



SMASH GLASS CEILINGS

**HANDBOOK FOR BRAVE
FEMINIST LEADERS**

C O N T R I B U T O R S

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**GLASS
CEILING
IS NOT
YOUR
LIMIT**

Cooperation and Development Network Eastern Europe (CDN) and Federation of Young European Greens (FYEG) in collaboration with the Youth Department of the Council of Europe organized a Study Session on 5-9 November 2018 at the European Youth Center in Budapest, Hungary that is called “The Glass Ceiling Is Not Your Limit”. Twenty-five young leaders who identify as women, trans, and/or genderqueer came together with the aim of strengthening the capacities of women, trans and genderqueer young leaders, and tackling structural challenges and obstacles for gender equal leadership in politics.

Over the course of one week, we identified structural obstacles and challenges on individual and institutional levels, with a focus on master suppression techniques; explored tools and strategies to counteract individual and institutional master suppression techniques, and explored empowering, participatory and inclusive leadership styles and re-defined a new form of leadership in frame of young non-male’s leadership in the political sphere.

This Study Session was organized and delivered by the following team: CDN Office Coordinator and Course Director Özgecan Kara; Educational Advisor Ana Afonso; preparatory team members Alla Parunova, Cansu Yetişgin, Héloïse Hervieux, Kristina Millona; external speakers Katri Ylinen and Zuzana Pavelková.

The participants of the Study Session have also contributed to the Study Session with their experiences and expertise on the topic and formed the content of this publication. Without their input, this publication would not be possible.

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GENDER GLOSSARY

slut shaming

The act of criticising someone for their presumed sexual activity, or stigmatising them for behavior, attire or desires that are more sexual than society finds acceptable.

patronizing

Someone's treatment towards a person, usually a minority, in a way that shows a feeling of superiority or a tendency to speak down to them, acting as though they are smarter, classier, or just better than the second person.

mansplaining

The act, for a man, to explain something to a woman* in a condescending, overconfident, and often inaccurate or oversimplified manner, with the sexist assumption that a man is likely to be more knowledgeable than a woman*. Often comes with maninterrupting.

maninterrupting

Unnecessary interruption of a woman* by a man. Often comes with mansplaining.

femicide

The killing of a woman* or girl* by a

man on account of her gender.

non-binary / genderqueer person

A person whose gender identity is outside the gender binary (man*/woman*) and cisnormativity. These terms can be used as umbrella terms for all non-binary identities or as identities in themselves.

agender person

A person who does not identify with any gender. Agender is a synonym of *genderless*.

misgendering someone

Commonly, the act of referring to someone with pronouns or terms that this person does not use for themselves and does not feel comfortable with, intentionally or not. To avoid this, do not make assumptions about people's gender and avoid using gendered language when you do not know the gender of the people around or of those you are speaking of.

ally

A privileged person who supports and advocates for one or more minority groups they don't belong to.

drag king/queen

A performance artist personifying masculine or feminine stereotypes.

asexual person

A person who does not experience sexual attraction, but can have romantic attraction. Asexuality is a spectrum and includes different degrees and types of (no) sexual attraction.

transgender person

A person who does not identify with the gender they have been assigned at birth.

Some people call themselves *transsexual* when they feel the need to go under reassignment surgery while others find this denomination pathologizing and would rather not use it. In any case, it is important to use the term chosen by the person to define themselves.

queer

Umbrella term for sexualities and genders who are not heterosexual or cisgender; it is also an identity in itself.

cissexism

The belief that one's gender is determined solely by the biological sex of male or female.

pansexual / panromantic person

A person who experiences sexual and/or romantic attraction to any person, regardless of their gender identity.

intersex person

Umbrella term describing people born with reproductive or sexual anatomy and/or a chromosome pattern that cannot be classified as typically male or female.

transitioning

The process of changing one's gender expression and/or sex characteristics to accord with one's internal sense of gender identity.

gender-fluid person

A person on the non-binary spectrum whose gender identity fluctuates on the gender spectrum.

heteronormativity

The belief that heterosexuality is by default the “norm” and that sexual and marital relations are only appropriate between people of opposite sex.

gender expression

The way people show their gender to the world through such things as clothing, hairstyle and mannerisms, to name a few. These elements can be interpreted differently depending on the time, place and cultural context.

LGBTIQphobia

A range of negative attitudes, feelings or violence towards LGBTIQ+ people.

gender identity

One's intimate feeling of oneself as male, female, a blend of both or neither, i.e. how individuals perceive themselves and what they call themselves. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth. Depending on the personal, family, cultural or professional context, one can choose to express their gender identity—verbally or through their gender expression—or not.

glass ceiling

A metaphor coined by feminists in reference to barriers in the advancement of women and other underrepresented genders in society.

genital mutilation

Procedures that intentionally alter or cause injury to the female and intersex genital organs for non-medical reasons, mostly based on traditional customs of a given society.

sex reassignment surgery

The surgical procedure (or procedures) by which transgender people alter their physical appearance and sexual characteristics to resemble their gender.

aromantic person

A person who does not experience romantic attraction, but can have sexual attraction. This term is a spec-

trum and includes different degrees and types of (no) romantic attraction.

intersectionality

Intersectionality relates to the observation that power structures based on categories such as gender, race, sexuality, ability and class interact with each other in various ways and create inequalities, discrimination and oppression. One single power structure cannot be understood in isolation from other power structures.

For more definitions and examples, see the amazing chapter we have dedicated to this important concept in this booklet.

cisgender person

A person whose [gender identity](#) matches the gender [they were assigned](#) at birth (often abbreviated as *cis*).

identity

How we understand ourselves, what we call ourselves and often who we connect to and associate with. Each of us has a unique diversity of social identities based on our sexual orientation, gender identity, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status, religion and other important parts of who we are. Those identities develop over time, intersect with each other and help give meaning to our lives.

gender role

A [social role](#) including a range of behaviors and attitudes that are generally considered acceptable, appropriate, or desirable for people based on their actual or perceived gender (how we're expected to act, speak, dress, groom, conduct ourselves). They are usually centered on conceptions of [femininity](#) and [masculinity](#).

Every society, ethnic group, and culture has gender role expectations, but they can be very different from group to group. They can also change in the same society over time.

reclaimed words

As language evolves, some individuals and communities choose to identify with terms that had previously been used as slurs against them. The words are “reclaimed” and given new meaning, often with a sense of pride and resilience when used by the members of the community. Examples include “queer”, “dyke” and “slut”—among others. It's important to remember that identity is unique to each individual; not all members of a community accept the use of reclaimed words, as they may still find these offensive and hurtful.

sex positivity

The belief that consensual sexual expression is healthy and should not be a taboo. Sex-positivity is grounded in comprehensive sex education,

exploring and deconstructing gender norms and promoting body-positivity and self-love. It fosters safe spaces in which different identities and sexual expressions are valued and bodily autonomy is essential.

masculinity and demasculinization

The word “masculinity” refers to the gender expressions that are considered as masculine by a society. It is an umbrella term, as different kinds of masculinity can be defined: hegemonic, toxic, subordinated... Trans people, women*, intersex or queer people can, as well as cis men, identify with, embody and/or perform any kind of masculinity. Masculini-

ties themselves are not troublesome. Hegemonic masculinity, however, must be fought against because it legitimizes domination on women* and queer people and perpetuates patriarchy.

