

Feminisation of Politics Project



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1. Presentation of the Feminization of Politics Project

1.1 Background

The Fearless Cities movement is a vast informal network of municipalist organisations aimed at promoting the radicalisation of democracy by following a municipalist political strategy and putting local politics at the centre of the political debate. A list of municipalities with fearless movements can be found on www.fearlesscities.com. The movement has thousands of members and it has been growing for the last few years, it has become a new political space where organisations work as a network by collaborating and campaigning together.

A group of municipalist organizations within Fearless Cities movement promoted and presented the Feminisation of Politics project to FUNDATION, a new participatory fund that grants financial resources targeted at social transformation <https://fundaction.eu>. FundAction is organized around a community of activists based in Europe to support social movements working towards a transition to a fair and equitable world.

With the support of Fundation and the networks built within Fearless Cities, Feminisation of Politics (from now on, FOP) started its path in the second semester of 2018. FoP intends to grow and thrive as a field of research and to promote collaborative work and networking experience for a deeper understanding of gender issues as a keystone of municipalist organizations and its policies.

1.2 Relevance of the project

“Because we want not only affect the *what* we do, but also *how* we engage in activism”.

Radical democracy is key for true and sustainable change in any area of activism, from fighting climate change to defending social rights or implementing a more sustainable economy. It puts decisions in the hands of those who are directly affected by them and, in general, are excluded from the decision-making process. In this context, **feminizing politics emerges as a *sine qua non* condition for radical democracy**. If organizations continue to be hierarchical and patriarchal, they will keep on **excluding some people**, because they simply **cannot or do not want to adjust to masculine ways of doing**. In addition, it will be less likely for our projects to benefit from collective intelligence. **Values and practices that have**

traditionally been underestimated in political life need to be promoted, such as the search for consensus, empathy and cooperation, non-academic experience, collective leadership and care.

The feminisation of politics must imply a realistic view of the relational and community needs that society faces, taking into account at all times that the ideal that rules our societies today (the strong and independent individual) is only possible if the existence of all the care work that is being carried out mostly by women is denied. The feminisation of politics is based on four pillars:

1. **Parity between women and men** in the places where politics happen;
2. The **reduction of verticality**, as well as the creation of mechanisms that resort to intelligence generated collectively, but which only a few claim;
3. The **promotion of real co-responsibility** within political activism and personal life between men and women;
4. The **incorporation of gender equity as the general guiding principle** of all our activity.

By putting the feminisation of politics as one of the key elements of the municipalist movement, there will be a real contribution to systemic change.

However, the project envisioned to promote the identification of each organization's needs and weaknesses, thus different solutions are likely to emerge.

The sum of individual changes would trigger the necessary systemic change. While it would be subtle, and therefore more difficult to measure, it would encompass the overall strengthening of democracy in the platforms/organisations/cities involved.

2. Partners



Barcelona En Comú - Barcelona (Spain)

Barcelona En Comú (hereinafter: BeC) is a political platform with around 1500 members. This citizen's platform won the local elections in 2015 and has become a prominent example of how to combine social activism with institutional action, and how to challenge the artificial boundaries that separate these two spheres.

In 2014 BeC decided to run for the municipal elections held in 2015 and to start a participatory process. They won the elections with a minority government and the support of PSOE (socialist party) which meant some difficulties for implementing policies. In 2018 the organization has increased.

web: <https://barcelonaencomu.cat/>

social networks: @bcnencomu



Marea Atlántica - A Coruña (Spain)

Marea Atlántica (hereinafter: MA) is a political platform considered a "leftist citizen and political movement" that applies collective intelligence to create a confluence between social movements, citizenship and political parties. MA was created with the objective of building a political proposal of convergence to face the municipal elections of May 2015. MA won the elections with a minority representation but with the support of BNG (Galician nationalists) and PSOE (Socialist Party) Marea Atlántica governs the City Council.

web: <https://mareatlantica.org/>

social networks: @mareatlantica



Madrid129 - Madrid (Spain)

Madrid129 (hereinafter: M129) is a group of people / activists / militants / in love with the citizen platform that was created in 2015 to participate in the municipal elections of the city of Madrid, and which managed to whip away the City Council from the right. M129 is a space of citizen leadership to deepen the change that our city is experiencing. People involved come from different social movements related to self-managed spaces in social centres,

We want to continue deepening in municipalism and to explore different ways to achieve our goals. We want to support key processes for the transformation of the city and its neighbourhoods, for this we will put our heads and bodies to move forward. We want to think together, but above all do together and with others.

In 2015 Ahora Madrid, a citizen platform, won the municipal elections. AM won the elections with a minority of representation but with the support of PSOE (socialist party) AM governs the City Council after 25 years of ruling of a conservative party. Although M129 is a municipalist movement, not all members of Ahora Madrid are municipalist. There are three Councillors of Madrid 129, dedicated to health, security, feminism and districts.

The government of Ahora Madrid has a closer relationship with social movements (feminism, housing, antifascism) than previous governments; this allows public policies to be created for the benefit of the majority of citizens.

web: <http://madrid129.net/>

social networks: @Madrid129_

l'asilo

L'Asilo - Massa Critica Napoli (Italy)

Ex Asylum Filangieri, seat of the Forum of Cultures is, since March 2012 after a process of liberation, an open space dedicated to the production of art and culture for the enjoyment of the public. The space and its activities are self-managed by a heterogeneous, flexible and open community based on solidarity, through open and horizontal assemblies and work groups that promote practices of interaction, experimentation, shared and participative management, in accordance with the principles of community, promotion, interactions, exchange and experimentation.

The "inhabitants" of l'Asilo (hereinafter: LA) recognize themselves against of all forms of fascism, racism, homophobia and sexism through active policies of inclusion and affirmation of singularities.

These principles of management and use have turned into an innovative legal tool, called "Declaration of Urban Civic and Collective Use"; members of l'Asilo along with artists, activists, researcher and lawyers wrote a model of governance of the commons capable to overturn the political and strategic neoliberal rationality introducing a link between the common goods and the governance of the commons. Later proposed to the City Council; today, the building is not entrusted to a particular entity, but is governed by a set of rules written by l'Asilo's open assemblies, and subsequently recognised by the city government through two official Resolutions.

This process was also the outcome of a convergence of the movement's and the city Government's political will, different and often in conflict with each other, but sharing the objective of not selling the space for budgetary reasons and giving it a social function. The l'Asilo process is intrinsically connected to a broader idea of governing the city. This is why some of its "inhabitants" have been key players in the municipalist platform of Massa Crítica, conceived as a basic and inclusive agora to discuss and decide in public assemblies about the future of the city, and therefore to push institutions to open up to responsible and participatory decision making processes, with particular attention to common goods, public real estate, housing, tourism and public debt.

web: <http://www.exasilofilangieri.it/>
social networks: @lasilo



Zagreb JE NAS - Zagreb (Croatia)

"Zagreb JE NAS!" (hereinafter: ZJN) is a political platform for local elections that wants to return politics to the hands of citizens. Activists, scientists, teachers, nursery educators, cultural workers, trade unionists, retirees, neighbourhood initiatives, social entrepreneurs; Citizens that seek real change and have taken matters in their hands.

Our goal is to change what "dealing with politics" means; for us, politics is based on the principles of participation, inclusion and openness. We refuse to administer the old or new city bailiffs, we believe that it is necessary to completely change the policy and, therefore, we invite them to form together the development of the city. For us, the new policy is based on the idea that citizens have the right to surround the problems that determine our daily life and participate in making decisions about the resources of the city, from the neighbourhood level to the Assembly of the City.

In 2017 ZJN starts to work on a political context after 15 years exploring most channels to communicate with municipality. ZJN is a cultural institution of civic public partnership. In the last municipal elections they won 4 representatives with other political parties.

web: <http://www.zagrebjenas.hr/>

social networks: @ZagrebJeNas



Ne da(vi)mo Beograd - Beograd (Serbia)

"Ne da(vi)mo Beograd"(hereinafter: NDM BGD) is a citizen initiative that brings together organizations and individuals interested in urban and cultural policies, sustainable urban development, fair use of common resources and participation of

citizens in the development of their environment. It is a group of people of different profiles, interests and beliefs gathered around a common goal: to stop the degradation and looting of Belgrade in the name of urban and architectural megalomaniac projects, mainly "Belgrade waterfront".

Since its inception in 2014 we have conducted many protests, civic disobedience actions endured backlash and threats against activists, and used informing, institutional mechanisms as well non institutional pressure to defend the public interest and reclaim people's right to the city. From single issue we expanded our work to city policies, bringing people and various communities to the centre of discussion on how the city should be run. In 2018 "Ne da(vi)mo Beograd" decided to bring change from within and run for city elections, but they did not win any seats in the city parliament, however they continued the struggle for the city that belongs to all of its inhabitants.

web: <https://nedavimobeograd.rs/>
social networks: @nedavimobgd

3. Methodology

The project was developed through different qualitative research methods that allowed critical discussion and mutual knowledge throughout its duration. For better comprehension, methodology is presented as a temporal sequence, listed below.

Establishment of a steering group. To develop this project, an initial steering group was established to set up the main directions. This steering group mapped some of the desired changes based on the 4 pillars of feminisation of politics, mentioned above: **parity between women and men** in the places where politics happen; **the reduction of verticality**, as well as the creation of mechanisms that resort to intelligence generated collectively and claimed by a few; the **promotion of real co-responsibility** within political activism and personal life between men and women and the **incorporation of gender equity** as the general guiding principle of all our activity.

These changes, discussed and proposed when the project was designed, require a deep organizational change, collective work and discussion, exchange of practices, successes, failures, desires, daily problems and general strategies. Throughout the project, some of those topics initially proposed arose quite often and some were not enough discussed or considered relevant, but the key value of the process was to establish a common ground to work on them, even beyond this particular project cycle.

Some of the changes mapped by the steering group were:

- To design electoral lists in a manner that incorporates the same number of women and men. A balanced presence of women in both the representational

and decision-making bodies of each organization. Discussion of strategies and methodologies to achieve them.

- To foster horizontal, collective decision making processes and bodies facilitating the participation of women. The acknowledgement by the organizations of the inherent discrimination of the power structures and the institutional frames and the need to adopt structural measures.
- To lower resistance by men to implement these practices within organisations. The formal adoption of protocols and measures regarding the participation by organizations and involvement of women and the implementation of feminist approaches is needed.
- To raise visibility of the topic in the press. To increase Impact in media, as well as communication and its usage
- To include the feminisation perspective in local campaigns.
- To increase awareness by the general public.
- To scale up the effects to other political platforms.

This initial approach would provide a common frame for the identification of each organization's needs and weaknesses, hence different solutions were likely to emerge.

1. Design of an **initial assessment questionnaire** for each organization. In order to have a Self-diagnosis of each of the organizations involved, an initial assessment with qualitative questions was designed. The questions were focused on the concept of feminisation and the elements identified towards feminist practices within the organizations. This self-assessment was conducted by each organization that chose its own tools to implement it (mostly digital). It worked as a collective reflection in each participating organisation, as a way to set up the main directions and ideas to bring to the International Workshop in Barcelona.

Self Diagnosis

Understand the topic

In order to have a Self-diagnose of each of the organizations involved, an initial assessment with qualitative questions focused on the concept of **feminisation** and the elements identified towards feminist practices.

The steps



#1

Think



#2

Structure



#3

Share



#4

Systematize

The questions

- ① What do you think feminisation of politics means.
- ① What does it mean for your organisation?
- ① What specific challenges do you face in terms of implementing feminist practices in your organisation?
- ① What, if anything, have you done so far to address the issue of feminizing your organisation?
- ① How would you define the level of development in your movement in regards to?:
 - Introducing feminisation of politics within the membership;
 - In the internal structure, the organization and the activities;
 - The integration of feminisation principles in the policies the movement proposes?
- ① Can you elaborate a correlation between your movement's policies and practices in regards to feminisation of politics?
- ① How would you describe the feminisation efforts on:
 - a. The level of individual members.
 - b. The movement as whole.

Are there tensions between these two levels? If so, which ones? If not, why do you think that is?
- ① How would you describe the effects of your movement's feminisation efforts?

Diagram 1. Self-Diagnosis and local workshops (I) methodology.

2. Development of **local workshops**. Workshops were based on the initial assessment questionnaire and the participating organisations were able to freely choose the implementation and dynamics of their local workshops, the people invited to participate on them and the schedule. The local workshops worked as a collective reflection within each participating organisation, as long as it is a way of configuring

the main lines and ideas to bring to the project, and in some cases to complete some of the contents that were not fully developed in Barcelona and to invite other organizations and agents to disseminate the project. All the organizations carried out the initial self-assessment through sessions and meetings with their groups; once the Barcelona workshop was completed two more workshops were held in Madrid and A Coruña that sought to take a deeper dive in qualitative information.

Here is the overview of how the local workshops were specifically conceptualized in each participating organisation:

- NAP: Held a meeting of the assembly and conducted self-assessment.
- BEO: Held a meeting of the assembly and conducted self-assessment.
- MAD: Open call to their sister organizations, agents and individuals. Design dynamics to focus on specific topics. Discuss the mid-term assessment.
- BCN: Use of previous diagnosis made by the organization and their LGTBIQ workgroup about feminist practices, process and future for Barcelona En Comú.
- ZAG: Held a meeting of the assembly and conducted self-assessment.
- CORU: Open call to members. Design dynamics to focus on specific topics. Discuss the mid-term assessment.

Local workshop methodology

Introducing the project

- Fearless Cities network and main aim of the project.
- Partners of the project.
- International workshop made in Barcelona in January.
- Reinforcement of other aspects.

The items we work with



Power relations



Diversity



Concepts & use of language



Empowerment

The methodology



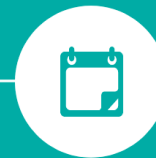
#1

Dynamic 1: Practices, Do's and Don'ts. Gaps in our practices.



#2

Dynamic 2: Framing our political context. National, regional and local.



#3

Dynamic 3: Next steps. Looking forward.

Diagram 2. Local workshops (II) methodology. Local workshops methodology used in A Coruña & Madrid.

3. Development of a 2-day **International workshop in Barcelona**. This workshop was conceived as the key milestone of the project: a full weekend devoted to identify common priorities and goals, to get to know each other and to share experiences, achievements and challenges in the present and future. The workshop was moderated by an expert proposed by the steering group that designed the specific

methodology for the workshop.

The international workshop carried out in Barcelona configured the place where the organizations participating in the project met for the first time to share the work developed in their contexts and move forward in joint directions. The process consisted of the following steps:

- Expectations of each organization about the workshop. Each of the organizations defines their expectations what they want to get out of the meeting.
- Presentation of the organizations, where we come from and what is the current situation
- What are the values with which our organizations identify themselves?
- What do we mean by feminising politics?
- What practices do we identify in our organizations in terms of feminisation of politics?
- Definition of the axes of work
- Concretisation of practices around these axes
- Definition of next steps

The main conclusions of the workshop are summarized in the pictogram below.

Barcelona International Workshop - FOP Project

26th-27th january 2019

Our expectations

WORKFLOW: to facilitate collective process of learning, role-breaking, networking, (without stressing ourselves), negotiating strategies, and exchanging good practices

OUTCOMES: Toolkits, tools and actions, specific guidelines, evaluation tools, answers to common problems, stress free change, values, short-term and long-term objectives

TOPICS TO ADDRESS: Municipalization, feminism, political structures, queer, binarism, "feminisation" as a concept, toxic masculinity

What is feminisation of politics for us?

CARE
 EQUAL REPRESENTATION
 COOPERATION
 PARTICIPATION
 PROXIMITY 2 COMMUNITY
 EMPOWERMENT
 DIVERSITY
 WORK/LIFE BALANCE
 STRUCTURE
 RESOURCES
 POWER RELATIONS
 CONCEPTS AND USE OF LANGUAGE

The Workshop structure

DAY #1



Introduction + discussion



Sharing experiences and practices

From practice to theory - collective discussion

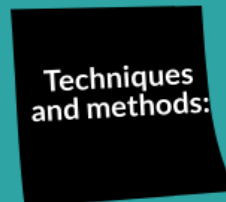
DAY #2



Practical tools from experience



short-term and long-term direction of the Fearless cities feminisation strand



facilitated discussion, brainstorming and reverse brainstorming, group review, meta-planning



Challenge achieved!

After those two days, the main lines of work (the so called "values" within feminisation) and the practices (the real ones, the failed ones, the desired ones) were identified and further steps were agreed on. Magic happened thanks to facilitators + logistics and budget coordination + previous assesment works + a great atmosphere thanks to our hosts.

Diagram 3. Barcelona international workshop workflow.

4. Development of a **mid-term assessment questionnaire for each organization**. The second questionnaire was designed to tackle the external context of the organizations, in order to map the different ecosystems and circumstances that each participating organisation faces. Reflecting the diversity of our backgrounds, our contexts and our spaces is important to understand the elements in common and those that are different amongst us. It was not conceived to work as a comparative tool, but to understand how each organisation perceives its community and political moment. The assessment was divided in three fields: Institutional, Political and Social context.

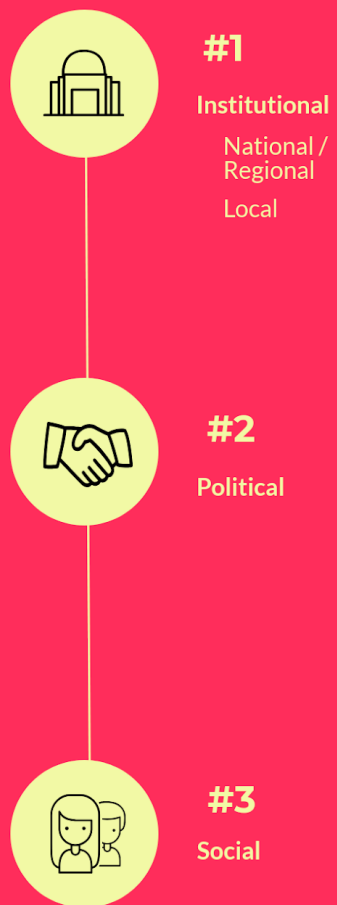
Context assessment

Understand the topic

In order to have a Self-diagnosis of the context where our organizations are, and how these contexts shape our processes of feminisation of politics.

The questions

Scales:



Institutional

- ① Has your country developed specific legislation and/or policies related to Gender Equality and Diversity?
- ② Would you define these policies as reactive (taxed from above) or proactive (bottom up from grassroots movements)? Do you consider gender mainstreaming as a common practice in your national/local policies?
- ③ Which institution(s) from the national/local administration are in charge of policies related to gender? Is it a transparent, accessible institution? Do you think that local policies towards gender make a difference in your context?

