Alumni (HIFA)

which will support one current first-year MPP student during his/her internship next summer. Last year, Patrick Gilroy received 1.035 Euros for his internship with Freedom House in New York. Donations for this year's HIFA can now be made. For more information on the details go to http://hertie-school.org/content.php?nav_id=2218

Fire Side Chats

a loose series of evening events in Berlin with interesting guest speakers and a small snack open to all alumni. We are always interested in receiving ideas for interesting speakers from you.

Hertie Connect

is our online platform. All alumni are kindly asked to regularly update their profiles in order to ensure easy interaction and communication. Furthermore, any alumnus can volunteer to become a mentor of a current Hertie student. You can find a link to Hertie Connect at www.hertie-school.org

Please feel free to approach us with all ideas, concerns and feedback that you deem important. The Alumni Council can be contacted at alumni councillist@hertie-school.org. We are looking forward to hearing from you!

SEBASTIAN DUWE, MPP Class of 2009

IMPRINT Schlossplatz³
Fall 2010 · Issue Nine

PUBLISHER:



Hertie School
of Governance

Hertie School of Governance gGmbH
Helmut Anheier
Henrik Enderlein (V.i.S.d.P.)
Quartier 110 · Friedrichstraße 180
10117 Berlin

COPIES: 1,500

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ART DIRECTION & GRAPHIC DESIGN:
Plural Severin Wucher, Berlin
in association with BASICSog, Berlin

ILLUSTRATIONS: BASICSog, Berlin

PRINT: Brandenburgische Uni-
versitäts-Druckerei und Verlags-
gesellschaft Potsdam GmbH

Printed in Germany

Schlossplatz³ is printed on
Munken Lynx, a wood free paper
produced according to the
stipulations of the “Nordic Swan”
Eco-label.

DISCLAIMER: The material contained
herein is property of Schlossplatz³,
Berlin 2010. Opinions stated within
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Hertie School of Governance —
founded and supported by the
Hertie Foundation.

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Schlossplatz³ in the Blogosphere

In January 2008, Schlossplatz³ went online with its own blog. The blog regularly features articles and interviews by prominent policy experts from around the world, as well as contributions from students, faculty and visitors of the Hertie School of Governance. Readers can also comment on articles in the blog, print edition, or other policy topics by e-mailing us at sp3@mpp.hertie-school.org. You can find the Schlossplatz³ blog at www.hertie-school.org/schlossplatz3

Next Issue

“How does it feel

To be on your own

With no direction home

Like a complete unknown

Like a rolling stone?”

The lyrics by Bob Dylan set the tune for our spring issue on IDENTITY (CRISIS). Since 1965, when the song was written, globalisation has gained pace like a rolling stone. But how does globalisation shape our identity? How do we feel about it collectively or as individuals? The questions of who we are and where we are heading remain central to our lives. Find some answers in the upcoming issue of the Hertie student magazine, along with stories of people with or without a direction home. They are featured with regard to the European Public Policy Conference, which is organised by our school in cooperation with the LSE and Sciences Po, and will deal with the topic of immigration. Also, the upcoming issue will ask why European identity is still so unknown compared to national identity. And since the school changed its location a long time ago, Schlossplatz³ is about to transform its name and identity. Be curious!