“Demasculinization”, for it does not specify which kind of masculinity it aims to smash—and thus rejects all forms of masculinity, including transmasculinity—is a problematic term.

women*/girls*

The “*” is used to emphasise the fact that the use of the terms includes trans women and girls, as well as female-aligned people.

This gender glossary was compiled by consulting Gender Nation Glossary, Human Rights Campaign Glossary, Feminist Campus Campaign on Sex Positivity, Include Gender! Glossary and our lives and identities.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS ABOUT FEMINISM

1. What is feminism and why do we need it?

Feminism is the advocacy of women's rights on the grounds of equality and equity. Unless there are equal opportunities, there will be no equality, even if there are some equal rights.

Feminism is a theory and a social movement whose main aims are the description and the analysis of women's experiences, perspectives and human rights conditions in order to eliminate existing social, economic, political and cultural oppression based on gender and sexuality.

As a theory, feminism is not homogeneous; it has changed and different theories have been developed such as—among others—liberal, radical, socialist or poststructuralist feminism. While the analysis of oppression based on gender has remained the same in the different feminist theories, the reasons for the oppression, the ways for its elimination and even the concept of gender itself have been understood differently.

Feminist social movements have been transforming societies over the last few centuries and have succeeded in obtaining political, social and cultural rights for women and queer

communities; however, the oppression still exists. Sexist, misogynist, homo- and transphobic attitudes, discrimination in the workplace, the gender pay gap, domestic and sexual violence, sexual harassment and cat-calling, the glass ceiling, etc., are just a short list of problems that women and queer people face in everyday life. Feminism is still important, because as Audre Lorde says: “I am not free, while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own”.

2. Why is it called feminism if it promotes equality?

“The reason why it’s called feminism while advocating for gender equality is that females are the gender that is the underprivileged, underserved gender. You attain gender equality by advocating for the rights of the underprivileged gender” - Steve Shives

3. What is the relation between feminism and vegetarianism/veganism?

Veganism and vegetarianism are feminist issues.

In the patriarchal capitalist system, human and non-human female bodies are similarly objectified, i.e. they are considered tools for the pleasure and benefit of men.

In fact, they are both presented as pleasurable objects and their emotions are ridiculed (animals “don’t really suffer” while women “are hysterical and exaggerate pain”); thus, the use of their bodies and violence against them—rape, torture, killing—are often presented as legitimate, sometimes even necessary. Furthermore, their perceived vulnerability added to the denial of their consent are used as justifications for abuse.

On the other hand, this objectification comes with the exploitation of their potential for motherhood, which is the basis for both marriage and the milk and egg industry. In the farming industry, female cows, chickens, pigs and other species are routinely exploited due to their reproductive abilities through forced intercourse and constant pregnancies—before being slaughtered when “spent”. Feminism and veganism fight for control over females’ own bodies and reproductive systems.

It is not surprising that in patriarchal societies, hegemonic masculinity implies an imperative to eat meat. Being vegetarian is thus a way of reworking gender and choosing not to eat others’ bodies as an act of resistance—just as it can be to decide what you put in your own body.

In its intersectional fight against interconnected oppressions like sexism, racism or classism, feminism

must include a reflection on speciesism and about how we treat non-human bodies. Indeed, food is political and questioning our diets is a crucial step in decolonizing our minds and bodies.

Going further:

- <https://bit.ly/2IMzVEI>
- *Carol J. Adams, The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory, 1990, cf. <https://caroljadams.com/>*
- <https://bit.ly/1R12Hys>

4. Why is it important for feminists to have meetings without cis males?

There is a reason why gender quotas, speaker turns, gender budgeting and other tools were invented to monitor how much space men take compared to women. Because cis men take a lot of space. The term “mansplain” didn’t catch on for no good reason. A raft of [studies](#) have [found](#) that men talk more than women, particularly in public professional settings, where those with more power often feel more comfortable holding the floor. Men are also more likely to interrupt when a woman is speaking.

Moreover cis men are more visible everywhere in public spaces. They are on TV debating, talking on panels, and in our parliaments doing politics. Women still hold less than

30% of the executive positions in Europe. In North America, the percentage is 17%. Men are more visible in the streets and they are not scared to go out after dark unlike many women. In Eastern Europe some cafes are only for men.

Cis men are everywhere. They are on TV, on the radio, in parliament. The Ministers are men, prime ministers are men, presidents are men. Streets are full of men. Public spaces are occupied by men. Of course, of course #notallmen but a lot of them, really.

So we can ask this question in a different way: Why is it important for cis males to attend feminist meetings? It is very important for cis men to learn what feminism is so they can also fight against the gender stereotypes that hold them prisoner to masculinity. It is very important for men to understand patriarchy so that they can also smash the gender stereotypes and gender roles of this patriarchal system.

However, if women require a non cis-male environment to have a discussion, then it is because they would like to share their experiences and hold their discussions in a safe space. And honestly **no** cis men is vital for any feminist discussion or smashing the patriarchy.

5. Why are feminists angry and do feminists hate men?

Anger is an answer to oppression by feminists. If we're subjected to significant levels of violence – sexual, family, maternal, reproductive – and workplace and labour inequalities, how can it be possible to fight against patriarchy without anger?

In patriarchal societies gender is created around binary concepts of masculinity and femininity. While the norms have changed throughout history, there are still boundaries that shape them. The binary opposition of reason VS emotion is one of the bases of the norms, masculinity being created around such personal characteristics as assertiveness, aggression, strength, etc., and femininity as its opposite. These notions are hierarchised and there are certain boundaries that people socialized as women and men must not cross. For example, anger is only legitimate if expressed by cis-males; on the other hand, if women express the same feeling, they are denounced as hysterical, emotional or non-legitimate. The question “Why are feminists angry?” itself implies that anger is not a valid feeling for non cis-males and contributes to delegitimizing their fight. Thus, it plays its part in the normalization of hierarchies and the strengthening of the binary system that is the basis of the oppression. Therefore, the only answer to that question can be: “Why not?”

And regarding whether feminists

hate men, we can quote Sofie Hagen:

“If you've been a feminist for more than like three months, you would have repeated the same sentence over and over again: Feminism is not about hating men. Feminism is not men hating. Just because you are a feminist doesn't mean you hate men. You don't have to hate men to become a feminist. Feminists don't hate men... And you said it so many times and they still don't listen so now you just...ummm... you just kinda...hate men. I mean just a little bit, just a tiny bit. It's really hard not to, have you seen them? And I know this is a bit offensive to some men but to you I just wanna say: Cheer up love!”

