

DIRECTORATE-GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

POLICY DEPARTMENT **C**

CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS



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DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR INTERNAL POLICIES

**POLICY DEPARTMENT C: CITIZENS' RIGHTS AND
CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS**

WOMEN'S RIGHTS & GENDER EQUALITY

MAPPING OF NGOS WORKING FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN SELECTED EU MEMBER STATES

STUDY

Abstract

This study, commissioned by the European Parliament's Policy Department for Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs at the request of the FEMM Committee, examines the activities of new feminist organisations in the EU which emerged, physically and on-line, since 2010. It is based on case studies in seven EU countries as well as a literature review to provide historical context.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEE	Agreement on the European Economic Area
APC	Associação projecto criar
APD	Associação Portuguesa pelos Direitos da Mulher na Gravidez e Parto
BCWT	Bulgarian Centre of Women in Technology
BFN	Belfast Feminist Network
BUWC	Balkan Union of Women in Crafts
CEDAW	The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CNDF	Collectif National pour les Droits des Femmes
CWBB	the Council of Women in Business in Bulgaria
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FEMM	Women's rights and gender equality
FMG	Female Genital Mutilation
FOMADEZ	Foundation for Mother and Child Health
GEO	Gender Equality Observatory
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
OLF	Osez le Féminisme
OSF	The Open Society Foundation
PHARE	Poland and Hungary: Assistance for Restructuring their economies
POPH	Human Potential Operational Programme

ROKS The National Organization for Women's Shelter

SNOQ Se Non Ora Quando

STEM Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths

UK The United Kingdom

WEP Women's Equality Party

LIST OF CHARTS

CHART 1

Percentage of organisations by type of registration **37**

CHART 2

Number of organisations by number of Twitter Followers **38**

CHART 3

Top 5 organisations by number of Followers on Twitter **38**

We would like to acknowledge the additional assistance of Louisa Acciari (France case study), Adriana Castagnoli (Italy case study), Agata Chelstowska (Poland case study), Isabella Ventura (Portugal case study).

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

KEY FINDINGS

- **65 organisations** were examined over seven Member States.
- There is a broad **diversity of ideology** and of short and long terms objectives.
- New feminist organisations are **more pluralistic** compared to second wave organisations.
- New feminist organisations are concerned with the intersection of **race, disability, sexuality and gender**.
- There is very little access to Government or EU **funding**.
- The majority of organisations are registered formally as **non-profit**.
- There are many **informal organisations** – those that have no official registration such as blogs, events and online platforms.
- The organisations vary widely in terms of staffing structure – many rely on the work of **volunteers** in many cases, only a handful of women run the organisation.
- **Online platforms and social media** are essential means for the organisations to connect with a diverse range of supporters.
- It is apparent that many new feminist organisations are encouraged by or respond to conditions that resulted from **austerity** following the financial crisis of 2008.

Aim and Methods of the study

This study was commissioned by the Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee (FEMM) of the European Parliament to explore the nature of new feminist organisations in seven case study Member States. The report is based on a literature review on the recent feminist movement in the EU and interviews and desk research on organisations in seven different case study countries (Bulgaria, France, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom).

Findings from the literature review

- Broadly speaking three 'waves' of feminism have occurred in the EU
- Some researchers argue that a 'fourth wave' of feminism exists
- Through online activity, 'fourth wave' feminism documents and debates examples of sexism or gender inequality

Findings from case studies

- There is a broad diversity of ideology and of objectives
- New feminist organisations are frequently concerned with the intersection of race, disability, sexuality and gender
- There is very little access to national or EU funding
- The majority of organisations are registered non-profit
- There are many informal organisations
- The organisations vary widely in terms of staffing structure – many rely on the work of volunteers

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aims of the study

This study was commissioned by the Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee (FEMM) of the European Parliament to explore the nature of new feminist organisations in seven case study Member States. Specifically, the study focuses on groups and organisations that have appeared in the five-year period up to 2015 and that either describe feminist or have gender equality aims. This research seeks to understand the context in which these have appeared, the issues and population groups they address, the ways they are organised internally including funding, structure and affiliations, and barriers and opportunities that these organisations face.

1.1.1. Definition of feminist organisation

The organisations examined were included because they either explicitly self-identify as feminist or they have clearly feminist aims or objectives such as working to improve equality between women and men or providing help to women experiencing discrimination or violence. Organisations were included if they actively participate in national discussion about gender equality and have significant reach. There may be more new feminist organisations that are not included in this review, however the following provides a useful snapshot of important and emerging organisations.