Political

- ① Does your organization consider Gender issues as a priority in the agenda setting, in terms of public policies?
- ② Which, would you say, is the perception towards Feminism in your political context?
- ③ Do you consider there is a strong anti-gender discourse in your context? Who represents it and which are the key ideas of those discourses?
- ④ Do you consider that Feminisation of politics is being discussed/ implemented in the political organizations of your context?

Social

- ① What is the perception of the society towards gender issues?
- ② Do you have strong networks with other organizations to work on gender issues? How do you work on them?
- ③ Are social patterns, values, population profiles, lifestyles, etc., changing?
- ④ What events could open up opportunities?

Diagra

m 4. Mid-term assessment questionnaire

5. Conducting of peer to peer interviews. As a final task to strengthen links and reach a deeper understanding of each organisation’s perspective and results on the project, peer to peer interviews were carried out by videoconference. In these interviews, the organisations worked in pairs, discussing real practices, ideal practices and tools identified to achieve ideal practices.

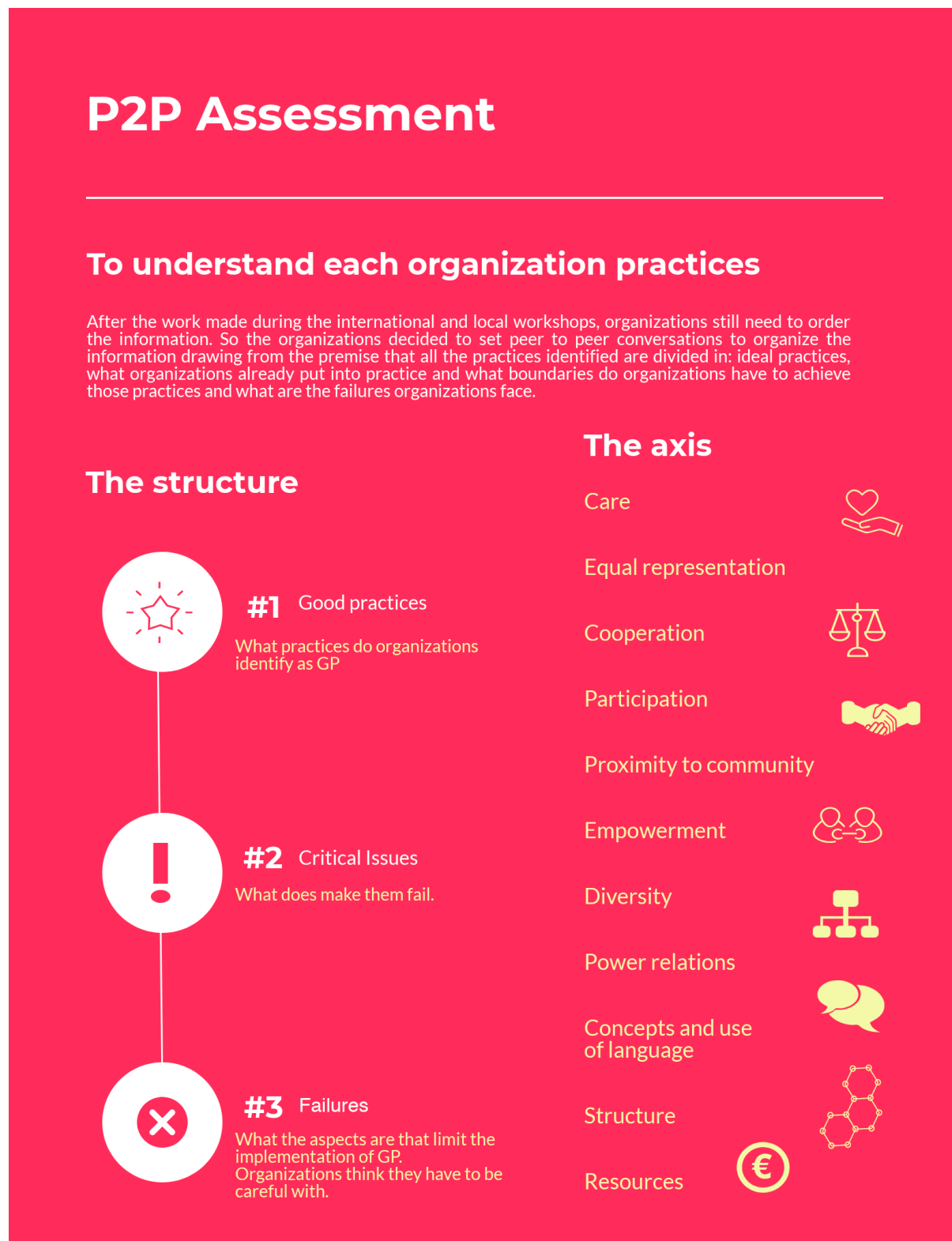


Diagram 5. P2P interviews.

3.1 Calendar

Here is the overview of the project implementation timeline with the activity clusters mentioned in the previous section:

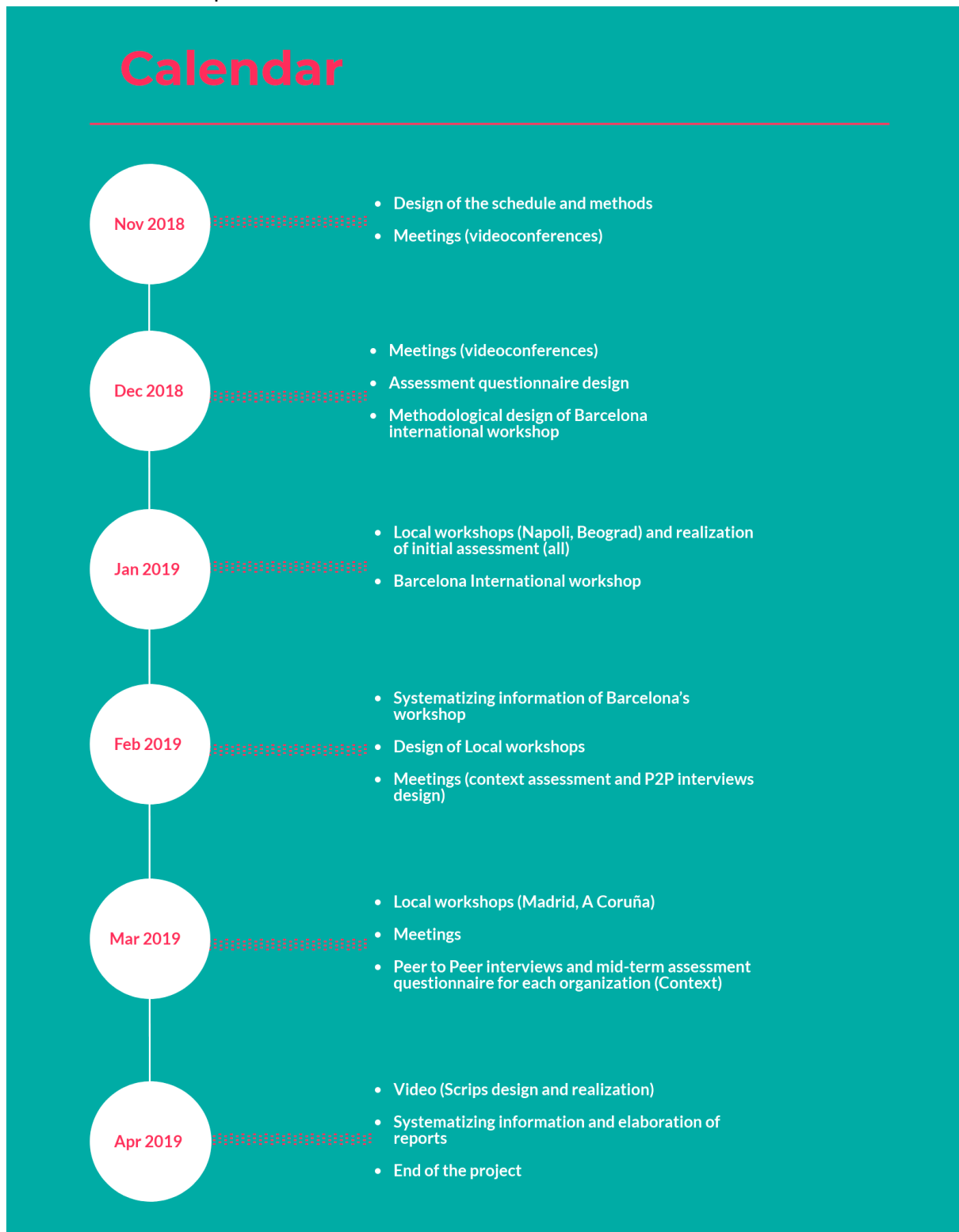


Diagram 6. Calendar

3.2 Approaches and work techniques

- **MEETINGS:** Given the importance of getting regular feedback, building solid networks and caring for each other, the project puts in value the relevance of making a responsible use of digital tools to promote meetings for coordination and follow-up. The importance of having an in person meeting (Barcelona) as key for the implementation of the different phases of the project, as it allowed the participants to share time and space together before entering an in depth-project. However, regular online meetings were held using different tools -videoconference for the meeting, chat groups to send documents, mail list and doodle to agree on the day of the meeting, proving that these tools allow the development of international projects from a participative open basis. For each online meeting an agenda was sent previously to all the members to include items or topics.
- **OPEN DOCUMENTS AND DATA:** All the documents, information and products were accessible and editable by every member of the project. A transparent and easy access to data was understood as an important part of the project to promote participation, engagement and to facilitate the development of the different tasks.
- **INFORMATION MANAGEMENT AND TOOLS:** Due to decentralized work in each organisation, google docs has been used to upload information and work on shared documents, keeping in mind that it would be really useful to have other open tool to easily work online and save documentation in line with privacy.
- **METHODOLOGY DESIGN:** For the development of meetings, video-conferences and workshops, a methodological design of tools for the collection of information based mainly on qualitative techniques has been carried out. The design has always been shared and discussed with the members of the project to incorporate improvements. The whole process has been framed and focused from a participatory perspective, based on approaches through dialogue and through the design and use of tools that foster the collective intelligence of the group.
- **COLLECTIVE DECISION PROCESSES:** Even though the steering group initially set the main guidelines of the project, the following processes and decisions were based on democratic consensus agreed in the different follow-up meetings and discussions.

3.3 Results

This project cycle produced several valuable outputs that not only represent documentation of the realized activities, but a significant resource for further collaboration and dissemination:

- **Final Report:** A document that includes the project's memory, its context, methodology, elements and conclusions. This document serves as a reference for other organizations and as an open and active account of the processes that were developed in FOP.
- **Video:** A short audio-visual piece that gathers the personal experiences of the participants and the conclusions of the project.
- **Guidelines/Executive Report:** A brief, accessible and graphic document that collects the results of the project. Translated into all languages.
- **Further projects:** Feminisation of Politics is just the first step of a series of projects related to Public Policies, Municipalism, Feminism and Political/Social activism. Therefore, the results of FOP work as basis and reference, on the one hand, for internal use within the Fearless Cities network for dissemination and discussion among organizations, and, on the other hand, as an external tool to establish a common framework to work on new projects related to the topic.

3.4 What have we learned so far?

The project has not only served to make an internal and external analysis of the feminisation of politics within the participating organizations since the development of the project itself; the relationships built during these months, the work dynamics, and their impact on the lives of the participants also deserve to be mentioned and make up an essential part of the project to be fully understood as a feminist experience. Some of the lessons learned are:

-> The problems of work/life balance within the project, time management, agenda setting, etc. have emerged throughout the process. As women activists, these circumstances have often led to rearrangement of meetings, extended deadlines, or inability to participate at the levels initially desired.

-> The management of these problems and the solutions proposed have to be analysed from a feminist approach. When facing difficulties, tasks have been redistributed, along with budget and deadlines. These ways of delegating work,

understanding and being assertive with each other's circumstances and recognizing the value and work of our colleagues at the project, break with the dynamics of power and work relations, proving that other ways of facing the hustle of daily life and the difficulties to combine personal life, work life, activism, political responsibilities, commitments and social life are possible.

-> However, it is also important to highlight that, at some moments, members of the group felt overwhelmed with responsibilities, and may have feared to say it out loud. Understanding that being able to say "no", being assertive and taking our capacities and limitations into consideration, is a collective work that has to be exercised and promoted from the inside of the group.

All of these reflections have been enriching and useful for they have provided better and deeper perspectives for facing present and future projects together and as organizations and individuals, to build new strategies of action based on feminist methodologies that include taking care of others and of ourselves.

4. Internal Self-diagnosis overview: How feminisation of politics shapes our movements and organizations

4.1. Introduction

As previously mentioned, each participating organisation has compiled a self-diagnosis based on collective analysis and discussion (whether collective refers to a core team that is in charge of feminist issues within the movement, or the wider group of members that were gathered through an internal workshop).

In order to have the comparable input, there was a set of questions that each participating organisation should respond to (Diagram 1)

This section represents a summarised presentation of the self-assessment documents (with the exception of Barcelona En Comú, whose "Gender Diagnosis" was used as a self-assessment document). While the first part offers comparative overview based on the questionnaire structure, the final part seeks common threads, having in mind the different contexts and stages that movements find themselves in.

4.2. Overview of the responses

Concept of the feminisation of politics

Some of the movements have arguably **problematized and re-questioned the very term "feminisation" itself**. Initiative L'Assilo from Naples (hereinafter: LA) points to the essentialist and binary conceptions of gender that the proposed term implies. Namely, they explain that "feminisation" reproduces the characteristics attributed to each gender by a patriarchal and macho society, and therefore are looking for other terms to be used as reflection of more diverse identities that LA stands for.

For similar reasons, the M129 movement from Madrid, considers **the terminological shift from "feminisation" to "feministization"**, as the aim is not to turn politics into something more feminine, but rather more feminist. They also propose, drawing from the discourse that Barcelona en Comú (hereinafter: BeC) often uses, that another concept to be used could be "**depatriarchalizing**", although admitting that it is a rather difficult concept to communicate widely. BeC, in particular, talks about "dismantling the patriarchy" for two fundamental reasons: firstly, to distance themselves from the essentialism and restrictions of the term "feminisation"

(because it is not just about women taking part, nor can it be assumed that the simple fact of being women biologically implies a greater capacity for dialogue, empathy or certain political aims); and secondly, because the expression “**dismantling the patriarchy**” enables everyone to feel more involved and directly indicates the need to change the ways, places and strategies for doing politics.

Nevertheless, apart from the still open terminological dispute, introducing feminist politics is something that all the movements agreed upon, although they choose to put emphasis on different aspects.

Initiative Ne davimo Beograd (hereinafter: NDM BGD) understands feminisation **of politics as an integral perspective to municipalism**. Marea Atlantica from A Coruña (hereinafter: MA) also considers municipalism, its principles, its essence and the commitment to social change to be closely linked to the introduction of feminist politics.

NDM BGD furthermore does not reduce feminisation to simple representation and participation of women, but rather refers to it as a more substantial change in politics. In their view, feminisation of politics stems from the **ethics of care**, based on values of **cooperation rather than competition**. Furthermore, feminisation assumes moving away from *leadership* politics towards **community politics** and mutual care within the community.

The value of community and common good is also one of the main features of the feminisation of politics of the movement Zagreb Je Nas (hereinafter: ZJN). Relying on the definition given by BeC and its members Kate Shea Baird and Laura Roth, ZJN understand this concept of feminisation as **equality in institutional representation and public participation**, commitment to public policies that challenge gender roles and seek to introduce a **different way of doing politics** based on cooperation and participation.

Similarly to ZJN, MA also emphasizes that feminisation means transformation of doing politics towards the **respect of differences, diversity and plurality**, and at the same time fosters collaboration and reaches wider agreement. Namely, for MA, feminisation of politics also assumes **creating non-hierarchical spaces** in which the principles of solidarity and equality prevail.

In addition, both MA and M129 see the role of feminisation in **empowering women and making them more visible** in the public sphere, as they have traditionally been reduced to the domestic sphere. Such transformation would also, as a consequence, include many different sensibilities that have been excluded from the male perspective of the public and political spheres.

M129 also explains that the practice of feminist politics means to introduce the feminist agenda which includes and **utilizes feminists' know-how and practices** that challenge the structure of dominant gendered relations. This would also imply focusing on different issues, such as the management of power and the way it is

built, participation structures and mechanisms in order to adjust to work/life balance for individuals and the collective as well.

Finally, what it means to introduce feminisation into politics, for MA implies taking a step further in the very quality of democracy itself.

To feminisize politics, it is necessary to make feminist politics that structurally challenge gendered relations and the construction of roles itself. Politics that search a radical transformation of the material conditions in which women develop their lives, which implies a deep redistribution of wealth and resources, remove male privileges -which entail a deep cultural change- end violence and fight androcentrism, among other issues.

Beatriz Gimeno and Clara Serra

Addressing the feminisation within the movement

According to the responses, a general overview of addressing the feminisation within the movements has been expressed in three main categories:

External representation

Both NDM BGD and ZJN made sure, for example, that the electoral list in 2018 elections has been formed according to the "**zip model**", ending up with the list having more female candidates. Furthermore, efforts were invested into equal gender representation in public through delegating 2 persons (male and female) to be hosted by media, having gender-parity speakers at protest rallies, panels organised by the initiative, etc.

Organisational structure

BeC claims that turning itself into a feminist organization took an all-encompassing strategy, present in all internal plans, structure and projects. As such, it also has an agenda of its own, which began with the gender diagnosis developed in 2017.

ZJN emphasises that the main coordination body in the movement/party is also **gender-balanced**, as well as the group of coordinators.

M129 states that in their organisation, the number of women is higher than men, while the female members consider themselves feminists, which further affects not only the internal mechanisms, but also the topics that are main focus of the organisation, as well.

Internal procedures

LA from Naples explains that, since the first cell that inhabited L'Asilo was deeply feminist, there are numerous aspects of the organizational functioning that are conceptualized in accordance to feminist principles: **non-hegemonic structure, allowing time for processes, the circular and open meetings, welcoming**

and nourishing differences, working according to the principle of care (of people, space, project, relationships, the whole community). Furthermore, their '**community making**' practice consists of re-thinking community-making as a process in which automatic hierarchy and comfort-zone should be abandoned. Instead, making community experience of finding our own personal limits and reversing ordinary power relations. In daily life, LA experiments with the cooperative and not competitive vision of human relationships according to the principle: instead of 'each according to one's own possibilities and capabilities' - '**each according to one's own needs and desires**'.