7. Why are you a feminist?

**Answered by the participants of the study session*

“Because the right for freedom and everyone's rights to be who they are are so important! If one is not free, none of us is”;

“It is the only thing that I believe will save the world”;

“The world needs equality and peace, we should have equal opportunities”

“To be part of a movement, where I feel my problems are taken seriously and understood, where I can fight against structures that are unequal, unjust and discriminatory”;

“Because our fight is by no means

finished. There is still so much violence women, trans and non-binary people are confronted with, economic disparities and legal ones. I am a feminist because we need to keep fighting until the very last female/non-binary person can live equal and without oppression”;

“I am a feminist because injustice is the most violent, unfair and frustrating feeling I have ever experienced. Because structures don’t allow humans to be treated equally, it is urgent to challenge them and break them (sometimes hidden) barriers limiting women’s and genderqueer people’s lives. I believe sisterhood can smash patriarchy”;

“Because I want to achieve equality for all”;

“Because at one point I acknowledged the structures in society and with that structural oppression. You feel oppression on your skin, start seeing all of the things that are limiting you, then you see there’s a struc-

ture behind all of it and you realise that it is not there by chance, but that it is a part of something much bigger, it’s systematic. When you realise this, you cannot go back and not call yourself a feminist”;

“Because I can’t ignore the injustice that women* face around the world. There is still so much denial of it, it is invisibilized and that’s why it is important to speak up about the injustice that women* face on an everyday basis”;

“Because I’m tired of patriarchal society and unrealistic beauty standards”;

“Because I believe we’re all equal”;

“I’m a transgender male and society see me as a woman. I experience discrimination and objectifying and I want to eliminate those. Every gender should be equal”;

“Because in contrary, we’d still have patriarchy in future”.

INTERSECTIONALITY

When you search “Intersectionality” online, these top three definitions pop-up:

Wikipedia: Intersectionality is an analytic framework that attempts to identify how interlocking systems of power impact those who are most marginalized in society. Intersectionality considers that various forms of social stratification, such as class, race, sexual orientation, age, religion, creed, disability and gender, do not exist separately from each other but are interwoven together. While the theory began as an exploration of the oppression of women of color within society, today the analysis is potentially applied to all social categories (including social identities usually seen as dominant when considered independently).

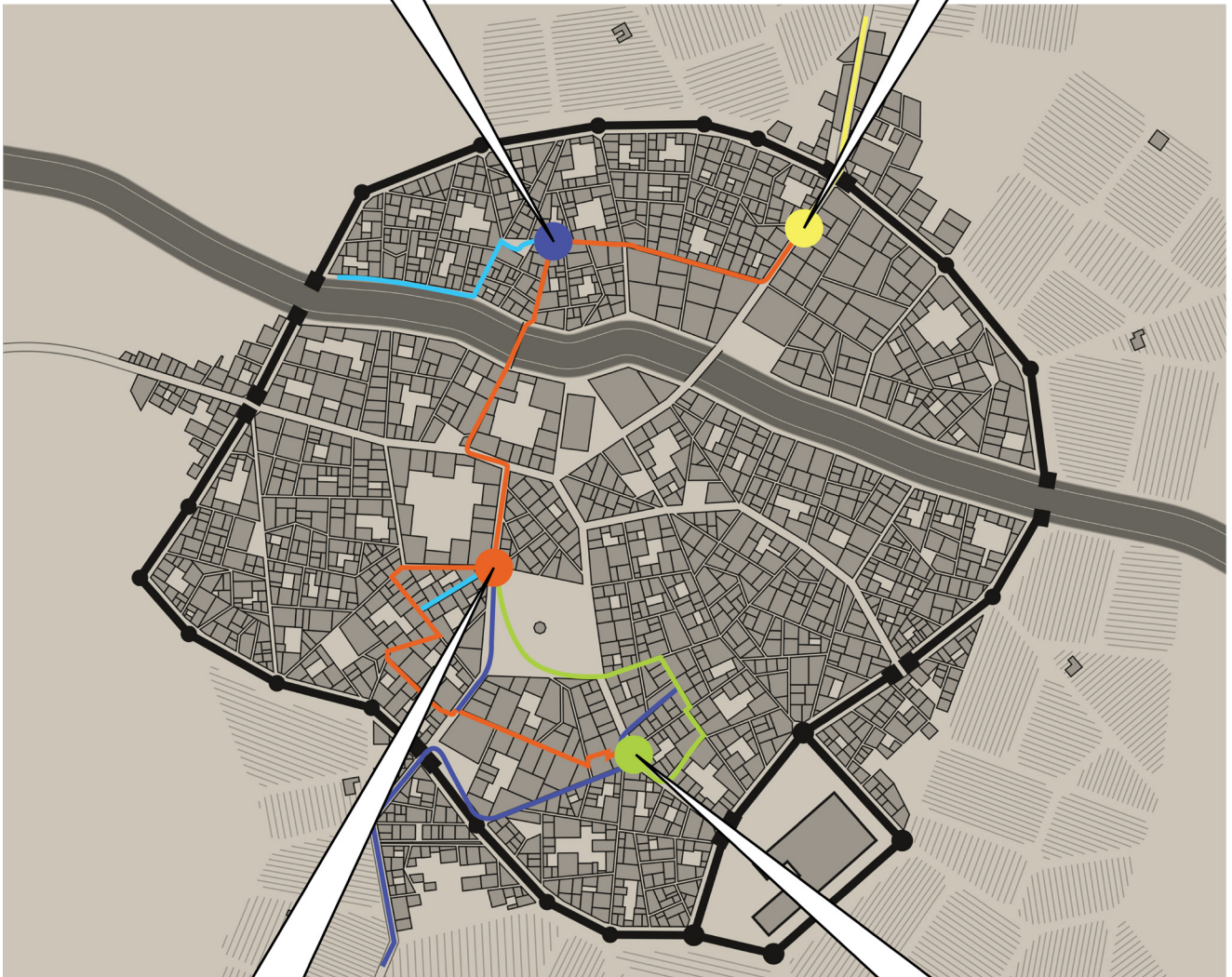
Geek Feminism Wiki: Intersectionality is a concept often used in critical theories to describe the ways in which oppressive institutions (racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, xenophobia, classism, etc.) are interconnected and cannot be examined separately from one another. The concept first came from legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 and is largely used in critical theories, especially Feminist theory, when discussing systematic oppression. When possible, credit Kimberlé Crenshaw for coining the term “intersectionality” and bringing the concept to wider attention.

YW Boston: Intersectionality is a framework for conceptualizing a person, group of people, or social problem as affected by a number of discriminations and disadvantages. It takes into account people’s overlapping identities and experiences in order to understand the complexity of prejudices they face.

Definition is not enough though...

SHE BEGAN LOOKING FOR JOBS AS A SCHOOL INSTRUCTOR. SHE TOOK OFF HER **HIJAB** IN ORDER TO GET HIRED. THIS **WOMAN** MADE THE CHOICE TO REMOVE THE HIJAB ON HER OWN, BUT IT WAS ONLY DUE TO HER PERCEPTION THAT WITH IT SHE WOULD NEVER BE HIRED IN HER FIELD. SHE STATED THAT SHE NEEDED TO MAKE A DECISION BETWEEN [HER] HIJAB AND [HER] PROFESSIONAL LIFE. (FRANCE 2016)

THE COMPANY HIRED BLACK MEN. THE COMPANY HIRED BLACK WOMEN. THE COMPANY DIDN'T HIRE **BLACK WOMEN**.



A **YOUNG TRANS* WOMAN**, A SEX WORKER IN **TURKEY** WAS NOT WELCOMED IN THE WOMEN'S MARCH BECAUSE TRANSITION WASN'T COMPLETED IN ORDER TO 'LOOK' MORE LIKE A WOMAN. (TURKEY 2018)

A DISABLED LESBIAN **TRANS* WOMAN** IN HER **40S** IS FORCED TO LIVE HER LIFE AS A CIS STRAIGHT MAN SO THAT SHE CAN GET THE HELP SHE NEEDS FROM SOCIETY, WORKPLACES AND FAMILY. (GREECE 2018)

People Shared:

“I am a trans woman and a feminist. Once, I was planning to attend Women’s March in Istanbul. At the same time, I was feeling like I had to look feminine to be accepted by cis-women in the march. I was afraid to be mis-gendered by them.”

→ Gender, gender expression - example of Trans Exclusionary Radical Feminism (TERF):

“I am a trans sex-worker. In the Women’s March, I was carrying a banner to promote and express my job freely and to provoke the social sexist norms. However, later I was so severely criticized by other feminists that I even received death threats.”

→ Gender, job - example of Sex-Worker Exclusionary Radical Feminism (SWERF)

“Being in Europe means being excluded by your ethnicity, skin color, and so on. Gender identity brings another layer. Care systems are not well equipped to deliver good care to trans people of color. We, as trans community of color and bi-cultural people are dealing with our reality by trying to step out from organized white LGBTI+ programs and even white-trans communities. When we meet up with our trans communities of color, we find allies. White western movement makes us invisible today. They are writing publications about us but they do not know us. I demand safe and inclusive spaces from big white-dominated organizations. I don’t have the power to change the world as an HIV positive, sex-worker, trans woman of color, a migrant living in a white-dominated country. But you do.”

Dinah Bons (co-chair of TGEU)

→ Ethnicity, skin color, gender identity, cultural background, health condition, job, migration status

“Once, I was asked to say what disabled trans people hear the most: “We will do it better next time.” Which means that it will be the same next time. There needs to be more of a commitment to change. Those who are most excluded are the people whose issues will be dealt with the year after, or the year after that. All the trans communities have a shared history and same issues: Bathroom, law, recognition, etc. Same even before institutionalization. We

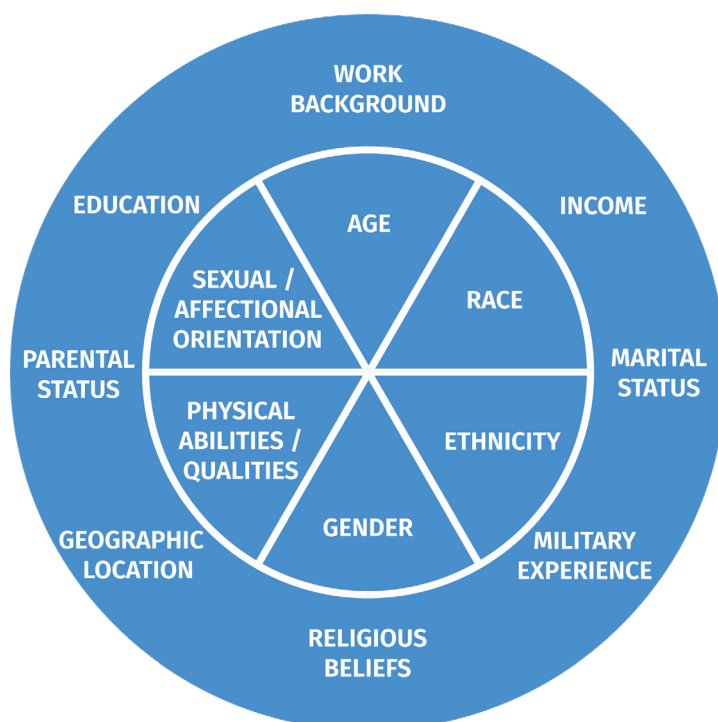
often see them as separate, and therefore treated as such.”

Nathan Paul Young Gale

→ Gender identity, disability

In 2009 a woman named Asma Bougnaoui was fired from Micropole SA, a digital engineering consulting firm in France. After a client had complained about her wearing a hijab. The company asked her not to wear it in the presence of the client, and when Bougnaoui declined to comply she was fired (Employers allowed to ban the hijab: EU court). The company did not have any official policy banning religious symbols, and they had allowed her to wear one freely until the client’s complaint. Following her dismissal, Bougnaoui, along with a Belgian woman who had also been fired for wearing a hijab, took their case to the European Court of Justice claiming that they had been discriminated against. The court ruled that employers were entitled to ban staff from wearing visible religious symbols, and that such a policy was not considered to be “direct discrimination” (“Employers allowed to ban the hijab: EU court”). In their ruling, however, they noted that this was not the case for Bougnaoui and that she had been treated differently and that the client’s demand that she not wear a hijab could not “be considered a genuine and determining occupational requirement” (“Employers allowed to ban the hijab: EU court”).

→ Gender, religion



We cannot just say we provide a safe space, we need to act in order to create one. A safe space is not the same space for every person.

In this study session, we were asked what would make us safe, joyful and motivated. And it seems that quite a few things can contribute to feel this way: **INCLUDED**

INVOLVEMENT OF THE PARTICIPANTS
be kind **NETWORK** *be active* **BEING ON**
TIME WITH BALANCE *openminded/*
hearted **INVOLVED** *ask questions*
BEAUTY AND JOY *don't take things*
personally **POWER TO CHANGE** *way*
of participating is different for every
person **PAY ATTENTION WHEN PEOPLE**
TALK *constructive feedbacks* **MENTAL**
WELLBEING AND LOTS OF LOVE *stop*
if you aren't comfortable **100%** *it is*
ok to want to get isolated **VALUE**
SILENCE *knowledge and experience*
NOBODY IS PERFECT AND EVERYONE'S
UNIQUE *moderation & hand sign*

We should always remember that saying you are inclusive, does not just make you inclusive.

We should take the time and listen.

Never talk for a minority/oppressed group before you actually listen to them.

ANALYZE THE POWER RELATIONS IN YOUR GROUP

You can use this session outline to build understanding in a group about the different ways in which power can operate in society, and to consider different strategies for challenging dominant power relations.

This session outline was adopted from Friends of the Earth International School of Sustainability Curricula: Power and Privilege

Aims and objectives of the session:

To understand power and power relations. How is power established and used on people? Revealing power relations in different parts/ levels of society.