MA from Coruña adds that their internal mechanisms and procedures promote inclusive **language**. Specifically, a Rulebook has been made to intervene in the assemblies within the premises, while the protocol against sexist violence has been adopted, but is not yet in use.

M129 also adds valuable insights into their concrete mechanisms that would **replace the "male-based" practices** of internal organizational functioning and transform them with **sensitivity to different needs and bodies**:

- ending with the practice of meetings and presentations in which every question must be answered, while not-knowing is considered a failure;
- taking time to **develop care-related tasks** in the organization and make such needs visible, while also focusing on both collective and individual well-being;
- listening more actively to other members;
- being more **sensitive to the existence of the "visible" and the "invisible" parts of organizational tasks**, work and putting effort in carefully distributing them among members;
- **being patient with collective processes** that could sometimes be exhausting or time-consuming, but, at the same time, empower the collective itself.

In a similar manner, BeC explains there are generalized practices in the organization that are viewed very positively since they are believed to **foster inclusive, egalitarian interaction**: men and women taking the floor to speak alternately; restricting the time for each turn; timing men and women who have spoken and giving the results at the very end; generating small or dynamic groups that foster participation. Even though it is found that whoever has most information takes up most of the time and that the most categorical manners and most authoritative non-verbal language is used by men.

Challenges of implementing feminist practices within the organisation

As MA points out, the main challenges come from **struggling against the patriarchal context** that produces established norms, strongly rooted in society. Aside from them being internalized, to some extent, the real challenge is finding new

ways of achieving gender balance beyond the mainstream equality methods, such as quotas or positive discrimination measures that prove to be insufficient.

More specifically, movements have mentioned different challenges that are particular for the stage of development they are currently in. For example, ZJN explains that within the existing group of members, there is a consensus about feminist principles and their implementation. Still, since ZJN aims to build wider movements, their challenge is to **conceptualize the adequate methods of sharing such feminist agenda among the future participants** who will not be as homogeneous as the existing core of the platform.

Similarly, NDM BGD claims that there has not been yet an articulated feminist agenda within the movement, or rather, beyond the very core of the movement. Aside from being on the same page among the core members, it seems rather **challenging to spread these values across the different networks that cooperate closely with and within the movement**. Outside of the core, as NDM BGD elaborates, they are faced with lack of understanding, while most feminist actions or values they try to promote are met with backlash and are polarizing within the constituency, and even more so in broader public. Such impressions come from two recent experiences of reacting to situations of gender-based violence and the feedback from the wider public - particularly in relation to the sexual violence one that happened at the election final event. In both cases NDM BGD reacted to the situation, explicitly reflecting the dedication to feminist values, although not always widely supported and understood.

Aside from sharing the general challenge of broadening feminist-based practices and making them widely visible, referring to the very functioning of the organization, M129 mentions among other challenges the **ability to reconcile activism and personal life, collective and individual, 'productive' work and care activities**. Similarly, BeC also puts emphasis on the challenges of the care work as a feminist principle within the organization. As they explain, it is not always possible to address complaints, as emerged in the points related to the organization's activist culture. The difficulties are seen in reconciliation between work life, political participation, personal time, family time and time for a social life.

Reconciliation is sometimes conceived as an obstacle to the participation and well-being of the people who take part in the organization; a problem that is complex and difficult to address. In addition, although the tasks follow a rotation system, it is observed that **women do more work that is less visible**, care work and management, whereas men deal more with logistics. Care should therefore be taken in assessing tasks that are more acknowledged, working for them to be effectively rota-based, casting light on less visible tasks and giving information and support so that women can access spaces that hold greater representation and recognition.

The following part addresses in detail the developed strategies and activities of feministization of the movements, as well as the capability to merge the feminist

agenda and actual reality of the movement.

Introducing feminist principles among members

Most of the movements claim that they are introducing feminisation principles to members through the practices and procedures that are conceptualised to promote feminist principles, from which **members' learn-by-doing different physical and interpersonal relations and patterns**. It is, as already mentioned, a challenge from both NDM BGD and ZJN to remain in such mode along with the increase of membership.

More specifically, MA offers an explanation on the approach to new members. When someone approaches to participate in Marea Atlántica, they are asked to come to a meeting in which the functioning of the organization is explained, including its main principles. They confirm the other movements' dedication to emancipate members through different internal processes, such as **collective participation, the use of inclusive language and the feminine plural, being sensitive to male occupation of time and space, empowering women to take part and express themselves, taking decisions by consensus**, etc.

Integrating feminist principles into internal structure and organisation

Most of the movements emphasize the **gender parity** and **horizontal structure** as the main reflection of integration of feminist principles, when it comes to the structural organisation of movements. Namely, LA explains its structure as open and horizontal, without a directive committee or any other fixed directing body. Both their weekly meetings and working groups are open for new entries and exits all the time. In such way, any person, however long they have been a member and regardless of their personal features and privileges, is considered equal and their voice and opinions are considered relevant and constitutive to the decision-making processes.

Others, such as NDM BGD, ZJN or MA explain that, even if there are bodies in their structure (coordination, working groups, steering committee, etc.), they are quite careful to ensure **equal gender representation, wider participation** and horizontal decision-making in such bodies. As an illustration, ZJN offers an overview of their main internal structure: the coordination board, with share of women of 50%, is the main governing body between the regular platform sessions. Apart from the ZJN Platform, the (technically needed) ZJN political party has two coordinators of which one must be a woman. Along with the coordinators, the party has a steering committee where the share of women must be at least 40% (not 50 because the number of board members is odd and this would mean that there needs to be a female majority in any case).

Although BeC was built up as radically different from the classic ways of doing politics in its context, feminism had to be included in all proposals and that this would

require an effort to avoid the idea of parties as machines that grind down women's potential. There are no great inequalities as regards to the presence of women and men in Barcelona En Comú. However, in general there are more men than women in all spaces, without parity being achieved. Even so, the technical committees and specific work groups reproduce some classic roles depending on the topic they work on, so they may be made up of more men (for example, town planning) or women (for example, types of feminism and LGTBIQ). BeC also positively evaluates its forms of leadership that are horizontal, empathetic and collaborative. It is believed that the qualities of the kinds of leadership exercised by women with elected posts in BeC help to raise awareness of a change that may lay the foundations for feminist politics. The mechanisms to ensure parity are also well received, such as the "zip" system (alternating women and men in electoral lists) and corrective steps taken for decision-making and representative spaces to have parity.

Integrating feminisation principles in activities of the movements

Movements have envisioned and organised different activities that promote and push the feminist principles and agenda.

For example, L'Asilo names several. For one, they formed National Assembly of Urban Commons, within which 3 sessions were held. One of them was dedicated to the care of the community - "cura della comunita" - and addressed the topics of resources of time, visibility, legitimation in the political discourse of this subject. LA explains how an 8 hour-discussion on this matter gathered around 30 people coming from 46 diverse circumstances. Furthermore, LA mentions "Phoemina"- a project of electro-music played by women; a Queer's show and Bob Obstertag, an event of post-porno trans-feminism movies; Non una di meno; presentations and discussions on books by Valerie Solanas and Angela Davis; as well as the artist-residence program that hosted artists Titta C. Raccagni and Barbara Stimol (Osservatorio critico corpo e immaginari tra sessualità eros/desiderio e pornografia).

Marea Atlantica has even established the core group - Marea Feminista - that carries out the activities related to the feminist agenda, whether they are the activities from a feminist perspective (Palestra de Cuidado, Col·lectiu Punt 6, Ecofeminism, etc.) or activities that encourage female participation (Workshops, talks, leisure time, different forms of playful participation). Similarly, NDM BGD also has a women's group that is coming up with various campaigns and strategies, regularly communicates on feminist topics with wider public. Currently, for example, this group is planning the campaign that is aiming to bring attention to safety issues for women in the city.

Integrating feminisation principles into policies that movements advocates for

In the policies they advocate for and support, all movements reflect some of the feminist principles, although with different focus, depending on the organizational emphasis, as well as the context they work in.

ZJN integrates feminist principles and prioritizes local issues which can serve as a ground for pushing feminist agenda in the policies it proposes - local communities as sites where negative consequences of neoliberalism are strongly felt (housing speculation, privatization of commons, social reproduction does not only take place in households but also in neighbourhoods, etc.). For example, the public housing legislative and allocation system (which in Croatia is already very sparse; in Zagreb for example public housing takes only 2% of the total housing funds) at the moment is dominantly heteronormative, favouring married couples in which just one member (usually male) is holder of the housing right and the contract with public authorities. In the progressive public and cooperative housing policies ZJN proposes that this feature is replaced by the recognition of the range of contemporary models of living and cohabiting. Similar to ZJN, NDM BGD are also focused on the solutions for making the city more equitable for all, promoting, among other things, 'zero tolerance to violence' policy. MA too, in accordance with its feminist agenda, is focused on the **issues relevant for the local community - social justice, open and inclusive places; respect for the environment, a new form of relations between neighbours and institutions**. They are oriented towards establishing neighbourhood associations from a more democratic perspective. The feminist principles, as MA explains, are stated and written in almost all policies implemented.

All policies coming from L'Asilo are also based on feminisation principles, even as L'Asilo relates to other political realities in the city. But, on the other hand, L'Asilo includes also in its focus the way things are done, rather than the objective itself. One of the main axis of LA's policies is the so-called Modalita - **not what we do but how we do it**. They identify that the attention and efforts put into the 'way things are done' is a major feature of feminisation in L'Asilo's practices, as it engages with a constant reflexive decision-making process. All methods for facing problems are focused on non-competitive, non-exclusive, non-hegemonic, "non-pacific" spaces (Massa Critica).

As the movement that went farthest to enter into institutionalized politics, BeC has created the first Councillor for Feminisms and LGBTI, as well as a new department for Gender Transversality, whose aim is to **include the gender perspective in all spheres of policy** via a measure from government approved at the start of its mandate. The effect of these structures is visible on many levels (town planning, housing, economy, budgets, employment, etc.). Also M129 has the new Gender and Diversity politics Councillor working on mainstreaming and intersectional politics. Even so, it is necessary to look deeper into the need for these all-encompassing policies and to address strategies so that they affect not only policies, but to put forward a new form of institutional politics and "party" politics, in which one often sees practices that are aggressive, inflexible, partisan and far removed from the

common good.

Correlation between movement's policies and practices in regard to feminization of politics

ZJN is trying to implement new understandings of power and knowledge taken both as theoretical and practical, where feminist knowledge along with academic research and gender expertise takes a form of activist-organizing and experience-based knowledge, where “policy ideas and implementation come from the everyday knowledge of those most impacted” (H. Wainwright). So, ZJN is investigating and practicing different ways of sharing and developing knowledge horizontally (democratizing knowledge, developing knowledge through collective processes, social mobilizations etc.), this way breaking from hierarchical models, such as 'expert leadership vs. ignorant membership'. If one looks at the objection that (in some cases) “men on the left still carry ‘thinking’ caps while women carry ‘doing’ caps”, it could be said that in ZJN there is no noticeable gender distinction between organizing/support roles and speaking and representing roles or decision-making positions. At the same time, there is re-valuing of organizing work as embodied and contextualized knowledge and essential knowledge for mobilization.

M129, on the other hand, emphasizes in what way their internal practices and relation to external entities also reflects the feminist principles. Namely, in assemblies, M129 explains that they are choosing the timing for assemblies by looking for life balance, prioritizing the participants who have not had their turn or chance to express themselves, use the intersectional perspective when doing analysis, putting dialectic focus on discussions, providing spaces for care for those in need and pursuing collectively made decisions. Still, as they mention, there is still work to be done when it comes to distribution of tasks, as well as balance between productive work and care-related policies. Furthermore, when communicating and cooperating with other institutions and organization, M129 explains that they are trying not to prioritize those people integrated in the institutions over those who are not, bringing a feminist approach when dialoguing with other organizations/agents. In addition, M129 is investing significant effort in affecting municipal/local government politics, for example, in budgetary increase for the gender politics councillor.

Regarding policies of Gender and Diversity Councillor in Madrid, has increased the spaces of equality in the city by 13, has developed the ordinance to guarantee a life free of macho violence, works for equality and the rights of LGBT persons , has created a 24-hour urgent attention point for victims of macho violence. They have activated campaigns in the neighborhood parties and emotional education campaigns in schools, for education on equality and in the diversity of children and adolescents, also program in equality spaces as emotional education campaigns for new masculinities.

Similarly, Marea Atlantica is looking to influence local institutions to achieve more direct communication with their community. They offer an example for such change,

by explaining the 'Dillo tí' meetings that bring members of the institution closer to the neighbourhoods. In these meetings, in which female participation is quite high, people can express the problems in their community, in their neighbourhood. Such are the opportunities to talk about housing, security, road network, transport, electricity, etc. Along this line, MA is also advocating for social policies that improve the quality of life of the most disadvantaged people, unemployed, dependent, precarious who are mostly women, such as: decentralization of municipal management, creating district boards and opening the neighbourhoods' participatory budgets; development of measures to promote the activity of local commerce and small business; municipal Social Renda (€ 1 million) that guarantees the coverage of basic needs of people in situations of exclusion or poverty; increase of resources and personnel in two Information Centres to Women, to Casa de Acollida and the Family Counselling Centres; establishing Municipal Observatory of Equality Policies Gender violence; or promotion of an Integral Care Plan that will address the situation of people with functional diversity and / or dependency situation.

Feminization efforts on the individual and movements level

This section explores how the feminisation efforts are reflected on the levels of individual membership, as well as on the movement as a collective, and whether there is potential tension or challenges in reconciling these two levels.

Individual level

As NDM BGD claims, core group members share feminist values. The movement ensures each individual has the opportunity to initiate a process or proposal within the mutual discussion. On the other hand, L'Asilo emphasises how the way and the environment in which they function affects the members and guest collaborators, so they eventually accept the values LA promotes.

Similarly, M129 mentions the transformative effect of the internal organisation on its members. In consistence with their focus on care policies, M129 stresses that on the individual level, members do take care of each other, even though there is sometimes a lack of time to do so. Male members also try not to lead the debate with a male-individual focus, noticing and caring about the amount of work that their female fellows develop.

It's hard for me to say it, but I listen more now. I have conscience about the space I occupy and, sometimes, I still have so much space for me. But I'm not worried about having the centrality all the time.

M129 member

MA also confirms that their members are accepting the feminisation principles, regardless of the general differences. Such gradual transformation, as MA assumes,

leads to the more general awareness of the need to fight against toxic masculinity and establish a space in which there is no conflict and women feel completely safe to comment and participate.

Collective level

Marea Atlantica states that the whole organization makes important efforts to achieve feminisation both in what it means at the political level as in the including women in different spaces. Similarly, ZJN explains that at the party/platform level the organization applies internal communication and organization practices that respect feminist principles and has intention to implement it through wider membership across the network of public representatives at the district and neighbourhood level (the ultimate effect, however, depends greatly on other public representatives that are involved as well). M129 as well confirms the efforts to integrate feminist values into the collective level through having a respectful relation to each person, whether member or not, taking into account the individual and collective needs.

When asked to comment on the possible tensions between the individual and collective level, when it comes to implementation and promotion of feminist principles in the movement, most of the participating organisations observed that these principles are rarely fully respected, but rather have to be fought for again and again. The **feministization represents an everlasting process of (self) transformation that has to be continuously brought to questioning and reflection . The strong context and social norms that are still immensely patriarchal often tend to annul the progress and transformation made by feminist efforts, thus require persistence and awareness of the circumstances in which feministization is being struggled for.**

Outside of the 'circular meeting', individuals tend to adopt again the eradicated practices: defensive mechanisms of their own privileges.

L'Asilo

Effects of movements' feminisation efforts

Assessing movements' feminisation effects reveals perhaps most obviously the different contexts and stages in which movements are, but as well the great capacity for self-reflection and questioning that feminism teaches about. Although most are justifiably proud of the achievements until this moment, they are also aware of the strategic objectives that are ahead.

ZJN, as a municipal political platform, since its establishment in the spring of 2017 and subsequent positioning at the Zagreb political scene by gaining representatives in the City assembly and in district and neighbourhood councils, represents a pioneer demonstration of change in power relations and modes of participation in Croatia - giving up political forms based on competition and hierarchy. By the value orientation

of its policies, way of tailoring its electoral program and through representation and party/platform structure **the organization shows how political work may become more equal, participatory and based on solidarity.**

Similarly, NDM BGD considers the fact that they started as a single-issue movement opposing a big investment project and assesses that they have grown and matured considerably as they were shaping their values and policies. They emphasize they were able **to amplify the voices of LGBT people, women and to bring these issues to public arena.** They also state that they have brought new way of political communication and political struggle that is in line with feminisation values, encouraged people to claim their right to the city. Still, they conclude with the awareness that they still have "a long way to go".

In such manner, L'Asilo also considers its movement to present a good response to its efforts -L'Asilo's inhabitants are open to experiment new ways of making community and try to question the automatism of power. They are led by the concept of Utopia - "the community to come" and discuss it a lot among themselves.

"Community to come" doesn't exist every time, but it exists every day more and more, in our desires and, thanks to "infection" that our process triggers, we see its contours increasingly clear.

L'Asilo

Although for Marea Atlantica, important efforts to put feminist principles into practice within the organization are being undoubtedly made, they recognize the challenge of fighting against socially prevailing dynamics and, at times, unconsciously or through mimicry reproducing them. The masculine ways continue to prevail, as MA states, especially in the visibility of candidates for the leadership of institutional bodies. Furthermore, while the effects of feminisation can be seen in that women in the organization more easily take on the role of a speaker in groups, there are still few voices of women that are heard as 'experts' and it continues to intervene in the overall dynamics. It is therefore necessary to continuously stay sensitive to power relations and their different manifestations and try to change those and make them as temporary as possible.

M129, finally, confirms that feminisation is unequivocally the strategy that guarantees the participation of all, producing active motivated members of the organization. Even if it is exhausting, it is nevertheless necessary.

We stay together and find heterodox solutions to binary problems.

M129

4.3. Conclusion

Although working in different political and economic contexts, these movements and organisations are bravely intruding the spaces that were traditionally dominantly male, run by the principles of productivity, hierarchy, gender division of roles and labour, etc.

Even through there is certain open contestation on the matter of the terminology - whether the term used is feminisation, feministization or depatrirachalisation - there is a common understanding of the need to implement feminist principles in both internal organisational structures and procedures, as well as in the wider policies that movement is advocating for and proposing. The approach is therefore quite similar, regardless of what is the topic or the objective (mostly dependant on the given circumstances).