- Identifying power images and tools used to assert power in daily life
- Finding different methods to reveal power relations
- Understand how power and power relations are built
- Discussing power relations and their connection to sexism

Methodology and methods:

PART 1: EXPLORING POWER

Invite participants to stand in a large circle. Arrange 5 chairs, a table and

a glass or a bottle of water at random in the centre of the circle. Remove all other objects from the circle.

Ask someone to volunteer to enter the circle and use the objects to make one of the chairs the most powerful object in the scene. They can position any object wherever they want. Once they have made an arrangement and are happy with it, invite them to stand back in the circle.

Ask the other participants (encouraging the person who arranged the chairs to listen rather than explain): Is this chair powerful? What is powerful about the chair here?

Invite someone to rearrange the objects if they can think of a way to make the chair of power even more powerful. When they are happy with the arrangement, invite them to rejoin the circle.

Ask the other participants: Is the chair more or less powerful now? What makes it more/less powerful? Explore the disagreement where it exists, always asking why people think the different objects hold more or less power.

Continue asking people to enter one at a time if they have an idea for how to make the chair more powerful, while asking the groups feedback until the group is satisfied it has found the most powerful image. In this process you can draw out different kinds of power as they emerge.

Part 1: Debrief:

Ask the group to debrief on the simulation and draw out different kinds of power. This might be power over & power between, visible & invisible, institutional, structural, ideological etc.

As different scenes are created and discussed, you might want to ask the group if the image they are seeing relates to a particular experience in their own life, or situation they see in the world. This can support the group to build consciousness of how power operates in our everyday lives.

One challenge with this exercise is how to think about what might make unequal relationships of power between chairs that are apparently equal in terms of their location in the space. You could ask this question directly at some point to draw this out- these chairs are all positioned in the same way in relation to the powerful chair. These chairs all look equal. Are they? What factors might mean that some of these chairs might still have more power than others? Draw out gender, race, class, etc.

If your group is working on issues of resource justice, the role of the glass

of water may become very important, standing for access to resources in general, or maybe access to water in particular. If it is useful, you could ask more questions about how access to resources relates to power, in order to explore this issue further.

Debrief the first part.

PART 2: RESISTANCE

Invite someone to enter the most powerful scene that has been made with the chairs and tables and make a still image/statue with their body in the most powerful position they can imagine within that scene.

Ask participants: What is powerful about this image?

Next, invite someone to step into the image and take away the power from the other person in the scene, again by creating a still image/statue with their own body, without touching the other person.

Ask participants: Who do you think is most powerful? Why?

When participants have come to general agreement about who is the most powerful in the scene, ask the person with “less power” to leave the scene as they have been replaced. The ‘more powerful’ person should remain in the



same position.

Then invite someone else to enter the scene and remove the power from this person, again by using their body as a statue. Repeat this several times.

Additional elements or variations:

For the section on resistance, one variation involves inviting people to enter one at a time, with the aim of taking the most powerful position, without the other statues leaving the scene. In this way you can build up a small scene which you can then analyse, looking at the different kinds of challenges to power and forms of resistance that can be seen. Make sure there are enough people who are not statues in the scene so that they can analyse the image.

Part 2 - Debrief.

Ask participants to draw out different strategies for resisting/challenging power as you go. Again, this is an opportunity to ask people if they have seen any of these forms of resistance working in practice in everyday life.

The session debrief:

Invite the participants to sit down in a circle and debrief the session:

- Was this session useful for you?
- What are you taking away from this session?

Time Required: 30 minutes for each part

MASTER SUPPRESSION TECHNIQUES

Have you ever heard the saying “It’s just a joke” or has anyone interrupted your speech in front of everyone, maybe at an important meeting? Have you ever felt like whatever choice you make is wrong? We all know these feelings, we all try to handle these kinds of situations. Master suppression techniques are strategies of social manipulation used, unconsciously or consciously, to maintain power and suppress people in social relations. We tried to inform you about these master suppression techniques and counter-strategies. Once we name it, it’s easier to fight.

1. Invisibilizing

This suppression technique is about being belittled and being communicated to as if you don’t matter or that what you do or say is not important in the context. The purpose of this technique is to make you feel insecure, meaningless and less important. It

may be expressed through speech, body language or other social codes e.g. the target’s name is never mentioned, the target’s name is not introduced, or while the target talks; people talk, cough, look down into their papers, scrape their chairs or simply do not respond to what you say.

Counter Strategies:

- Bringing back attention to ideas
- Support of another person, ally - make others visible
- Insist on taking space

2. Ridiculing

A person ridiculing another dominates the situation and reduces the target to a figure of amusement. Being the target of this ruler technique, one may find it difficult to feel like they're being taken seriously. Being put in the situation of "it is only a joke" makes it hard to distance oneself from the situation and say it is not okay.

Counter Strategies:

- Point out something is wrong, name the problem
- Intervene
- Speak up, adjust your voice and tone (only if you can!)
- *Moderators and audiences have a strong role in counteracting being ridiculed, don't forget!

3. Stereotyping

The suppression is based on stereotypes and preconceived ideas in a conversation with you, which may make you feel excluded or labelled. It categorizes and 'locks' people in stereotypical positions and roles, attributing them certain behavior.

Counter Strategies:

- Speaking up and confronting stereotyping

4. Withholding Information

When a group withholds information or addresses important issues when certain individuals are not present, this master suppression technique is exercised. Making decisions in informal places inaccessible to some people. When not having access to relevant information of e.g. written communication, news, invitations or minutes of a meeting, it may lead to incorrect or delayed response from the person who is excluded from the information. An example is how a group of colleagues may have discussed and decided on a certain topic over a beer after work, and when the actual meeting is taking place, the decisions are pushed through without much further inclusion of those not present at the informal meeting.

Counter Strategies:

- Demand transparency: demand time, ask questions, only agree on important decisions if you are well informed
- Standing up, having multiple allies, support the other person
- Ensure representation of marginalised groups in decision making bodies
- *Watch out for the bystander symptom: being afraid to react even though you don't like what is going on!

5. Damned If You Do, Damned If You Don't

This technique conveys the idea that

whatever choice a person makes, it is wrong. A person being the target of this double-bind ruler technique. e.g.: “if you’re outspoken, people say you’re too dominating, and if you’re a good listener, you’re dismissed as being weak. If you channel most of your efforts into work, you’re accused of neglecting your children or your partner, and if things are the other way around, you’re told you lack drive.”

Counter Strategies:

-Make your priorities clear to others, demand the right to say no and decide on your own priorities

-Try to be confident (only if you can!)

*Some people disagree with this as a measure as it puts responsibility on the victim - the oppressed individual and it can be dangerous that the person react. There are different personal strategies and people react differently in such situations.

- Don’t feel guilty or wrong because of you own choices, dilemmas and priorities

6. Heaping Blame And Putting To Shame

Making a person feel ashamed and guilty for action, a trait, a certain development or a situation, even though this person is not to blame. Furthermore, it characterizes all of the previous categories of suppression techniques, as they all refer to making people feel ashamed or wrong on

some level. When people relive the situations exemplified above over and over again, they internalize the message of blame and feel guilty and ashamed.

Counter Strategies:

-Intellectualization: Only take responsibility for what you reasonably are responsible for, analyze the situation, do not take blame for something you can not change

-Emotional Support

-Have multiple allies

-Self-care

7.Objectifying

This technique conveys the idea of treating a person as a commodity or an object.

Counter Strategies:

- Say no to comments that are not relevant, confront people who discriminate and objectify, Require that people relate to the relevant

8. Violence And Threatening Behaviour

Violent behaviour includes any physical assault, with or without weapons; behaviour that a reasonable person would interpret as being potentially violent (throwing things, pounding on a desk or door, or destroying property), or specific threats to inflict physical harm. Threatening behaviour includes physical actions short of actual contact/injury (moving closer aggressively), general oral

or written threats to people.

Counter Strategies:

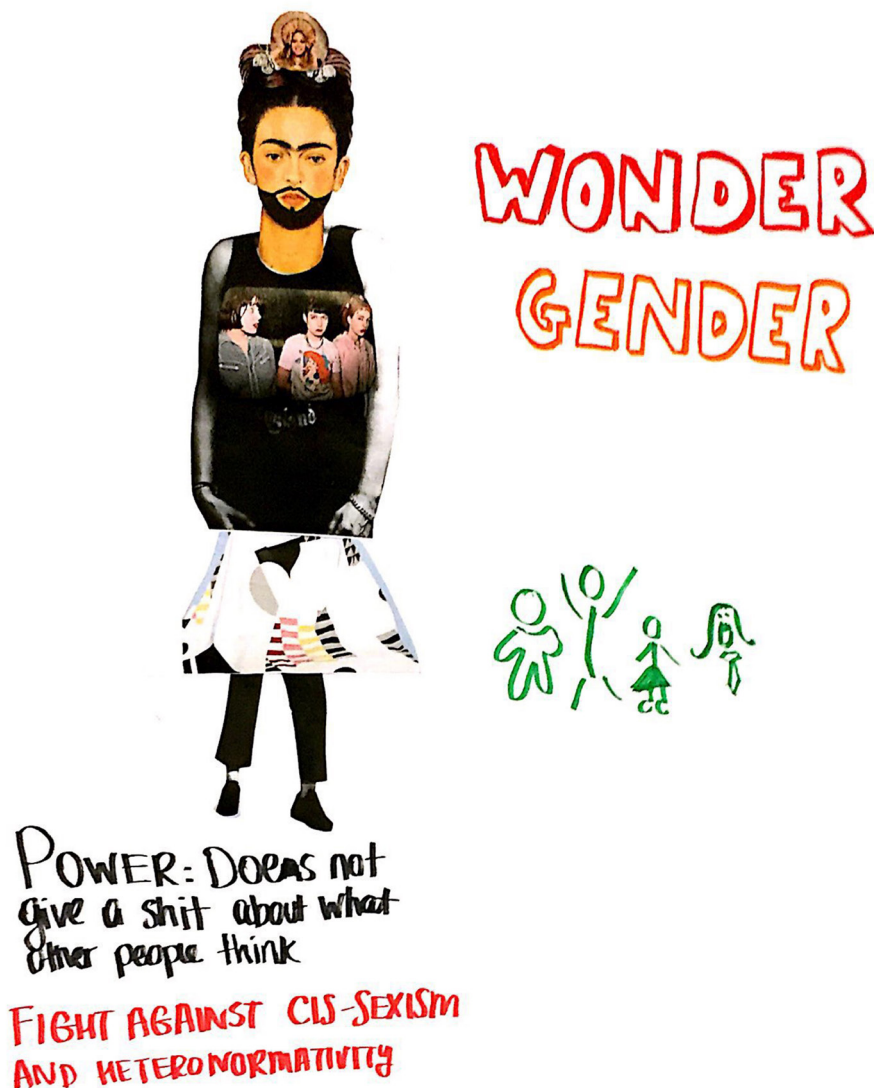
- Demand support
- Report threats and possibly go to a leader, demand that there are others that can be present, who may act as witnesses
- Calling out the harassment

- Emotional support

*We should work on our self-defend strategies. But we should not think that it is our responsibility to react to each of those situations because our safety should be the first concern.

References

“Validation Techniques and Counter Strategies” - Methods for dealing with power structures and changing social climates, by Diana Amnéus, Ditte Eile (former Jonasson), Ulrika Flock, Pernilla Rosell Steuer, Gunnel Testad, Stockholm University, 2004.



CAN YOU DIAGNOSE WHICH MST IT IS?

Content Warning: The following part includes personal MST stories shared by participants of the Study Session. This section might include challenging content such as dealing with violence, sexual assault, sexism and misogyny and is flagged for any reader who wishes to know in advance.

“I was travelling by taxi. While I was getting off and going away, the driver offered me to go with him till the next station (as I understood; he wasn’t talking in English). I said no, I will take a bus. Then he grabbed my breasts, I froze up and couldn’t think how to deal with it. I only hit his arm and went away. When I was sharing this bad experience, there was a cis-male and said to me, you weren’t wearing a bra, therefore it happened.”

MST: Violence or threatening behaviour, Heaping blame and putting to shame

“I work as a project secretary in an international company and everyone who enters the office sees me first. So, it is likely that one of the men from the CEO’s group passes me by without saying “hello” and during office meetings my opinion is disregarded until another man repeats it

in his own words (and eventually everyone agrees!).”

MST: Invisibilizing

“When I comforted my boss about the disparity between the workload defined in my contract and the actual hours I was working, he immediately raised his voice in quite an aggressive manner. Without allowing me to finish my point, without taking the complaint seriously, he completely blocked me from talking and went on a long rant on how I was not in a position to complain. In this situation, the space he took up physically and verbally was the most frightening.”

MST: Invisibilizing, Violence or threatening behaviour

“Once in a BBC Scotland debate, I was 18 and about to take part as a debater against a 60-year-old man, who was a professor at Edinburgh

University. During the debate I was constantly interrupted, and mocked, while the moderator allowed it. After the debate, the professor went on his social media, and decided to post bullshit about me, saying that I was a liar and a stupid little girl. I luckily won the debate, and that surely offended his shitty male ego.”

MST: Ridiculing

“People from ‘old Greens’ being on their phones when I speak.”

MST: Invisibilising

“I wrote an opinion piece for a regional newspaper in which I criticized a local reform of the social care system. I got a ‘reply’ from two powerful men with fancy positions. In their first sentence, they wrote that I misunderstood the process simply for disagreeing with them.”

MST: Stereotyping

“At schools the boys would compare our bodies, and would say that I looked like a boy because my breasts weren’t as big as some others were. This would make me incredibly self-conscious about my body, especially when we went swimming. Nevertheless, I am happy with who I am and I love my body. I don’t care what anyone else thinks.”

MST: Objectifying

“I was in a relationship that was emotionally and physically abusive. He would constantly put me down and force me to do things that I didn’t want to. If I refused to do it, he would say that he’d tell everyone I was a bad person. He was well known and loved in our community so I knew if I tried to speak out, nobody would believe me.”