Aside from taking care of the equal gender representation in the coordinating bodies, it seems important to transform the models of decision-making, exchange and work distribution. Principles and concrete manifestation within the internal functioning (on various levels of the movement) can be summarized in the following way;

Principles	Procedures, measures, policies
Gender parity	Zip model in steering bodies; Equal representation towards the public;
Empowering women	Making women's work more visible; Being sensitive to women's participation in collective decision-making; Establishing safe spaces for women to express themselves;
Focus on care	Developing care-related tasks; Focusing on the balance between work and personal life when scheduling the meetings; Taking time to care about other members; Caring about 'visibility' and 'invisibility' when distributing work tasks;
Democratizing decision-making and other interactions	Collective decision-making through assemblies; Using inclusive language; Promoting <i>not-knowing</i> as just as productive as <i>knowing</i> , rather than as a failure; Alternation of women and men taking the floor to speak; Focusing on the process rather than

	solely on the results; Sharing and developing knowledge horizontally;
Introducing feminist perspective and related issues to the community / municipalisation	Creating ways of direct and close connection to the community; Struggling for social justice; Establishing open and inclusive places; Advocating for intersectional perspective in analysis and solution to the community problems;

Whether the movements have recently been established or they have already developed a complex and vast structure and membership, they are all unanimous in understanding that the level of principles and practice always stands in discrepancy (however it may be (in)significant), which serves as a constant reminder and motivation for reflection. As they agree, feministization represent an everlasting process of (self)-transformation. The strong context and social norms that are still immensely patriarchal often tend to annul the progress and transformation made by feminist efforts, so persistence and awareness of the circumstances in which feministization struggles becomes a necessity.

Nevertheless, these movements' motivation, practice and politics do promise, without a doubt, the "dismantling of patriarchy to come"!

5. External Self-diagnosis: how our contexts shape our processes of feminization of politics

5.1. Introduction

Throughout the activities held during the Barcelona International Workshop on Feminisation of Politics (FOP), each partner shared their experiences with respect to their efforts and processes of feminisation of politics in their own organizations. **The diversity of experiences portrayed by each participating organisation evidenced the need to have an understanding of the local contexts of the partners as means to better grasp the ways in which constraints and opportunities of the specific socio-political ecosystems shaped each organization's actions.**

5.2. Partners Contexts

The organizations that took part of this assessment came from four diverse countries and from six different cities as described in Section 2 of this report. This variety highly enriched the discussions on the ways in which the processes of feminisation of politics take place and is shaped by diverse national and local contexts. Also, having diverse cities from the same Country, as was the case of Spain, offered the opportunity to grasp the variations that national contexts may present as one analyses processes of feminisation of politics within the local level. Indeed, the processes of Municipalisation and that of radical democracy, as being highly context-dependent, trigger local variations as the implementation of a common framework gets moulded when meeting local socio-political and economic ecosystems with its specific set of constraints and opportunities.

5.3. Methodology

The Mid-Assessment questionnaire (Diagram 4) was designed to characterize the external context of the diverse organizations participating on the project. The objective was to map the different ecosystems and circumstances found around each organization. The areas explored through the questionnaire were collectively defined with all the partners during the last session held at the end of the Barcelona

International Workshop (held on the 26th-27th January 2019). There were identified three main areas - **institutional, political and social contexts** - through which to situate and characterize each of the partner's contexts of action.

The questionnaire was designed by one of the partners and proposed to the other participating organisations through a shared online folder. A collective discussion about the questionnaire was held through an online meeting with the diverse partners and the critical issues raised by the partners were collectively discussed and consequently modified within the document. The final version of the questionnaire was then put on a common online platform and answered by the diverse partner organizations. Each participating organisation uploaded the completed questionnaire in a shared online platform. In this way, all the information produced and shared by the diverse organisations was accessible to all the partners.

One of the issues raised by the partners during the online meeting referred to the type of expertise and specific skills that the analysis of the institutional, political and social contexts would involve. During the online meeting in which the questionnaire discussion took place, this kind of 'b' background was acknowledged, yet the experiential background that the people participating on the project had with respect to these areas was also discussed and valued. As such, the experiential and personal understanding of the partners participating on the project was understood as an important resource for analysing the context feeding the strategy of legitimizing diverse kinds of knowledge sources. The partners' experiences as political agents within specific national and local contexts portrayed diverse kinds of knowledge considered important as being experienced in first person. The questionnaires were then answered from the point of view of the people who had participated in the workshop. This report then reflects the points of view of the people that participate on the diverse organizations that take part in the project.

In the next section the diverse areas of the context will be presented taking into account the answers that the participating organisations have given to the questionnaire.

5.4. Institutional Context

In order to better understand each organisation's context, this section aims at exploring the Institutional context at both, the national and local levels of the countries and cities where each of the participants are based. Within each of these levels, three main areas were reviewed: 1) Existing legislation and policies targeting Gender Equality and Diversity; 2) Type of legislation: reactive or proactive policies; 3) Identifying the institutions taking care of feminisation issues.

As seen in Table 2, according to the last Gender Equality Index published by the European Institute for Gender Equality (2017), the only country set above the European medium score is Spain with a total of 68.3 points with respect to 66.2

points of EU-28. The other two partner countries for which the data are available, meaning Italy and Croatia, show lower scores, 62.1 and 53.1 respectively. Still, as evidenced through the rank shifting of the diverse countries, it can be seen that Italy has made major positive changes with respect to Gender Equality issues, climbing from being 26th in 2005 to 14th in 2015 the rank. In the case of Croatia, it has gone down from the 22nd position to the 24th in 2015, yet, the changes have been positive throughout the years as seen in the last column. Even though Spain has also fallen in the general ranking, it continues to be above the medium EU-28 value.

Partners	City	Country	Gender Equality Index- by country (Year 2015) - Scores (Points)	Rank		Differences	
				2005	2015	2005-2015	2012-2015
Zagreb Je Nas	Zagreb	Croatia	53.1*	22	24	2,8	0,5
Massa Crítica L'Asilo	Naples	Italy	62.1*	26	14	12,9	5,6
Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd	Belgrade	Serbia	N.D.A.	N.D.A.	N.D.A.	N.D.A.	N.D.A.
Barcelona en Comú	Barcelona	Spain	68.3*	9	11	6,1	0,9
Madrid 129	Madrid						
Marea Atlántica	A Coruña						

* **EU-28:** 66.2 Points | **N.D.A.:** No Data Available

Table 2. Gender Equality Index, scores for the Partners of the FOP project divided by country. Table elaborated by author with data taken from the Gender Equality Index 2017 published by the European Institute for Gender Equality.

5.4.1. Institutional context at the national level

All participating organisation were asked to examine and assess their institutional context at the national level exploring three main areas: 1) the existence of policies related to Gender Equality or Diversity, 2) the existing institutional bodies in charge of such policies or legislations, 3) the policy-making process of the context (whether policies are reactive or proactive).

As seen in Table 3, all the participants identify the existence of specific policies or legislation in the field of Gender Equality or Diversity in their countries. Still, the most interesting differences emerge in the assessment taking into account the policy-making process identified by the diverse participants. As seen in the table, the Spanish participating organisations consider the policies as proactive, identifying a direct influence of grassroots movements into the institutional policy-making process. The others, instead, identify the process as reactive.

For instance, Barcelona en Comú describes their policy-making process of law-making as very participative, particularly by the feminist movement and expert figures (university, institution, etc.). Still, they recognize that in the last mandates, participation has been diminishing.

On its side, Madrid 129 reports that the historical background of the country has a

major influence on the current outcomes. As put in the questionnaire “Gender equality policies in Spain must be understood keeping in mind our political, social and economical context since the beginning of our democracy in 1978. After 40 decades of National-Catholicism, with a special struggle on women’s rights that Franco’s regime conceived as second-class citizens the coming out of democracy brought back the claims of progressive movements and also new vindications that appeared in the political area. Those claims inherited the legacy of women’s movement in the II Republic and also added the new claims of feminist and leftist activists coming from different political backgrounds.”

Marea Atlántica recognizes the proactive character of the Spanish legislation on Gender Equality and Diversity issues; still, they highlight the segmented character of these policies. In particular they evidence the non-transversal character of the policies, recognizing the fact that there are some institutional bodies that are not involved within the strategy.

The other participating organisations have identified the process as mainly reactive as the institutional context in their countries does not take into account civil society and activists in the policy-making process. Policies are understood as a way to comply with EU directives and fulfilling external requirements, remaining great on paper but with no real consequences.

1. INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT			
1.1 NATIONAL/REGIONAL			
	Has your country developed specific legislation and/or policies related with Gender Equality and Diversity?	How would you define these policies, as reactive (taxed from above) or proactive (bottom up from grassroots movements) ? Do you consider gender mainstreaming as a common practice in your national policies?	Which institution(s) from the national administration is or are in charge of policies related with gender? Is it a transparent, accessible institution?
Zagreb Je Nas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Gender Equality Law Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW; ratified in Croatia in 1992) European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality, a fundamental strategic document adopted with the aim of eliminating discrimination of women and the establishment of gender equality 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Governmental Office for Gender Equality Gender Equality Ombudsperson Gender Equality Coordinators in the state administration bodies Parliamentary Gender Equality Committee,
Massa Crítica and L'Asilo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Law 53 of 8 March 2000. It contains provisions for the support of maternity and paternity, for the right to care and training. Testo unico nel 2001 _ A measure that reshuffles the existing rules on the health of the worker. On maternity, paternity and parental leave, on rest and leave, on assistance to sick children, on seasonal and temporary work, at home and at home. The National Code of Equal Opportunities between Women and Men, established by Legislative Decree No. 198 in 2006. Legislative Decree 216 of 2013 prohibition of any discrimination based on sex. 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Department for Equal Opportunities Unique Guarantee Committee for Equal Opportunities CUG - Comitati unici di garanzia per le pari opportunità, la valorizzazione del benessere di chi lavora e contro le discriminazioni.
Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The new law on Gender Equality in Serbia is pending adoption for 3 years now. So far there has been conflicting opinions in public discussions of women's movement, Minister of social care and men's rights activists Law on prevention of domestic violence that has been written and advocated by the women's movement that is pretty much in line with Istanbul Convention 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The national coordination body for Gender Equality Independent institution of Ombudsman for Equality
Barcelona en Comú	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State Law on Equality (2007) and one in cataluña (2015) Pioneering laws on gender-based violence (Ley estatal de 2004) Pioneering laws on male violence (Catalan law of 2008, much more advanced according to the framework of the Istanbul Agreement) 	PROACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Before there was a much stronger women's institute, with more budget and cross-cutting power. There was even during a legislature a ministry of Equality. Today, Equality has been within the Ministry of Health and Labor.
Madrid 129	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organic Law 3/2007, 22th of March for effective equality of men and women Organic Law 1/2004, 28th of December, of Integral Protection Measures against Gender Violence. RD- LAW - Law 9/2018, of August 3rd, of urgent measures for the development of the State Pact against gender violence. Instrument of ratification of the Convention of the Council of Europe on prevention and fight against violence against women and domestic violence, done in Istanbul on May 11, 2011. Real Decreto-Ley 6/2018, de 1 de marzo, de medidas urgentes para garantía de la igualdad de trato y de oportunidades entre mujeres y hombres en el empleo y la ocupación The reform of the Civil Code which allows same-sex marriage (Law 13/2005)2, the 'Dependency law' promoting public care for dependent people (Law39/2006) Law 2/20105 on the extension of rights to sexual and reproductive health. 	PROACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Ministry of the Presidency, Relations with the Cortes and Equality State Observatory on Violence against Women Government Delegation for gender violence. Women's Institute
Marea Atlántica	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Organic Law 3/2007 for the effective equality of women and men Ley Orgánica 1/2004 de Protección Integral contra la violencia de género (Organic Law 1/2004 on Comprehensive Protection against Gender Violence). Law 13/2005, of 1 July, amending the Civil Code on the right to marry. <p>Also, we have a regional laws:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Law 2/2014 of 14 April on equal treatment and non-discrimination for lesbians, gays, transsexuals, bisexuals and intersexuals in Galicia Decreto legislativo 2/2015, 12 de febreiro, polo que se aproba o texto refundido das dispoñs legais da Comunidade Autónoma de Galicia en materia de igualdade Lei 30/2003, do 13 de outubro, sobre medidas para incorporar a valoración do impacto de xénero nas disposicións normativas que elaborare o goberno 	PROACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instituto de la Mujer y para la Igualdad de Oportunidades Ministerio de la Presidencia, Relaciones con la Corte e Igualdad.

Table

3. Summary of questions exploring the Institutional context at the National/Regional level and the answers given by each of the participating organisations.

5.4.2. Institutional context at the local level

In this section, the diverse partners were asked to examine and assess their institutional context at the local level exploring three main areas: 1) the existence of policies related to Gender Equality or Diversity, 2) the existing institutional bodies in charge of such policies or legislations, 3) the Policy-making process of the context (whether if policies are reactive or proactive).

As seen in Table 4, all the diverse participants identify the existence of policies and laws targeting Gender Equality and Diversity at their local level. Other than this, each city presented specific institutional bodies that are in charge of the national and local policies within these issues. Still, the difference on the perception of the institutional local context relies on the policy-making process identified by each participating organisations.

As seen in Table 4, Barcelona in Comú is the only participating organisation to identify the policy-making process as entirely proactive. Still, they have identified as a challenge the need to be able to promote a transversal approach of Gender Equality and Diversity policies in the future. On their part, Madrid 129 identifies the context of Madrid as a city largely ruled by conservative forces, differently from the national level. Due to this, policy-making process is not entirely pro-active; yet, they identify the strength of feminist movements and their influence on the agenda setting, even if confronted with a conservative institutional environment.

Marea Atlántica on its side recognizes the process as both, proactive and reactive. They recognize the city's interest in policy innovation in the field.

Zagreb Je Nas recognizes the process as reactive, and makes a parallel with the situation seen at the national level. In a conclusive manner they say 'according to the results presented here, it cannot be said that local policies towards gender in our context are enough and really make a difference. At the same, there is a sensation that women are largely instrumentalized in the local political area, even where gender parity does exist.'

On its side, Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd also understands the process as reactive and further describes the policies as not having effects on people's lives. For instance, a project of the city of Belgrade that worked on economic empowerment of women in which the capacity-building and qualification was done in activities and jobs that could contribute further to the feminisation of poverty.

Finally, L'Asilo from Naples, understands the process as also reactive, identifying the same dynamics that were put in play at the national level.

1. INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT		
1.2. LOCAL		
Has your local government developed specific legislation or policies related with Gender Equality and Diversity? If so, in which realms?	How would you define these policies, as reactive or proactive? Do you consider gender mainstreaming as a common practice in your local policies? - reactive (top down) / - proactive (bottom up from grassroots movements)	Which institution(s) from your local administration is or are in charge of policies related with gender?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Action Plan of the City of Zagreb for Implementation of the National Policy for Promoting Gender Equality for the period 2011-2015 Domestic and Family Violence Prevention Strategy 2011-2016, Equalization of Opportunities for Disabled Persons Strategy 2011-2015 Action Plan of the City of Zagreb for the implementation of the National Roma Inclusion Strategy 2013-2020. 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> County Committees for Gender Equality Committee for Gender Equality of the City of Zagreb
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actions to overcome discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Plan "City: female, plural. Strategic Plan for Equal Opportunities for Naples" Lesbian Gay Bi and Transsexual Gay Concert Table 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Equal Opportunities Department
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No not really, there have been some pro forme attempts at introducing policy regarding Gender Equality on city level. For instance in 2015 the City Council for GE has been formed, there has been an attempt of introducing city services of support such as SOS Helpline for victims of domestic violence, but all of this efforts seem to affect change very little if at all. 	REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> City Secretariat for Social Care Council for Gender Equality
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Against the feminization of poverty (employment plans, 2.2M aid to single-parent families, programmes for integration into male jobs, etc.). Mainstreaming of gender in the institution: all urban projects must have a gender perspective section, women's exploratory marches to improve the environment, gender clauses in the City Council's hiring, prizes and cultural equalitarian programmes, etc. Investment of 0.58% of the budget in gender (and 2.58% in activities) and commitment to reach 1% and 5% respectively. The budget has also been analysed and a municipal regulation has been drawn up. For the attention about sexist violence the services of attention (PIAD and SARA) have been municipalized that before were external. Places have been doubled in the emergency shelter flats and in the shelter house. And a protocol has been created with festivals and entertainment venues against sexual violence. A specific centre has been opened to attend to care (Barcelona Cuida) and people (mostly women) carers. And the budget for home care has been increased. As well as the opening of 6 new public kindergartens. 	PROACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Mainstreaming Department The service that advises all areas and districts, companies and entities has been municipalized (women's information and resource centre).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ordinance to guarantee the right of women to a life free of violence Strategic Plan for Gender Equality in the city of Madrid 2018-2020 Operational plan against trafficking in women and other human rights abuses in prostitution contexts Strategic subsidy plan 2018 I Equality plan and women of Madrid City Council and it's autonomous organisms 	PROACTIVE AND REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government Area of Gender and Diversity Policies Other institutions that helps to mainstream gender : Diversity Management Unit - Local Police Government Area of Culture and Sports
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Instruction for Gender Equality in City Council, 2016 In progress: working on a local ordinance for gender equality Local Council for Gender Equality, formed by local organizations working in this area. III Plan de Igualdade do persoal do Concello da Coruña, School for Feminist Empowerment and a Bibliography Center on Gender and Feminisms Espacio Municipal de las Diversidades Sexuales Inclusión de la Policía Local en el Programa de Identificación Policial Eficaz, que busca velar pola cidadanía teniendo en cuenta el respeto por las diversidades. Pacto Social contra as Violencias Machistas. Paradas libres 	PROACTIVE AND REACTIVE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chancellery of Equality and Diversity. However, all the departments within the local government have a gender look over their policies.

Table 4. Summary of questions exploring the Institutional context at the Local level and the answers given by each of the participating organisations.

5.5. Political Context

In this section of the questionnaire aimed at deepening our understanding in the political context of each of the organizations taking part to the workshop. Four main issues were examined: 1) Position of the organization with respect to gender issues; 2) Perception towards Feminism in each political context; 3) Identification of Anti-gender discourse; 4) Assessment of incidence of Feminisation of politics in each Organization.

As seen in Table 5 only L'Asilo from Naples does not identified the gender issue as a priority issue in the organization agenda setting while the other participating organisations identify the issue as high in the political agenda.