MST: Violence and threatening behaviour, Heaping the blame and putting to shame

“There was this guy at college who would speak to my classmates in an aggressive manner when he didn’t get his own way. I felt like I had to protect the other women because they didn’t have the confidence to speak up to him. As a result of that, our friendship become very restrained because I didn’t like his attitude. He would then cut me off when I was talking, speak over me and ridicule all of my ideas every time. The teachers didn’t know how to respond because he wasn’t physically violent. It was a very draining point in my life for me.”

MST: Ridiculing, Violence and threatening behaviour

“I was involved in a project where we invited a guest speaker to give a presentation. We communicated with each other for months about her presentation, travel and so on. When she arrived, my male colleague waltzed in and spoke about the program with her. She kept on asking him questions that I could have answered.”

MST: Invisibility, Objectifying

“I was in an abusive relationship, and one day, he attacked me in the middle of the street, and the police were called. He was in jail for 72 hours. As he was deaf, this was particularly isolating for him. When he was released he was very apologetic for what he had done, and I took him back. When we visited his family, his parents blamed me for putting him in jail and said it wasn’t fair that he had to experience that isolation. There was no compassion for what I went through.”

MST: Violence and threatening behaviour, Damned if you do, damned if you don’t

“I was the General Secretary for a sports federation, and the Board were all men. One day, we had a meeting and I was asked to move my seat to allow another man take my place. I found this strange, but I didn’t want to make a scene and so I moved to another seat. Another man approached me and asked me to move and this kept happening until I ended up sitting at a lowered table. I felt disrespected and it clearly showed that they didn’t see me as a respected colleague. Afterwards, we made plans to go back to the hotel and the President of the Federation approached me. He said he wanted me to go back to his room and have sex with him. I felt it was unfair that he was abusing his position as President. I refused to go back to his room, and after a while, I decided to step down from my role as I felt it wasn’t a safe or respectable environment for me to be in.”

MST: Invisibility, Objectifying, Violence and threatening behaviour

What other MSTs can you identify in these cases?

STRUCTURAL TOOLS AGAINST GENDER INEQUALITY

These are the tools devised to fight gender inequality in workspaces, organizations etc. What are these tools and how well are they implemented, really? In this section we will outline a couple of cases where these tools were in place, whether they worked out and what could be done better.

Case 1: Minister Tickle of New Democratic Party of Canada

New Democratic Party (NDP) is a social democratic party in Canada. They are the 3rd or 4th largest party in Canada. The party's constitution [states](#):

New Democrats seek a future that brings together the best of the insights and objectives of Canadians who, within the social democratic and democratic socialist traditions, have worked through farmer, labour, co-operative, feminist, human rights and environmental movements, and with First Nations, Métis and Inuit peoples, to build a more just, equal, and sustainable Canada within a global community dedicated to the same goals.

Minister Tickle

A former Manitoba cabinet minister is apologizing after women came forward alleging he touched and tickled them and made inappropriate remarks while he was in government.

Stan Struthers, who was in cabinet for more than a decade while the New Democrats were in power, says he recently learned his behaviour made former colleagues and staff feel disrespected. “I am sorry,” he said in a statement Thursday. “I apologize for any interactions I have had that have been inappropriate and that have caused any person to feel disrespected or uncomfortable. “My intention was never to treat women as anything other than equal and respected.”

What was the problem in this situation? Women working for the cabinet minister have been sexually harassed. They informed their supervisor but were told to “suck-it up” due to elections on the horizon.

Were there any tools in place with the New Democratic Party to address sexual harassment claims? Not really, there was an anti-harassment policy of the Manitoba government, which needed to be updated. The NDP started drafting a policy paper after the incident was made public.

How was the crisis handled? What tools/policies were used to address and solve the crisis? The Minister apologized and resigned from his legislature [seat](#).

The Manitoba Government passed a new policy to release an annual, public report listing the numbers and types of harassment complaints it receives.

The NDP announced that it was appointing two women to lead a commission that will develop a safe workplace policy for the party. The commission [found](#) out the Manitoba NDP had an ‘over-sexualized, sexist and misogynist’ culture.

The NDP published an anti-harassment [policy](#) three months after the incident was made public.

Was it effective? Not really, there was no clear follow-up or action from both the Manitoba government and the NDP after the reports and policy papers were been published.

How could you make this tool more effective?

- Training and space to empower survivors to speak up
- Independent office/department to report to and investigate harassment cases
- Formalized punishment for the aggressor
- Monitoring & Evaluation of the anti-harassment policy

Case 2: UK Gender Pay Gap

The Gender Pay Gap [reporting](#) regulations came into effect 5 April 2017, with organisations in Great Britain with over 250 employees being required to publish their results on their website and upload them to a Government website by 4 April 2018. The public availability of Gender Pay Gap information will encourage employers to take actions to reduce or eliminate their Gender Pay Gaps prior to publication. Organisations may have concerns about the potential reputational risks associated with having a large pay gap. In the following sections we explain all you need to know about the regulations. Alternatively you can [download](#) the summary.

What do employees need to report?

PAY GAP, MEAN AND MEDIAN - This is the difference in hourly pay of male and female full-time relevant employees. A positive number indicates men earn more than women; a negative number will mean the reverse. Pay is reported as both ordinary pay and bonus pay.

BONUS PAY GAP, MEAN AND MEDIAN - This refers to the bonus pay paid to relevant male and female employees, expressed as a percentage of the bonus pay to relevant male employees.

BONUS PAY PROPORTION - Bonus pay proportion refers to male relevant employees who received a bonus in the last 12 months, expressed as a percentage of the relevant male employees; relevant female employees who received a bonus in the last 12 months, expressed as a percentage of the relevant female employees.

QUARTILES - Organise workforce into evenly sized quartiles based on ranking of all full-pay individuals from highest to lowest by hourly rate of pay. Report on each quartile the number of full-pay males and females in each quartile as a percentage of the total in the quartile.

What is the challenge this solution address to? Gender pay gap

What is the name of the tool? Gender pay gap reporting

What are the tool's strength/weakness?

Strengths:

- Good that it points out the problem so that statistics can be used for law-making and advocacy.

Weaknesses:

- Not legally binding
- Binary - only takes women and men into consideration and not other gender minorities
- Gender gap comes from gender labour, women are more likely to be skipped for promotions, more likely to take precarious jobs.
- Only takes into consideration already employed people; unpaid house work is not included
- It's about keeping the reputation of the company
- Double interconnection of capitalism and sexism, how they feed into each other
- Men's excess income is reported as a positive number and women's is reported as a negative number.
- Doesn't take intersectionality into consideration, i.e. race, class, disability etc.

How could you make this tool more effective?

- Make it legally binding
- Include other criteria such as sick leave, holidays, marital leave etc.
- Introduce other genders into the report
- Intersect with race, disability, class etc.

IMAGINE YOUR SUPERHEROINE* LEADER

We asked participants of The Glass Ceiling Is Not Your Limit Study Session to bring a photo of female, trans, nonbinary leaders that inspire them. Working in groups of five, we asked each group to gather the stories of their (real) most inspiring leaders and to create an image of what would be for them the (ideal) most inspiring leader.