With respect to the second issue, that of the perception of feminism, Barcelona en Comú is the only reality that identifies an exclusively positive perception towards feminism. On their side, Marea Atlántica and Madrid 129 both find a positive and a reactionary attitude towards feminism. On one side they both recall the strength of feminist movements in their contexts, yet they also identify the recent process of polarization of public opinion towards feminist issues orchestrated partially by the space that right-wing parties are starting to have.

On their side, Zagreb Je Nas, Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd and L'Asilo, identify that the perception of feminism do not present a positive value but a stigmatized one. Other than this, as seen in the answers related to the identification of anti-gender discourses in each organisation's context, all of the participating organisations identify a rising presence of such discourse in their contexts.

With respect to the last issue, explicitly exploring the degree of engagement of each participating organisation with feminisation of politics and its implementation, there were different positions identified. The major issue evidenced by most of the organizations is the gap identified between the discourses and the real implementation of the feminisation strategies. Some organizations, such as Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd and Marea Atlántica, recognize the low level of discussion of feminisation issues within their organizations. L'Asilo describes the non-discussion of the issue, yet they identify an effort on the implementation of strategies towards the feminisation of politics. Barcelona en Comú, on its side, describes the intensity of the discussion and the major efforts done by the organization in the implementation of the strategies for the feminisation of politics.

	2. POLITICAL CONTEXT			
	Do you as a organization consider that GENDER issues are a priority in the agenda setting, in terms of public policies?	Which, would you say, is the perception towards FEMINISM in your political context?	Do you consider there is a strong anti-gender discourse in your context? Who represents them and which are the key ideas of	Do you consider that FEMINIZATION/FEMINISTIZATION of politics is being discussed/ implemented in the political organizations of your
Zagreb Je Nas	YES 'we strongly believe they are. The areas of highest priority would be: Education and Employment and finance (gender pay gap).'	STIGMATIZED Feminism is still stigmatized in the Croatian mainstream politics, but on the liberal-left spectrum there is a progress in perception of female political representation. There is still not enough knowledge about the processes of gender mainstreaming (implementing GE policies in all areas of political and social life).'	YES increasingly from 2013 on	Discussed: YES , within the organization Implemented: NO , mainly women keep the effort
Massa Critica and L'Asilo	NOT EXPLICITLY 'but the attention towards caring relationships and the community member's wellbeing is on the head of the principles of Asilo.'	STIGMATIZED There is some unspokenphobia towards feminism and its words.	YES legitimized and on the rise with the election of Salvini (Intern Minister) from a nationalist, xenophobe political party (Lega Nord)	Discussed: NOT EXPLICITLY Implemented: SOMEHOW , but not discussing it brings many contradictions
Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd	YES Gender issues are very high on our agenda both in terms of participation of women, and working on reducing inequalities and violence that hinder women from achieving their full potential and rights.	REACTIVE AGAINST Serbian public is increasingly anti feminist, and we have witnessed backlash everytime we spoke up about feminist issues.	YES increased instances of anti-gender discourse.	Discussed: IN THE MARGINS Implemented: SOMEHOW due to strong effort by few
Barcelona en Comú	YES 'In principle, yes. We call ourselves a feminist organization and we put staff and resources for it. Another thing is that the real practices are complex to carry out.'	POSITIVE VALUE Feminism is perceived as a value of the organization, everyone can name themselves as feminists and name the organization that way.	YES relatively new and extreme but mainly limited to far right parties.	Discussed: YES , also with expert advice (gender diagnosis was carried out in 2017) Implemented: YES and it was evaluated by an external body with recommendations for improvement
Madrid 129	YES 'the current political debate in Spain and specifically in the city of Madrid, is broadly biased by gender issues, which have turned to be a key cleavage among political parties to make a difference on their discourse.'	POSITIVE VALUE + REACTIVE AGAINST 'The mobilizations of 8M in Spain and, specifically in the local context, those held Madrid, are among the most massive in Europe. But on the other hand, the boom of the far right with the emergence of VOX (the scission of the far-right elements of Partido Popular) and its reception and projection by the media, causes the normalization of a criminalizing and supremacist discourse against feminism as a reaction to the advances made in the feminist field and the fight against violence against women. Although in politicized leftist and social movement environments, this normalization is being fought, a large part of the "apolitical" movement, more incorporated in moderate (middle) and middle-right environments, welcomes it to launch new "feminist models" such as "liberal feminism" launched by the political party of Ciudadanos.'	YES with the far-right and conservative discourses	Discussed: YES , mostly discursive way Implemented: GAP between the discourses and the practices
Marea Atlántica	YES 'because the approach is from different fields. But we need to highlight that a local government doesn't have all the competencies to develop regulations and also it depends on the budget that comes from other administrations.'	POSITIVE VALUE + REACTIVE AGAINST 'We notice an important growth of awareness and public manifestations around feminism and gender topics on the last two years, specially around events like 8th March. Also, these public conversation that is going on about feminism shows that there is a polarization on the public opinion and also strong reactionary answers from right-wing parties while other parties in these right-wing area tried to appropriate of the feminism and defend a liberal feminism.'	YES with the far-right and conservative discourses and with a strong presence in internet (anonymity)	Discussed: NOT EXCLUSIVELY AND DEEPLY IN A DEDICATED MANNER Implemented: YES

Table 5. Summary of questions exploring the political context and the answers given by each of the participating organisations.

5.6. Social Context

The last part of the questionnaire aimed at assessing the social context of the diverse realities participating to the project. The questions posed to the organizations aspired to explore the following topics: 1) Society's perception towards gender issues; 2) Network relations with organizations working on gender issues; 3) Identification of changes in general social patterns or profiles; 4) Identification of events that could open opportunities for further strengthening each organisation's strategy towards the feminisation of politics.

With respect to the general perception of society towards gender issues, as seen in table 6, Zagreb Je Nas, Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd and L'Asilo, generally identify a general attitude marked by conservative and patriarchal attitudes. Here, the incidence of the rise of right-wing anti-gender discourses is identified as a major issue fostering a polarization of public opinion on gender issues. On its side, Madrid 129 recognizes a contrasting tension between a highly positive perception and one of strong backlash.

Barcelona in Comú identifies the strong presence and high participation of feminist movements as a major indicator of the positive perception of society towards gender issues.

With respect to the type of networks with other organizations working on gender issues, both L'Asilo of Naples and Marea Atlántica identify a basic interaction, in which links are held but no collaboration has taken place. The rest of the participating organisations recognize stronger links and further types of collaboration in diverse areas.

When assessing the change in social patterns, Zagreb Je Nas and L'Asilo identify mixed-outcomes, as they acknowledge both: progress and regression in the field. On its side, Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd identifies changes related to age (in younger generations) and the level of the urban contexts assessed (in larger cities such changes can be seen). Barcelona en Comú recognizes their practice in socializing and promoting discussion on issues such as classic gender roles in family dynamics and the further discussion of these issues in leisure spaces and daily activities. Madrid 129 identifies the changes produced by major economic trends such as high precarization of working conditions and the incidence of IT in the ways people relate to each other.

Finally, each participating organisation identified events that could put them in contact with other organizations working on gender issues as means to explore diverse spheres of the process of feminisation. For example, Barcelona en Comú identifies the opportunity of networking with other feminist organizations within institutions, as that particular context puts specific obstacles. Here, they recognize the need to share best practices as well as the opportunity to collectively think about common problems and ways to tackle them. The other participating organisations identify events that could offer opportunities to meet with other organizations in order to create stronger networks and facilitate knowledge transfer and new collaborations in fields such as mobilizations based on agenda setting, new digital tools, convergence with other movements at an international and transnational levels, and the reinforcement of local networks and municipalism.

	3. SOCIAL CONTEXT			
	What is the perception of the society towards gender issues?	Do you have strong networks with other organizations to work on gender issues? How do you work on them?	Are social patterns, values, population profiles, lifestyles, etc., changing?	What events could open up opportunities?
Zagreb Je Nas	RELATIVELY CONSERVATIVE 'some gender issues are difficult to put in the public discussion. Perhaps, it is most accurate to emphasize that some type of retraditionalization of society is taking place. Some of the basic women's rights are being questioned again – such as abortion.'	YES 'We have strong networks with other organisation and we collaborate with them on many issues but not exclusively gender issues. So there is a space to improve this kind of networks.'	MIXED OUTCOMES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actively doing a gender mainstreaming of the ZJN program and future policy proposals Making a stronger partnerships with the civil society organizations and grassroots movements that work on gender issues.
Massa Crítica and L'Asilo	HIGHLY PATRIARCH SOCIAL STRUCTURE Even though education attainment shows that women has outnumbered men. The caring responsibilities are still mainly centralised in women.	CONTACT YES, COLLABORATION NO 'we host the assembly of 'Non Una di Meno' but they donot take an active part of the assembly, at least as a collective'	MIXED OUTCOMES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actively engaging and collaborating with grassroots movements in the field of gender issues. International meetings for creating new lliances and projects.
Ne Da(vi)mo Beograd	FAKE CONSCIOUSNESS 'Dominant perception is that it is not something that needs to be on the agenda, as everything is fine with GE. Considerate amount of people go as far as saying that women are privileged.'	YES 'We have good connections with women's movement, we even co-organised International Women's Day march. So far our practices related to GE have been mostly reactive, and then turned into some kind of policy.'	YES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public discussion through mass media denouncing antigender attitudes
Barcelona en Comú	POSITIVE AND VALUED WELL 'Now we have a strong feminist movement, with huge demonstrations on the 8M and also on the 25N. This is important and sets the agenda.'	YES 'At the municipal level we work very closely with the entities. In spaces of official participation and also at the activist level. Also from Barcelona to Comú, through various spaces but above all from Feminismos and LGTBI there is a constant connection with the feminist movement.'	YES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wave strong coordination networks. Especially among feminists who come to the institution (harsh environment)
Madrid 129	POSITIVE YET WITH ANTI-GENDER BACKLASH 'It is difficult to perceive in a macro perspective, but it is useful to provide some facts: 92% of Spaniards believe that gender equality has yet to be achieved in their country. Only 5% of women and 11% of men feel that equality between the sexes has been fully attained, according to the Attitudes and Perceptions survey carried out by polling firm Metroscopia. However the anti gender backlash in the recent months have proved that there is still a strong anti-gender, misogynist discourse, that has found a niche in some sectors of our society. "	YES 'as a result of grassroots work on different assemblies, platforms and political confluences in the local realm, we have networks on plenty of organizations and movements. In fact, most of our members are actively engaged in other projects at the same time.'	YES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appart from political/electoral cycles: mobilization based on agenda setting new digital tools convergence with other movements, international and transnational local networks and municipalism common grounds of understanding with other local nodes: gender, antifascism, antiracism
Marea Atlántica	DIFFERENT REACTIONS 'mayor focus of public and private conversations. Also, it is transferred to the political agenda . It is an issues that provoques very different reactions.	CONTACT YES, COLLABORATION NO	YES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many as 8th March, 25th November, electoral campaigns local parties festivals workshops

Table 6. Summary of questions exploring the social context and the answers given by each of the participating organisations.

6. Main values and practices identified during local and international workshops

During Barcelona's international meeting, organizations participating in the project detected the different practices carried out in terms of feminization of politics. It's remarkable a differentiation between the good practices - identified as those that are carried out in each organization - and ideals that must be achieved, over those challenges that have to be continued to work on and force us to overcome tensions in its implementation.

After sharing the Initial Assessment during the Barcelona meeting and a subsequent process of joint reflection on what aspects are essential in their concept of feminization of politics, organizations collected those common criteria, which they systematized by configuring the working axes of the project¹. These were the key concepts (so called "values" during the workshop") chosen as the main bullet points to develop into practices. As seen below, some of them are cross-cutting, or involve more than one value or issue.

Based on these discussions, we have also laid out the input for the feminisation of politics toolkit that should be developed through further cooperation (input is presented in the "Toolkit" subsection for each "value" item).

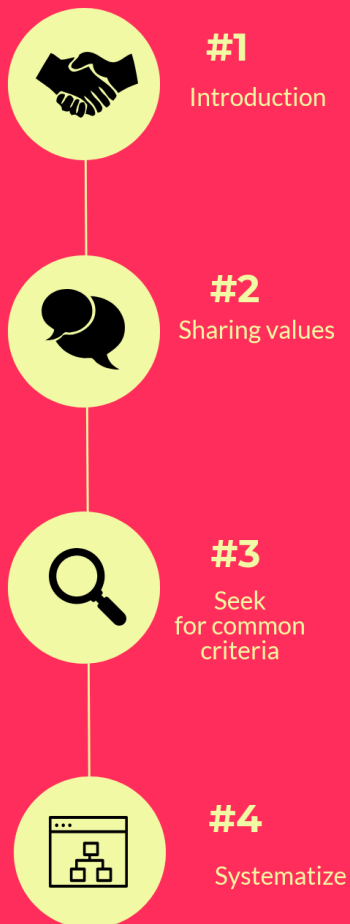
¹ Further information in Section 3 (Methodology) of this document.

Axes

Defining the axes

During Barcelona's international workshop, organizations shared their concept and practices in Feministization of politics. Those key concepts shared (and called "values" during the workshop) worked as the main bullet points to develop into practices and defined final axis for identification of practices.

The steps



Values and axes

- ♀ Care
- ♀ Equal representation
- ♀ Cooperation
- ♀ Proximity to community
- ♀ Power relations
- ♀ Empowerment
- ♀ Diversity
- ♀ Concepts and use of language
- ♀ Structure
- ♀ Resources

Diagram 7. Process and definition of the axis of the project.

Once the axes of feministization were defined, the process of sharing common practices between organizations began:

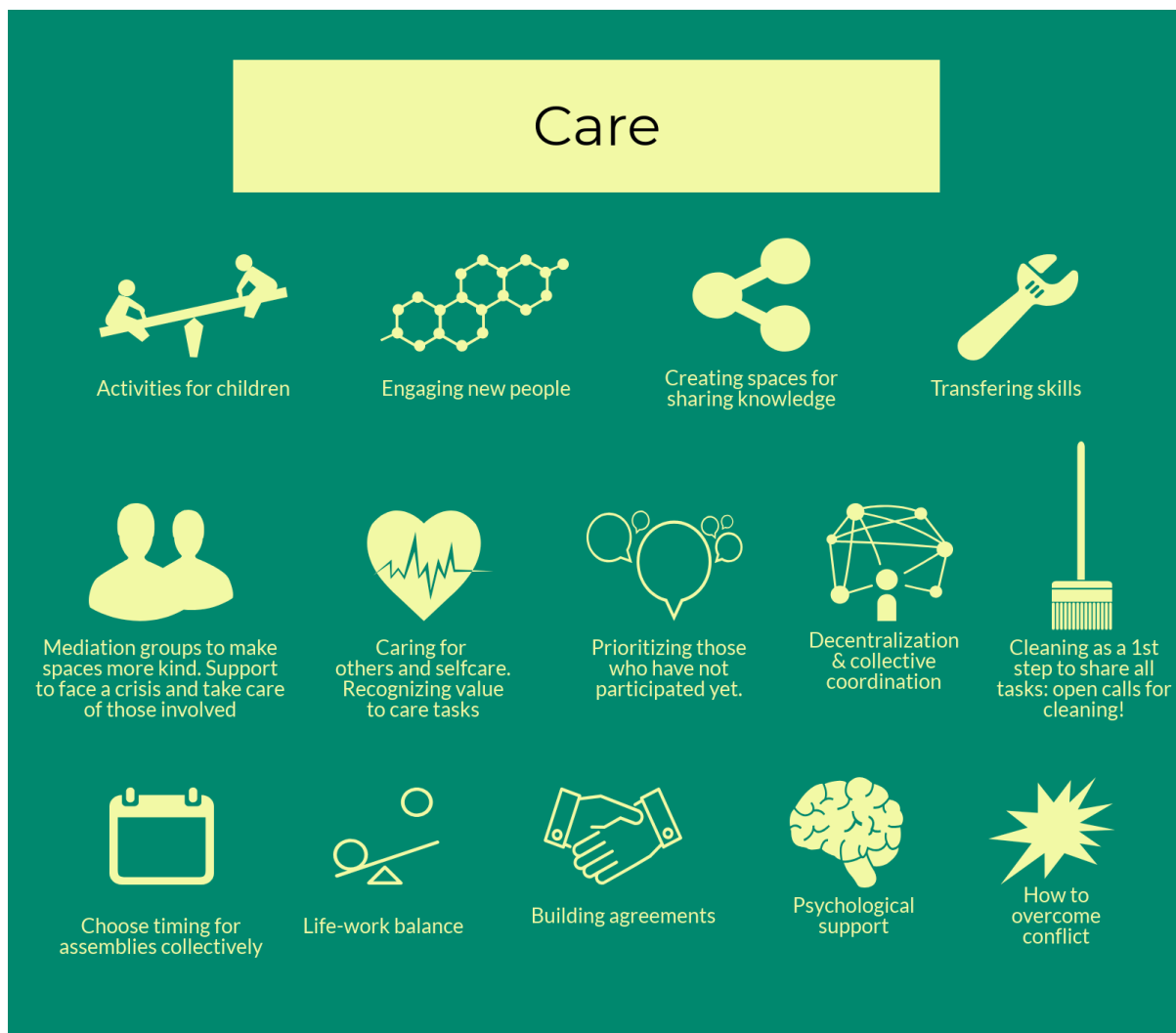


Diagram 8. Care practices

Care

A great part of the time invested during the project has revolved around the concept and the **politics, ethics and practices** of care. Care has been constantly present, both *ad intra* and *ad extra*. It's been present not only as a key topic -in fact, the first one arising in every board when addressing common issues to discuss- but also as an element that affects, as could not have been otherwise, the way FOP has worked. Hectic timetables, tight schedules, family duties, job commitments, deadlines, and the management -or lack of management- of physical and mental health, determined times, spaces and ways of working as a team.

A first conclusion would be the common agreement on understanding care-based ethics under the theoretical concept of **care-focused feminism**, steering away from reinforcing traditional stereotypes of a "good woman" or essentialist approaches about the duties of care. This feminist perspective of Politics and Ethics of care is based on the development of discourses, strategies and tools to break with the reproduction of societal oppressions in our activist spaces. The burnout feeling towards activism and the precarious balance of the different aspects of life is not just felt by the individuals but as families as a whole, as participants of spaces and

structures.

A second central idea emerging from this realm is the conception of CARE as a **polyhedral and cross-cutting issue**: it is essential to understand that everything is determined by reproductive work, and thus, it is equally essential to change the focus and put life -our lives, the lives of our communities- in the centre of the political work would. This polyhedral approach of care comprises several subthemes, among them:

- Strategies for joint responsibility, especially in child-caring
- Conflict management and resolution
- Prevention and action against patriarchal violence
- Appreciate and add value to the historically uncompensated and unrecognized work and thus, deconstruct and redefine the daily tasks related to it
- Sustainability of life
- Psychological/emotional support for those in need

A third conclusion is that care is the key concept to build **sustainable and holistic communities**: it is important to prioritize it from a feminist approach in our organizations and communities of political work, to transform ourselves and our relations to transform the world around us. Mostly all of the participating organisations have admitted a lack of time or formal tools and spaces to develop ideas and projects towards care that, in fact, are already designed, discussed and desired as solid proposals.

In fact, BCN has cornered the three relations among sustainability, reconciliation and care work, which in summary make up the model of activism as the great challenges to be addressed.

For BCN, **care work** emerges in the point related to the organisation's activist culture. Furthermore, the difficulties in reconciliation are seen not only in family life (especially with small children, but also dependent people), but also in other areas of life (other kinds of activism, friendships, etc.). **Sustainability** refers most especially to the often dizzying pace that is difficult to sustain indefinitely. Thus, reconciliation between work life, political participation, personal time, family time and time for a social life, is one of the matters that most concerns those participating in the research, and **reconciliation** is conceived as an obstacle to the participation and well-being of the people who take part in the organisation; a problem that is complex and difficult to address.

Some ideas to think about

The conclusions reached when dealing with care and feminisation of politics lead to several questions within the organizations - Where is **the gap** between desire and action? What is hindering the development of these strategies? Who is pushing forward?

Another question is how to face the challenge of transforming care in a daily practice and in moments of tension. As some voices pointed, it is often easier to build safe, care spaces in moments of calmness, but isn't it even more important in moments of **tension and hustle?**

However, some topics have remained in the back or there was a lack of time to discuss: for example, care not focused on different family types, transcending child-caring to broad the focus towards the elderly, those in need of support, etc. It is also remarkable that a broader focus on masculinities and how politics of care and male roles in political life interact.

Toolkit input

- Pool of relatable facilitators available
- Specific sessions to map conflict in group
- Informal spaces to take care of the own collective as dinner, parties or social lunches
- Tools to decide the schedule of assemblies together (i.e., doodle)
- Specific groups or committees to care about the space and the people that spend time on them
- Crisis committees and support networks
- Platform Rulebook
- Welcoming newcomers
- An agenda specifically design for families, including planning for projects, tasks and establishing timetable
- A playing area for children in every public event
- Fixed activities for children in the headquarters two days a week
- Announcing meetings, events, and the agenda at least with a week's notice
- Holding regular meetings, always the same days and hours so people can plan and adjust their schedules

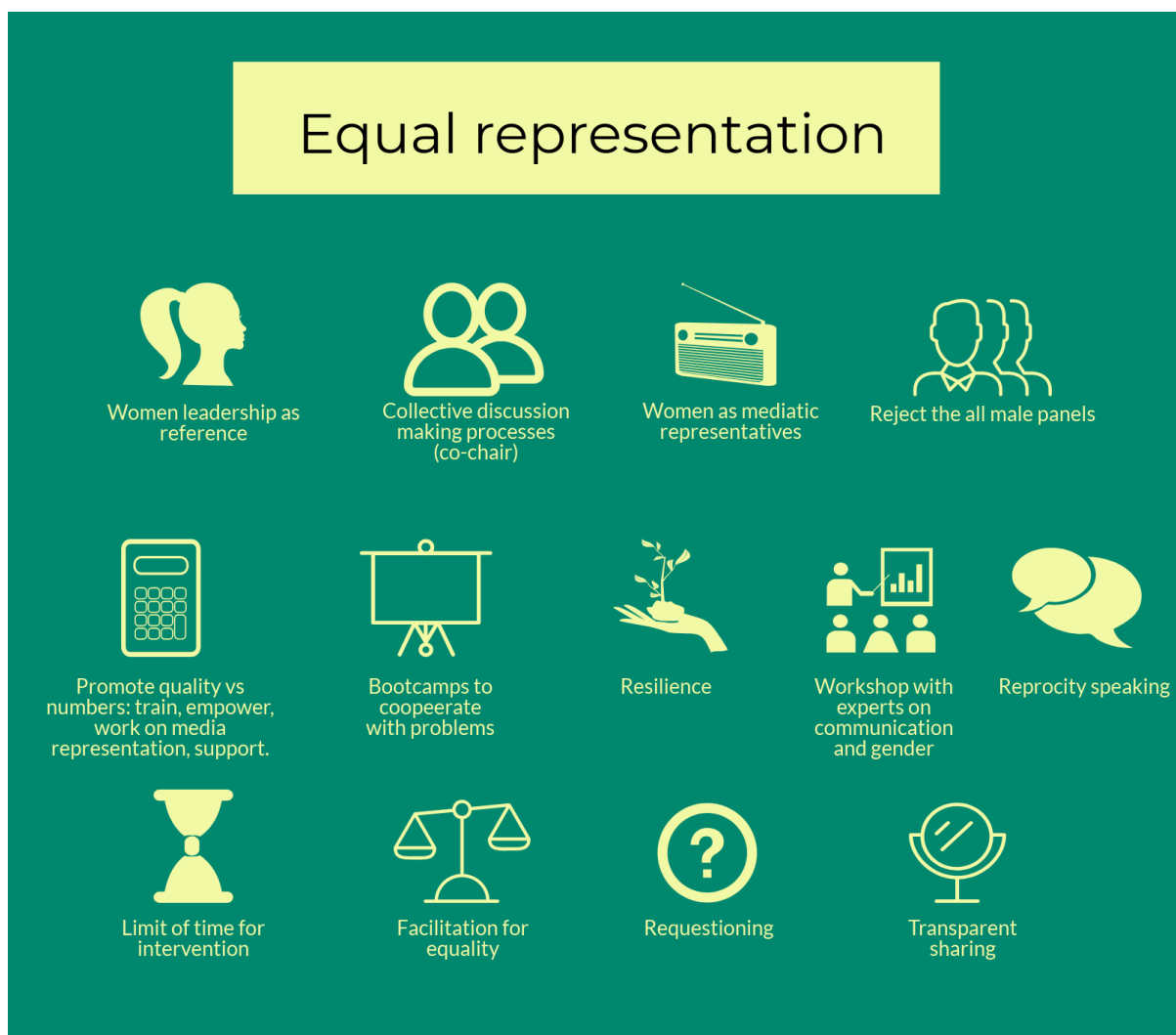


Diagram 9. Equal representation practices

Equal Representation

Equal representation is necessary inside, in its own dynamics, and outside the organization, in acts, panels, media, electoral lists etc. However, the concept worked during the FOP project comprises more than the institutional practices traditionally related to equal representation: in fact, those practices, as some participating organisations asserted, are imposed from different political instances and lack a public reflection, turning mere tools to meet formal, quantitative results regarding quotas and, in fact, sometimes empowering female voices that bring a conservative, anti-gender discourse.

Keeping this in mind, equal representation has been addressed as a much deeper procedure that requires reflection and qualitative approaches to achieve real organizational changes, but overall to allow reflection on the dynamics of power and representation.

A first conclusion is that it is essential and all the organizations need to put resources

to guarantee women have tools to empower and train skills. In this way it is interesting the proposal of Belgrade in terms of "tackle fear of political confrontation in the patriarchal society not yet properly answered in the organization (lack of capacity)".

Another conclusion is that as communication codes in politics are hard, the organizations need tools to handle these codes and use them in their own favour (hacking them for instance).

For example, one principle could be to reject all male panels and consider and design other ways to to introduce equity in public practices.

However, equal representation should not happen only in media, but rather needs to be promoted also within the dynamics of the organization. That is why it is necessary to measure interventions during meetings, and ensure as much reciprocity as possible speaking in discussions.

Until equity is incorporated into our daily practices, and we have to take small steps to do so, we will not be able to neglect ourselves in more stressful moments such as an election campaign. These are also moments of great media visibility and if we do not manage to maintain coherence in representative terms we will contribute to maintaining traditional structures. Resilience has been mentioned in terms of political campaign. It is necessary to find tools that allow us to make our organizations not succumb to campaign rhythms and dynamics (sometimes toxic). It is interesting to have the support of groups of (feminist) men helping us to introduce in the agenda unrepresented topics.

Some ideas to think about

All of the tools and practices displayed are related to power relations and the politics of recognition. Therefore, equal representation requires depriving power and redistributing it. Who are those who detent that power? Are they willing to be active agents in the promotion of equal representation?

Another issue for reflection is the fact that equal representation requires women going one step beyond to undertake those responsibilities. To what extent gender roles may hinder these processes? What about those members who are not willing to take over those tasks related to representation? How can sustainable and respectful dynamics of empowerment be built?

Toolkit input

- Zipping in electoral lists and work commissions
- Specific cooperative communication sessions with experts (help to manage codes and feel comfortable hacking them)
- Mapping experts in communication and gender in our organizations to prepare the sessions
- Collective discussions to build political positions that will be later defended

- Spaces to think about instrumentalization of women in media and how to fight it
- Timemetres in meetings and assemblies to account the use of time and the amount of interventions
- Giving the word to those who have not participated yet
- Rejecting all male panels
- Demanding 50% in all the public talks

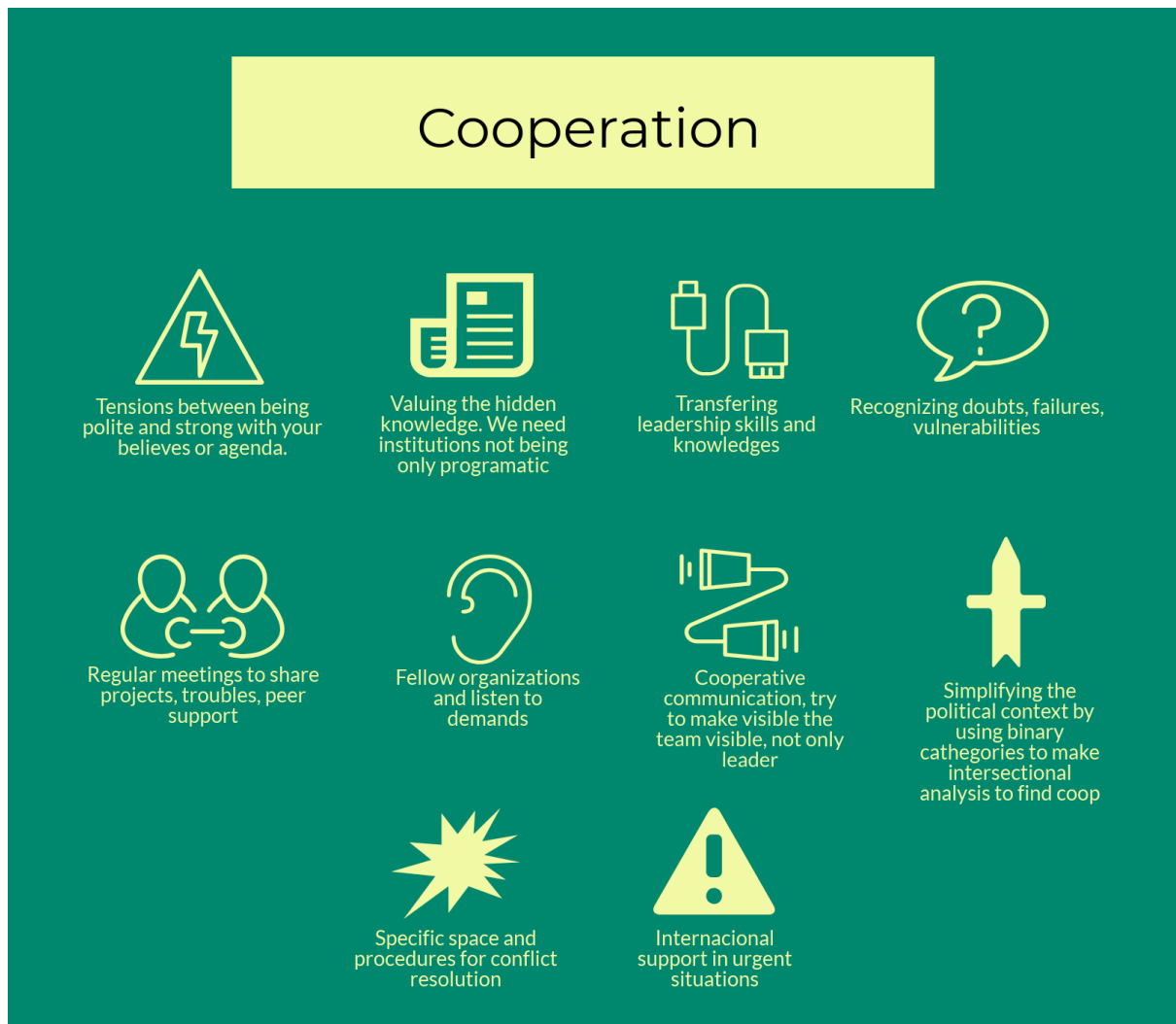


Diagram 10. Cooperation practices

Cooperation

Cooperation, when addressing feminisation of politics, comprises a broad range of ideas related to the fact that organizations are all embedded in complex ecosystems, diverse and changing contexts, and therefore there is a constant need of knitting networks, sometimes voluble and short-lived, sometimes solid and steady, to tackle challenges together.

A first conclusion is that participating organisations have understood coordination in two ways: as an internal issue, related to the way the participating organisations work, and as an external issue, related to the support and collaborative work developed with other sister organizations.

- When thinking of cooperation on the internal life of our organizations, a very interesting idea, tightly related to the practices of care mentioned above, is the one of expressing and recognizing doubts, failures and vulnerabilities. Understanding that sometimes tasks can be overwhelming and help and support may sometimes be needed.
- Another point of view from the internal realm of cooperation, is the one related to logistics and collective care of the commons, stressing the importance of engaging people through the care and collective construction of the common goods, whether is an it artistic projects, work spaces, social centres, or institutions.
- Conflict happens, what makes a difference is the way is faced and in general, the participating organisations lack specific spaces for conflict resolution. This is also linked with the idea of care and the necessity of developing tools to face conflict resolution and understand it as a natural part of the cycles of any organization, and with the lack of times to “deconstruct” conflict.
- Cooperation is also understood in terms of participation, where the internal and the external meet: for example, L’Asilo uses the concept of interdependence to stress the dynamics of open participation as a principle of the organization and the practices that allow different groups and collectives to coexist in a space and interact with each other.
- When addressing cooperation from an external perspective, the idea appears linked with the values of accountability, transparency, understood as good practices for radical democracy and to strengthen ties with fellow organizations, grassroots social movements and sympathizers.
- Moreover, the idea of recognizing vulnerabilities and failures appears not only as an internal practice, but as a healthy exercise of transparency to the outside community.

A second conclusion is that cooperation is closely related to the practices oriented towards knowledge transference, learning and trespassing skills among the members and, as some participating organisations highlight, it is important to put the focus on the valuable knowledge acquired when working within or close to the institutions, an often hidden knowledge that grants access to a broad range of information and tools. In addition, it is relevant to add that it is equally important to transfer the knowledge related to the daily work and mundane tasks along with those other related to skills or frames of analysis.

A third idea to sum up from this field, gender-wise speaking, is that all participating organisations face common conflicts related to stereotyped roles and tasks based on gender constructs. Some participating organisations highlight that tension arises when women express ideas and beliefs and how gender shapes their interactions,

their negotiations and how an internalized/naturalized acceptance of male dominance remains.

Some participating organisations stress that their diagnosis show with satisfaction that assemblies are perceived as **approachable spaces** with ties of friendship and also for care work. This perception is valuable and becomes part of the willingness to weave a community together.

Some ideas to think about

It is a common agreement that cooperation, inside and outside our organizations, is a key element of our political life. However, there are various shades on approaching cooperation when discussing how the feminisation of politics shapes cooperation - Is there a common agreement on what cooperation means? Where and which are the lines between cooperation, collaboration, support, cowork and confluence? How do our organizations promote diversity and alternative cooperation? To what extent the differences, -like in the organizational models, the social composition, the goals of activism, etc. - determine the intersections and forms of cooperation?

However, it is seen that this stems from an organisational culture with too much demand placed on participation ("**hyper-activism**"). There is a high level of implication, leading to an overload and blame on those who cannot cope with everything. There are intermediate participatory spaces with specific goals and time limits, but they are considered to be too few.

In this vein, it should also serve as a warning that in some cases attention is not paid to people's **signs of discomfort** (exhaustion, physical complaints, high levels of stress, etc.).

It is thus important to establish different levels and ways of participating that are flexible, viable and sustainable. New kinds of technology can be used to help reduce the need to be physically present, while putting limits on other digital participation (especially the different Telegram groups). **Inclusive spaces** and paces need to be found.

Toolkit input

- Using binary categories to make intersectional analysis
- Communicating and transferring knowledge from a cooperative perspective, trying to make visible the team, not just the leaders
- Creating a **list of availabilities** that regularly maps the needs where people can sign up to fill in the roles needed for each event
- Avoiding confrontational language (codes of conduct)
- Using culture and artistic activities to tie bounds among different people and organizations
- "**Intertavoli**": **open assemblies** to share the projects and promote interdisciplinary, cross cutting projects by merging different groups of

work

- “Modalita” finding common grounds even when facing contradictions



Diagram 11. Proximity to community practices

Proximity to community

Proximity to community is an important issue for organizations with a municipalist perspective. Building good relationships with neighbours and with social movements is essential to carry out municipalism, getting closer to different communities, creating spaces of **dialogue and have bidirectional tools for communication** and proposals; ideals that every organization of this project seeks to achieve. However, it becomes apparent that our organizations are too homogeneous in terms of social class, race, studies, etc. In order to go further, not only to address problems

with them but to learn how intersection affects our struggles, so that better demands can be proposed. The conclusion drawn is the need to work harder to find best practices to approach nearby communities, build bridges, create common strategies to complement the struggles (be on duty) and learn more from each other. It becomes essential to create new spaces within organizations and communities to better communication and to define an agenda close to shared interests.

Collaboration with educational groups has proven to be a good practice implemented by Massa Crítica - L'Assilo, although this type of practice is not common in other organizations. What it is identified is that some of the **organizations use social networks to collect feedback**; while this practice gives information about what the communities think of our publications, activities, etc and helps to care for and be close to the digital community, it does not bring communities together in shared spaces. Social networks are tools that help us easily find and communicate with groups of interest, so it can be a good practice to have a strategy to find groups with which to create links, map them and define common lines of action. When organizations already have common spaces with other communities, it is important to facilitate **those spaces to ensure time for women's voices**.