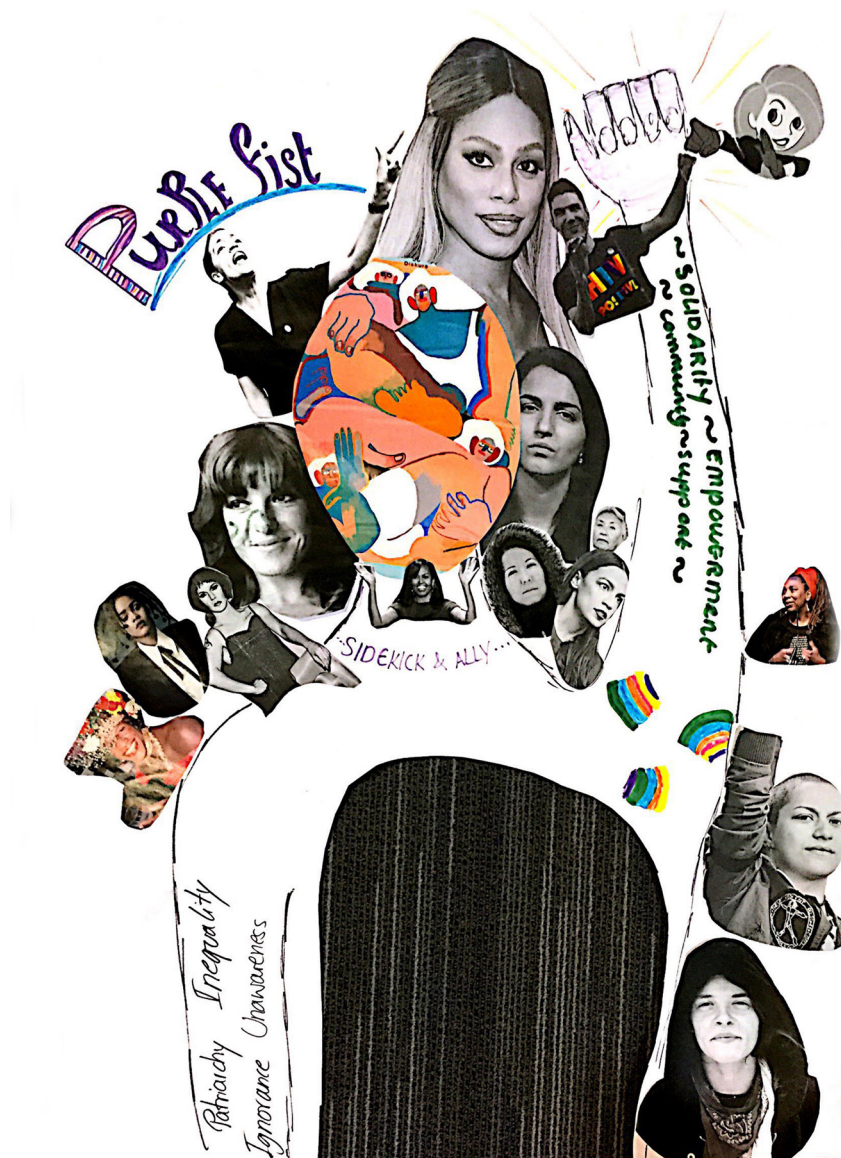
The aim of this session was to learn from inspiring non cis-male leaders and their leadership styles, discuss different leadership styles and to identify what they have in common to create one super hero-ine leader with the best traits from them all.

As you know, every superhero has a power, a reason to fight, a superhero name, a secret weapon, a special costume and an ally. With this exercise we asked the participants to create a female, trans, non-binary superhero, based on existing female, trans, non-binary leaders' traits.

Participants made a collage of a superheroine* with photos they brought with themselves, and building a background story for their superheroines by answering the following questions.

- What is your superheroines' power? (Quality/behaviour)
- What do they fight against?
- What is their name?
- What is their secret weapon? (tool used to empower others: art, politics...)
- What is their costume? (power in the way of dressing / what kind of positioning we like)
- Who is their best ally?

HERE ARE OUR SUPERHEROINES*



HOW DO I DARE TO BE A LEADER?

On 8 November 2018, Katri Ylinen, the co-spokesperson of Federation of Young European Greens made a presentation called “How Do I Dare To Be A Leader” as part of the Glass Ceiling Is Not Your Limit Study Session. Here is what she said:

I am not doing this for myself. I am doing this for all the people who voted for me, all the women* and non-males who will take this position after me. The world does not revolve around me. I have honest people around me. Sometimes making a mistake can help other people to be brave. If I don't do it there will be an equally incompetent man who will do it. It's my responsibility to take the space. **I will not let the dirty internalized patriarchal values manifest through me.**

And don't forget to...

**Take care of yourself
to take care of others.**

1. **Recognise your needs** by writing a list: of your feelings, of your fears and of your visions
2. **Talk about your fears and worries to others.**
3. **Write a list of your achievements** so far. What have you succeeded in? What are you proud of? Read this list out loud to yourself.
4. **Do not overwhelm yourself with tasks.** Sometimes cancelling on something or on someone is necessary to make space for yourself.
5. **Do not judge yourself for mistakes.** They are human, they are important. You will learn from them and others as well
6. **Stop comparing yourself to others.** Try to recognize when you fall into comparison patterns in your head to counteract them.
7. Accept that **you are responsible for your success. YOU** did this!



HOW TO BE A FEMINIST LEADER

We want to be leaders. But we don't want to be traditional leaders: we want to be feminist leaders.

A feminist leader is a leader with a **vision**. We listen to others actively, and share experiences. We are motivated to create a better future and have a vision of what this future will look like.

A feminist leader has **fears**. We have fears we are fighting against. Fears that we are failures, fears that the work we do will not be sufficient, fears that we do not include everyone. But we must not let our leadership be determined by fears: it is okay to fail. It is okay to make mistakes. A feminist leader takes responsibility. Making mistakes is ok, but try to learn from them.

A feminist leader is **authentic**. We show our true self, our own vision, our reality. We will not be overshadowed by others.

A feminist leader is **realistic**. There are only 24 hours in a day. We fit our plans accordingly and do not expect too much of our

self and others.

A feminist leader **takes care** of themselves. We take care of our bodies, and our emotions. We are not afraid to share emotions, we are not afraid to say NO.

A feminist **leader looks after their environment**. We will try to not harm nature, we will take care of those surrounding us, we treat animals as our companions.

A feminist leader **empowers others**. A feminist leader knows they are not alone. Others are willing to help, they want to help. We try not to put others in our shadow, we share the spotlight.

We are **feminist leaders**. We make mistakes, we are not perfect, we learn. But we are feminist leaders and we will pave the way for all to follow.

“I raise up my voice—not so I can shout, but so that those without a voice can be heard... we cannot succeed when half of us are held back.”

Malala Yousafzai