Some ideas to think about

All the organizations that have been part of this project have a municipal perspective, which implies a close management of the local problems. In order to think better solutions, cooperation with other entities that have different purposes and whose peculiarities are not represented in our organization is key. Some aspects to consider are the use of digital tools to contact groups of interest, how to continue contact outside the networks and design a common agenda with these groups.

Toolkit input

- Creating dialogue and bidirectional tools for communication
- Creating new spaces of communication
- Collaborating with educational groups
- Collecting feedback from social media
- Facilitating spaces that assure time to women voices
- Improving the functioning of neighbourhood assemblies in order to make easier for new people to engage

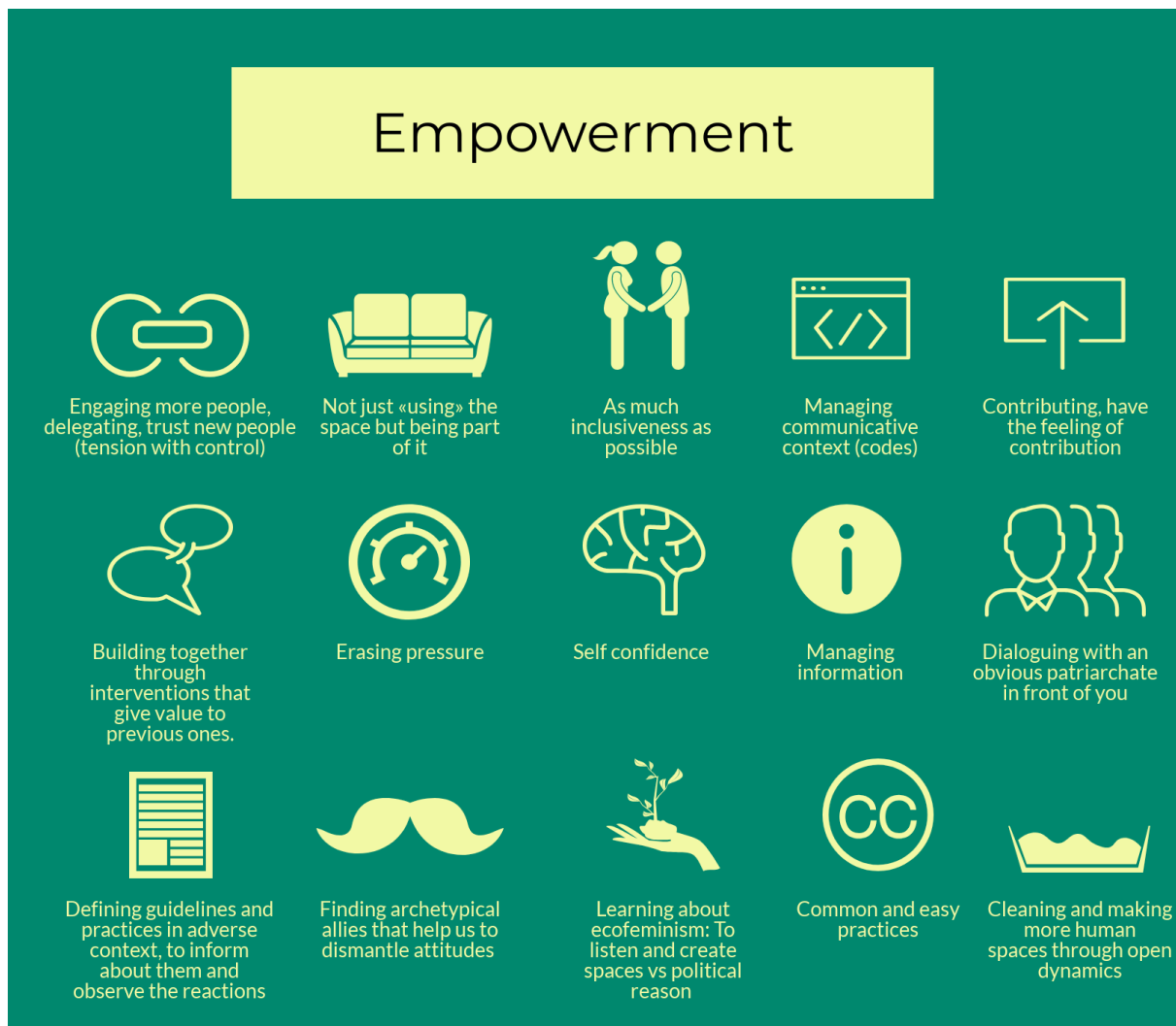


Diagram 12. Empowerment practices

Empowerment

'Empowerment' has become a key concept in a changing context, although it is sometimes difficult to know how best to apply it and understand what it really means in our organizations. In fact, the term is turning a ductile concept, easily adaptive for the logics of neoliberalism. In brief, the term empowerment has entered the mainstream discourse. FOP project has, since its beginning, considered Empowerment from a feminist perspective. This involves regaining its origins, when feminists throughout the global South in the 1970s and 1980s fostered alternative forms of development along with women's liberation.

A first conclusion would be, then, that FOP project participants understand empowerment as the right to determine choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over crucial material and nonmaterial

resources. Therefore, feminist empowerment entails work at the individual level as well as at organizational and social levels. It involves an articulation of at least three different dimensions: the internal and subjective level of empowerment, the interpersonal and organizational level; and the political or social level where collective action is displayed.

- At the **internal level**, the emphasis is placed on the importance of giving value during the dialectics and dynamics of meetings and assemblies; by adding value to the interventions of women, appreciating, welcoming her contributions, and promoting kind spaces of discussion, the initial tensions that hinder participation break. Self-confidence, trust, and the importance of the audience are also concepts that arise in the discussions. Paradoxically, some opinions asserted that it is easier to feel empowered when there is a clear confrontation; which leads to the debate -again- of gender roles on leadership and communication. This was conceptualized in some workshops as *The right of being bad*, that implies the right of women to break with the idea of feminisation as a moral code of well behaviour in terms of care, being nice, developing non-violent dynamics, and the right not to care, but to be cared, to break with the same practices that are not associated to a moral standard of femininity. At the interpersonal and **organizational level**, there is a common agreement on the necessity to enable spaces and tools that provide enough information in order to share a common communication context and code. The existing tensions at this level are also linked with the different ideological backgrounds and with the recurring problem of decoupling power and leadership from the traditional roles of leadership, or, as some participating organisations state, the tension between being polite / expressing strong opinions.

- At the **political and social level** the concept of **ecofeminism** appears, linked with practices of empowerment within it. However, during FOP project time limitation prevented from deepening on ecofeminist practices and how they intersect with the empowerment of women and communities. This concept deserves further discussion, understanding ecofeminism as an attempt to outline a new utopic horizon, addressing the environmental issue from the categories of patriarchy, androcentrism, care, sexism and gender .

Nevertheless, this social and political level of empowerment in municipalist and local organizations seems fully linked with the idea of enabling a **sense of community** as a multidimensional construct which involves the subjective perception that one's actions may have an impact on political processes and influence policy decisions in a local community.

A second conclusion is that empowerment can be understood as a goal (empower people, organisations, networks, or movements) but overall, it is a process. Thus, feminist empowerment is seen as a process involving the self-organization of women to affect transformative social changes. And, within the process itself, it is where it intersects with many other values related to feminisation, as care, cooperation or power relations, but also to a key concept that was not clearly foreseen before:

resources within organizations. Some of them claimed that there were **limited resources in different aspects**:

- Resources **promote empowerment**: to absorb those who want to participate and to empower them within the structures: given the political cycles, with their pikes, ups and downs, some participating organisations have experienced that, when a considerable amount of people show their interest in working in the organization, there is a lack of tools and resources to facilitate that process of empowerment and engagement.
- Resources **to build discourses and spread them**: some other participating organisations pointed at the digital gap, and its intersection with age and gender, as a problem given the strong role that digital tools have to empower and to enact different forms of participation and role-taking.

A third conclusion, that is in fact tightly linked with the problem of resources too, is the one related to the use of digital tools and social media. Some of the participant participating organisations stress the importance of combining traditional and digital realms for participation, dissemination, research, discussion and time management, which can lead to empowering those who are able to work on that context. Social media plays an instrumental role in **enabling and facilitating** social movements.

Some ideas to think about

Many participating organisations highlighted the lack of resources to ensure engagement and continuity of people in spaces. Are we aware of what kinds of resources are related to empowerment? Are those material, financial, human, even administrative resources?

Coming back to the concept of empowerment, it is significant to recognize there is a neoliberal orientation in which empowerment is connected to individual rational choice, efficiency, investment, entrepreneurship, which makes especially important for feminists to pursue “post-capitalist politics” that connect empowerment to alternative, non-capitalist visions of the concept in the field of gender equality and political activism along with the different conceptualizations of agency, subjectivity, and power.

Toolkit input

- Tracking and registering previous information -minutes, publications- and communication codes (i.e., lexicon) to facilitate the exchange of communication
- Training on social media and digital tools
- Introducing ice-breaking dynamics

- Sessions to transfer technical knowledge
- Using arts as a tool for empowerment
- Using humour to break tensions
- Providing “clean”, humanized spaces. The environment matters.

Dynamic of (Dis)Empowerment

During some internal workshops, participating organisations noted the need for further discussion on empowerment, considering the problem from the opposite perspective dis-empowering dynamics can be identified. For that purpose, a non-mixed group of men and a non-mixed group of women discussed separately and then shared their conclusions. Some of them are reflected on the following pictogram.



Diagram 13. Practices that disempower

These dynamics were useful to prove how these practices are clearly identified and lead to broader discussion. However, some questions remain open; to what extent does disempowerment explains the decline of social movements and organizations? In terms of gender, many of these practices were identified as typically performed by male members of the group. If so, how can they be deconstructed from a gendered perspective?

And, last but not least, a question on empowerment arose regarding the use of the motto “future is female”, is the feminist agenda being put off to the future and prevents changes in the present? How about ceasing procrastination and start empowering now?

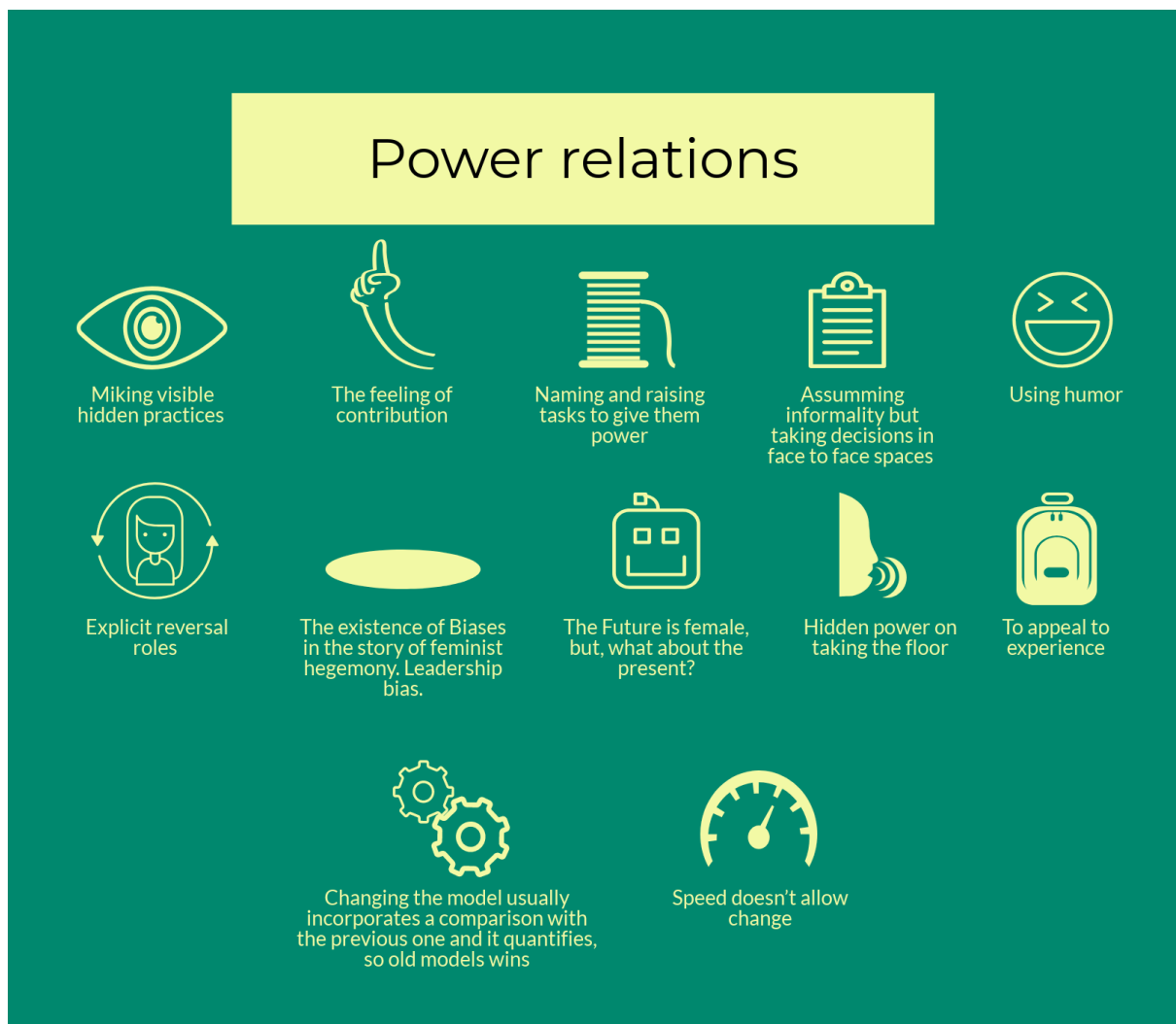


Diagram 14. Power relations reversion practices

Power relations

Power relations is actually a key concept in philosophy and feminism. Power can be defined as an exercise of power over - usually related to subordination-, against those who define it as the ability or a capacity to act, that is, as a power to do something. Subordination perspective analyses intersections between sexism and other forms of subordination such as racism, heterosexism, and class oppression; envisioning the possibilities for both individual and collective resistance to such subordination power is clearly a central concept for feminist theory as well. The discussion on this issue and how feminist power works generally takes a binary perspective, on the one hand, the attributes of feminist power are related to cooperation, care, non-confrontation, etc., which means that feminist power is framed in the ability to act. On the other hand, the idea of women's "right to evil" means working in the opposite position of gender stereotypes or the imposing face of power. When practising empowering procedures, the discussion reveals that this type of behaviour is generally constructed in contexts where dynamics and codes are related to competition and are difficult to be respected. Although these organizations work on feministization, they are aware that there's still a dominance of men and greater power of executive bodies, compared to ordinary activists. Fighting becomes essential to include equal representation for men and women in local government and in all boards inside.

Having feminist groups in organizations helps to develop different relational forms of exercising power and reflecting onto them, for example not to understand power as the imposition of a single vision. It also helps to create mixed spaces for reflection, since allies are often still immersed in patriarchy, and that appears for example in the hidden power when taking the floor.

It is necessary to make visible the hidden practices of power relations to reverse them, for example, in L'Assilo recognize that, in relation to gender, also in the individual sphere sexist behaviours arise, enacted by men and women alike. ZJN considers a critical issue to address power relations in a homogeneous structure. In terms of power relations, men are a bit more dominant when it comes to fair communication; for instance, when vulnerability is used as a failure and an excuse. It is still an issue to recognize failures, doubts and vulnerabilities in public spaces within the organization, in terms of power relations but as well the area of cooperation.

Although formally present in having two coordinators who represent the party, one of which has to be a woman, a male representative still publicly perceived as a leader. There is a women leadership bias and tools are needed to change it. A useful practice may be to socialize contacts so that everyone can have a representative role; also to identify when someone appeals to experience in interventions (this is really disempowerment). If there is not a protocol to share tasks, inertia will probably share them.

NDB finds challenging men's tendency to be dominant in appearance, although

decision-making processes are mostly equitable, they find tensions to work on in the transition period. It is very important to be aware of informal spaces and take all the decisions in collective and formal spaces. Make objective tasks and methods for taking decisions is a tool that may help them in this way.

In general, there is a male control of content, contacts, connections and networks. A good practice would be to share all the information so that everyone can manage the same codes to follow the collective conversation, which will help them make decisions.

These small tools can be helpful in changing the model, caution is needed with comparisons on new and old models; these comparisons are usually quantified and are inclined towards the previous model in terms of efficiency and haste (no time for creating new models). This may hold models that do not work for equity and take pinkwashing measures. Making inertia visible will help fight it.

In this way empowerment and all the practices and tools identified in this topic help to create tools for power relations reversion.

Some ideas to think about

Position is not equal to power; power relations are forced by habit, then, the question arises - What is real power and what kind of power do women want? Having collective spaces to think how does privilege work? From a critical perspective, power relations upon reaching the individual level, underestimate the tension and the unquestioned privileges resurface. This happens especially in the spaces where people work all day, and there is a sense of right created through the intense use of space.

Another aspect to think about power and its dynamics is exemplified when the motto: "future is female" is used, but, when talking about the future what happens with the present?

When a new model is proposed, it usually implies a comparison with the previous one and it is quantified, the old models win; one of the excuses is the rush and need for efficiency so as not to apply feminist practices.

Toolkit input

- Having feminist groups in each organization that help to create methodologies that identify and reverse dynamics and developing more horizontal and relational ways of exercising power
- Having mixed groups to reflect on privileges and how to deconstruct them
- Tools for making power relations and dynamics visible and work on them
- Identifying when someone appeals to experience in interventions and saying it (this is really disempowering); the existence of biases in the

history of feminist hegemony takes women apart.

- Sharing information with everyone to manage same codes
- Using humour
- Socializing contacts for everyone so everyone can have a representative role.
- Creating a protocol for sharing tasks
- Making decisions in formal collective spaces
- Making objective tasks and decisions
- Considering empowerment as a tool for reversion



Diagram 15. Diversity practices

Diversity

The debate on diversity has not been as deep as it should be; the structure of the axis and the dynamics carried out during the project show that there is no consensus regarding the contents of each axis, in fact, sometimes the contents intersect with others. This is partly explained by working remotely and asynchronously with no face to face spaces to debate around some topics. The first conclusion drawn from it is the

need to take the time to continue working on these results and systematize them with better and more inclusive categories.

What organizations have found is that they are too homogeneous in terms of race, economic, social class, etc. (as seen in Proximity to community). The question that arises is how to work with others, since there is a low representation of Asian and African immigrants. What seems clear is that as white people with a common background in terms of race, class and education, our role lays in the background, supporting their statements with tools, meaning, asking them how to contribute to their cause without taking lead.

BCC, who have a LGTBIQ commission, NDB AM and ZJN integrated people from the LGTBIQ movement; NDB and AM integrated differently abled people in their electoral lists but in the daily dynamics of most organizations these collectives do not hold a substantial presence.

From a cross generational perspective all organizations have representatives of different ages.

As a general conclusion organizations should think of tools that facilitate an expansion of the educational, class and race bases.

Some ideas to think about

Since it is essential to incorporate diversity into our organizations, it is important to think about how to support the struggles of other collectives without taking a leadership role. The participating organisations wonder if it is better to integrate different profiles in our organizations or not to integrate them and create spaces to discuss and work with these groups, look for common strategies to face the political challenges and be of service to them in the terms they consider. It means creating alliances instead of trying to integrate others in our dynamics, which are clearly configured by the hegemonic group and can provide limits to their freedom, ways of expressing and doing.

Toolkit input

- Creating spaces to meet with collectives and have dynamics to learn about their situation, thoughts and lines of struggle
- Designing common strategies and be of service to them
- Not taking a leadership role when supporting other collectives
- Seeking other international experiences to learn from them

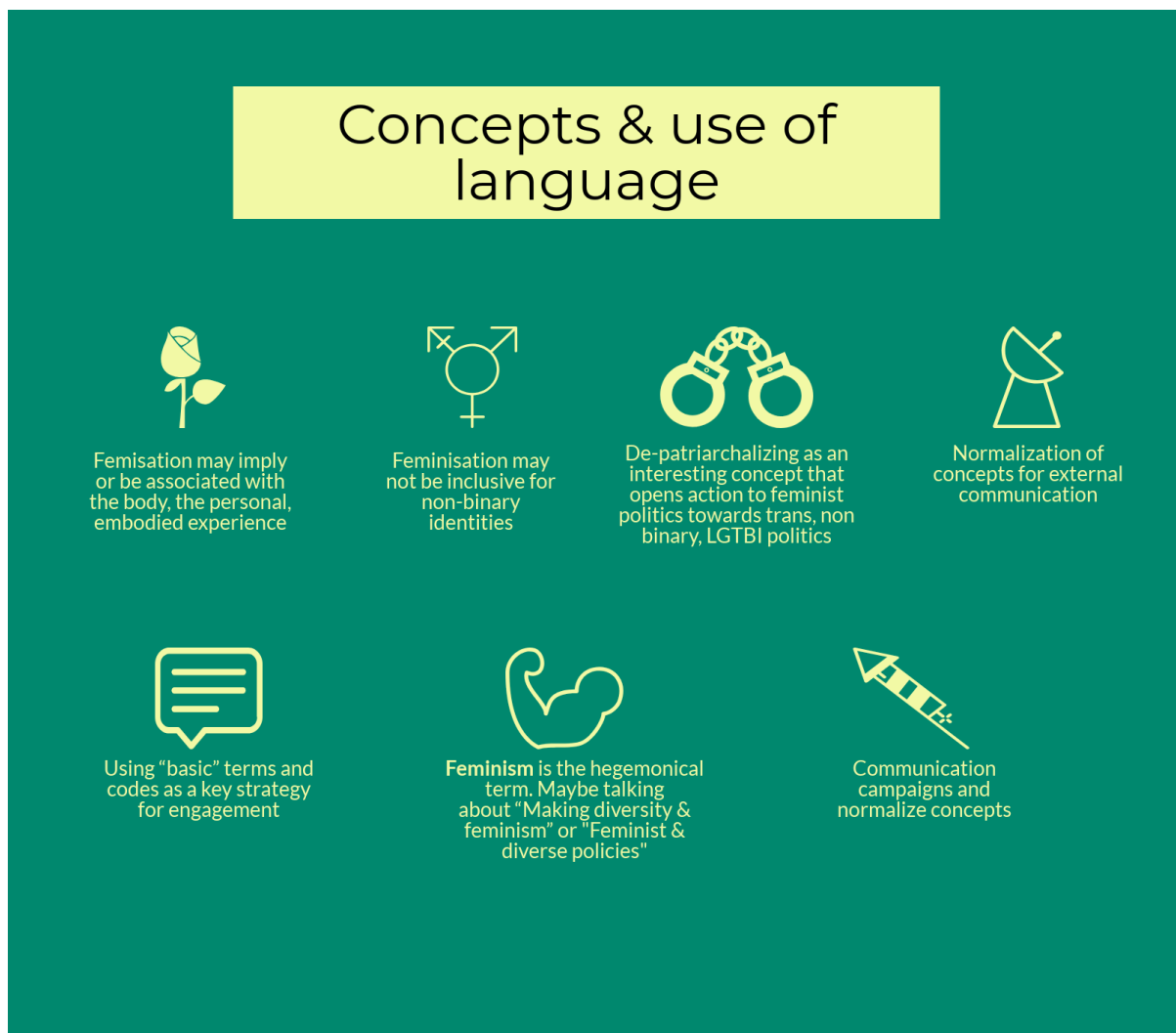


Diagram 16. Concepts and use of language

Concepts and use of language

FOP project considered important to stress these two aspects of communication as relevant matters within our organization. The discussion about Feminisation, as the umbrella concept of the project, arose from the very beginning and it was broadly discussed in workshops and peer to peer interviews.

There is a common agreement on the limitations of the term: Feminisation may imply or be associated with the body, the personal, the embodied experience and can expel those who do not feel feminine. Etymologically, its roots lie on the concept of feminine, and may expel non binary gendered people. Looking at it from an essentialist approach, it goes back to the need of avoiding that perspective and move forward to broader conceptual frame. Even so, feministization, an alternative term proposed during our discussions, along with "making feminism" as a way to simplify the concept. However, to make the organizations more diverse, depatriarchalizing, or "dismantling patriarchy", the concept used by BCN, helps to include others, but needs work behind it, and opens the concept to new fields of action for feminist politics towards trans, non-binary, LGBTQI politics. The stress on

using the concept of “**dismantling the patriarchy**” lies in two fundamental reasons; firstly, to distance themselves from the **essentialism and restrictions** of the term “feminisation” (because it is not just about women taking part, nor can it be assumed that the simple fact of being women biologically implies a greater capacity for dialogue, empathy or certain political aims); and secondly, because the expression “dismantling the patriarchy” enables everyone to feel more involved and directly indicates the need to change the ways, places and strategies of doing politics. Nevertheless, all of those concepts may simply remain within a very specific political or militant context, but it is not clear if they are understood in the external context.

On the other hand, the debate on the use of language reached a different point of analysis when considering the different languages that coexisted during the project and, therefore, the different uses and meanings that the idea of inclusion or gender-fair language imply. Gender-neutral language is a generic term covering the use of non-sexist language, inclusive language or gender-fair language. The purpose of gender-neutral language is to avoid word choices which may be interpreted as biased, discriminatory or demeaning by implying that one sex or social gender is the norm. Using gender-fair and inclusive language helps to reduce gender stereotyping, but, as some participating organisations affirm, sometimes the use of it is much more a “cosmetic” measure than something that comes out of reflection and conviction.

A third conclusion in this field is related to the realms of cooperation, participation and proximity to community: therefore, the use of “basic” terms and codes as a key strategy for engagement and external communication.

Some ideas to think about

Even though all the participating organisations concur on the limitations as to the use of non-binary language, the informal use of these codes is growing and calls for attention. How can language be used as a tool for inclusion and diversity? What limitations does it entail?

A second idea arises from the opportunity of discussing communication from different cultural backgrounds and languages. How can common practices be established for different languages and grammars?

Some participating organisations claim that it is hard to discuss about language and conceptualization of certain problems in homogenous structure as theirs, highlighting that, when it comes to power relations, **men are slightly more dominant** in terms of fair communication. Is it possible to question and deconstruct the way ideas are communicated without changing the decision-making structures?

How to encompass the formal changes (some of them pushed from the institutions) with a real, grounded reflection on language structures and its implications in the way realities are built?

Toolkit input

- Guidelines for inclusive language
- Communications teams with a special focus on checking and testing the use of inclusive language
- Open workshops to learn skills on inclusive communication
- Communication campaigns to normalize concepts

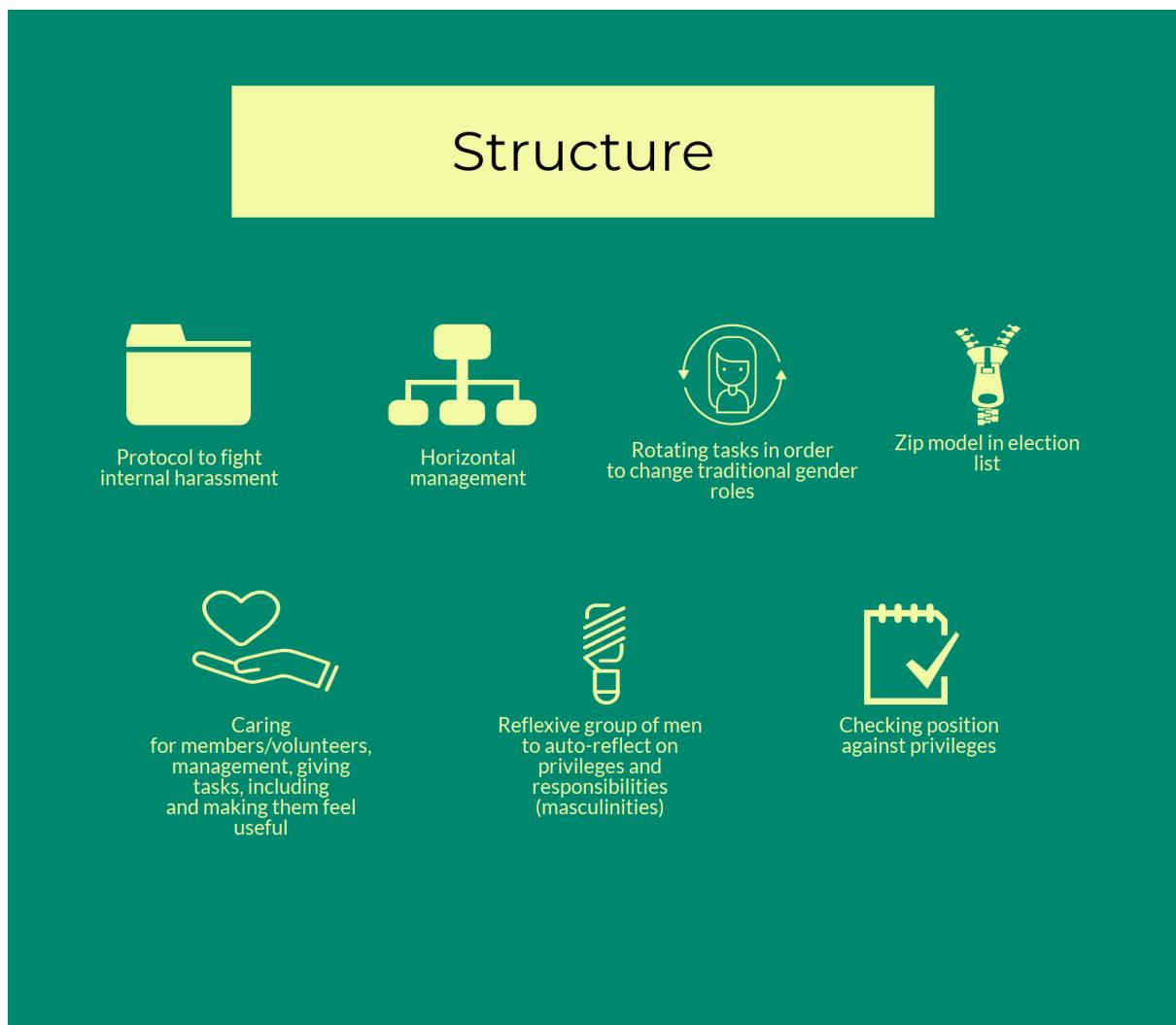


Diagram 17. Structure

Structure

The diverse range of structures present in FOP project -dependent on multiple variables such as size, level of formality/institutionalization, horizontal/vertical structures of power relations, decision making processes, etc. shows a broad sample

of how feminist politics have taken roots in the organizations. But, how does feminisation interact within the different structures? Different types were identified when putting feminist politics in the core of analysis, but some common ideas appeared.

A central idea is that of the origins of feminist structures within organisations are different, but their current problems are similar. For some organizations feminist politics were in the basis of the structure, taking as a **starting point** a radically different view from the classic ways of doing politics. In an exercise beyond mere gender mainstreaming, (understood from an institutional perspective) feminism had to be included in all proposals and that this would require an effort to avoid the idea of parties as machines that grind down women's potential. The challenge is, however, to promote feminist policies at the heart of institutions at the same time.

Some participating organisations or organizations count on a feminist group, committee or working group within its structure, but a part of them claim that the emergence of this specific groups result from **reactive actions**, and not from proactive initiatives of the organization. Other celebrate that their feminist groups have **gained legitimacy** in recent times. This implies that there is a need to develop cross-cutting strategies to dismantle patriarchy in the political movement and the organisational model, understood as a process of empowerment, transformation and reinforcement of feminist values.

A key strategy for these feminist structures within organizations -or, as some participating organisations claim, to make feminist politics the keystone, the core focus of its political work,- is to **develop cooperative networks** with feminist groups to empower those feminist structures within the organizations and allow a stronger impact of its actions.

Some participating organisations claim the importance of **reflecting all this changes** and networks, both internal and external, into formal documents or procedures as diagnoses, protocols, guidelines, toolkits, etc. With special emphasis on codes and protocols to fight internal **harassment and gender based violence**.

Some ideas to think about

In parallel to the emergence and reinforcement of feminist, gender politics groups, committees or assemblies within organizations, the need of creating reflexive groups of men to discuss about privileges and responsibilities in the **framework of masculinities** becomes evident.

Toolkit input

- Creating a group to work on masculinities
- Carefully ponder tasks (responsibility, time, complexity) to create effective and sustainable structures
- Rotation of tasks and roles

- Safe spaces for women to prevent and act against sexist violence
- Guarantee board: neutral group of people in charge of verifying that rules and procedures are respected



Diagram 18. Resources

Resources

Resources are really important to implement deep feminization practices in terms of feminisation, if there are no resources the burden falls on those who really need and want to change the model, i.e. women. That is why the organization must save resources to cover this line.

How do organizations manage resources?

Barcelona used resources to do an internal evaluation of gender and a strategic plan, MA used resources in seminars and has specific training on feminization (also for people in institutions), but they need to expand that feminist training throughout the

organization. NDB invests its resources in having people with experience in gender and with an IT profile for social networks, but would like to have more for annual evaluations and mapping, so they plan to do a mapping of funds. As challenges, they identify the moderation of conflict resolution and the creation of tools for tracking reports. M129 has not yet implemented the creation of work commissions with at least one person with experience in gender perspective. In addition to monitoring reports on the practices that have been implemented, they have to find funds to help the feminization process. L'Assilo makes collective decisions about his spending which is a very slow process but it is important that each voice has a say.

ZJN has resources that come from donations from members and supporters; they allocate part of this income in annual planning, IT and digital resources, but they have to address feminist activities.

In conclusion, most organizations need to allocate part of their resources to implement feminist practices. Thinking about a gender strategy can help to allocate the appropriate resources in phases, addressing the most important aspects.

Some ideas to think about

Resources are understood not only in monetary or economic terms, but in a broad perspective: resources such as labor, experience, skills and expertise, social capital or networks available are as important as the material ones. Material resources may include money, organizations, manpower, technology, social networks, while non-material resources include legitimacy, loyalty, social relationships, networks, personal connections, public attention, authority, moral commitment, and solidarity. The second ones -the non-material resources- have a special predicament in feminist movements: Too often, feminist have developed their projects with few or any funds, being able, however, to achieve their goals and expand their action so probably nobody like feminists know how to make politics out of the existing conventional channels of funding. But material resources as money, spaces or infrastructures are key for the development of feminist practices. Are the organizations mapping how and how those material resources are distributed and redistributed among the organization? How is accountability performed in terms of resources? Is feminist challenging the traditional ways of raising and expending resources?

Toolkit input

- Implement different practices of Gender Budgeting: 3R method, for example.
- Implement strong accountability standards that analyze who access to each of the resources and how it affects women and men differently

7. Conclusion

The Fearless cities network represents an attempt to gather various organisations and movements around values and practices that reflect municipalism as new ways of doing politics. One of the crucial aspects is undoubtedly integration of feminist principles into politics. Whether we negotiate about the most adequate terms is rather a matter of feminist-like process of continuous self-questioning and reflection, but what is unequivocally consensual that patterns of patriarchal structuring, organisations and communication need to be mapped, debunked and replaced with those reflecting feminist, anti-racial and anti-colonial perspectives.

This particular project has served as a valuable opportunity to focus on this long-term collective task, establish its path and connect more closely within the network. Furthermore, the activities that were implemented helped us make an internal and external diagnosis of the feminisation of politics within the participating organizations as well as the analysis of the political, social and institutional context in which efforts are being made towards introducing more gender equal and anti-hierarchical principles of political activism and decision-making. Exchanging the results of these processes has not only contributed to finding common challenges and local specificities, but also, consequently, to understand how particular strategies and approaches are connected to the context and whether they can be more widely replicated.

In addition, as elaborated in the report, the relationships built among the organisation and movements members that were involved in the project has not only intensified but has transformed each member and organisation as well.

However, grasping the vastness of the task ahead and the variety of possible tools, strategies and practices we all need to learn, apply, repeat and through them achieve change, we understand this project as a significant basis for further cooperation. Aside from the systematization of the knowledge we have collectively created through the project realization (represented through outputs: Self-diagnosis overview, Context analysis and FoP Values and Practices), the next steps will include creation of the FoC Toolkit that will be disseminated widely to all the movements and organisations in and outside Fearless cities network that share the same values and aims, establishing now modes of long-term cooperation among network members and peer-to-peer learning and help.

Such radical change of how we *think* and *do* politics asks for collective effort and strong motivation for transforming ourselves, our organisations and communities. The women participating in this project have proved that they are dedicated to such change and ready to work *together*!

8. References and inspirations

An informal list of references, people and materials used throughout the project:

- Feminizar la política artículo Serra/Gimeno
- Feminizar la política artículo BEC
- Depatriarcalitist
- W.I.T.C.H project
- Ecofeminismo alicia Puleo, Yayo
- Blog politics and care [/https://politicsandcare.wordpress.com/](https://politicsandcare.wordpress.com/)
- Diagnóstico BEC 2017