1.2. Methodology

In this report, findings from a review of literature on the recent feminist movement in the EU provides context. Then, findings from qualitative research are presented from case studies of seven different Member States: Bulgaria, France, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The case studies involved a literature review, desk research and interviews with relevant actors including founders and members. Analysis of the organisations examined key statistics including on social media uses are also presented.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

KEY FINDINGS

- **Feminism** is a complex and heterogeneous ideological theory.
- Broadly speaking, there are three '**waves**' of feminism.
- Some researchers argue that a '**fourth wave**' of feminism exists, characterised by online activism and connecting diverse types of people.
- Through **online activity**, 'fourth wave' feminism documents and debates examples of sexism or gender inequality.
- Fourth wave feminism usually operates **outside of statutory (government) funding**.

2.1. Brief historical context

Although **feminism is a complex, heterogeneous and, sometimes, fragmented ideological theory**, the modern feminist movement can be divided into three major periods, also known as '**waves**' (Humm, 2003). The **first-wave** of feminism took place between the 19th century and the 1950s mainly in the United Kingdom, Canada, the Netherlands and The United States. It focused its attention on legal issues such as voting and property rights for women. When these rights were enshrined in law, the movement shifted its focus to women's inequality in other aspects of society. **Second-wave** feminism began in the early 1960s and was influential as a movement into the 1980s, both in western countries and across the Middle East and Asia. This movement was concerned with a wider range of issues, including sexuality and reproduction, family, workplace, domestic and sexual violence, and marital laws. The paradigm shift was exemplified in the phrase 'the personal is political', which highlighted the impact of sexism and patriarchy on every aspect of women's private lives (Munro, 2013). However, scholars have critiqued the second wave for treating women as a homogeneous group, thereby overlooking the role of class, race and sexuality (Henry, 2012). In this context, the **third-wave** of feminism flourished in the 1990s as a response to the limitations of second-wave initiatives that were seen to place too much emphasis upon white and middle class women. Academics, heavily influenced by theoretical frameworks such as queer theory and post-structuralism, took into account the fluidity of categories that relate to gender, race and sexuality (Munro, 2013). Moreover, the movement incorporated issues including ethnicity, nationality, cultural background, gender roles and stereotypes and religion. The culture and approach of the third wave continues to be influential in different spheres such as academia, media communications and politics.

2.2. A new feminism?

Some academics have described a new, emerging approach within feminism, or a **fourth wave** (also known sometimes as new feminism or online feminism), which has been developing since the late 2000s in **coexistence with the third wave**. As Knappe and Lang (2014) argue, waves represent overlapping and intersecting periods of activism, with many women's organisations presenting as hybrids of third- and fourth-wave feminist activism. This is a movement characterised by being **connected through technology** and online platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and blogging platforms, in which the

aim is to discuss, uplift and activate gender equality and social justice (Baumgardner, 2015). Further, fourth-wave feminism's online activism serves to connect older and newer organisations, develop stronger and more **heterogeneous networks** and reach out to a **new generation** (Knappe and Lang, 2014). Although some researchers argue that the use of the internet is not enough to define a new approach, it has nevertheless facilitated the creation of a closer **global community of feminists** who use the internet for activism and discussion (Munro, 2013). The extent to which it can be said there is a new, 'fourth' wave of feminism is **debated**. To some degree, feminism, as with other social, philosophical and political movements, is constantly evolving, and it may therefore be considered unnecessary to discuss or attempt to define 'waves'. However, equally, historians of the feminist movement can track peaks and surges in particular actions or thoughts, which means that the feminism of 2015, for example, is uniquely distinguishable from that of 1915 or 2005. The question of whether we are experiencing a new 'wave' will be a matter of debate for scholars in the future. However, it is appropriate that researchers regularly take stock of developments within the feminist movement, particularly at a time of such **monumental technological change**. This paper is an attempt at such a stock take. It provides a heuristic audit of new (under 5 years old) feminist movements. The paper also attempts to understand these movements within a broad historical context.

A number of features of feminist organisations have been isolated and compared by recent research, although there is a **paucity of research** literature on current feminist organisations. These include: technology, issues and funding.

2.2.1. Technology

According to Courtney et al., online feminism has become a new **engine for contemporary feminism** (2012). Evolving primarily from its form as online forums, journals and blogs, young women and men have created personal platforms to discuss topics such as sports, sexuality, pop culture or politics. This has developed into 'consciousness-raising groups' of thousands of people able to self-publish and comment on feminist issues, sharing **personal opinions**, experiences and ideas from a feminist perspective (Courtney et al., 2012). The development of online technology into forms such as vlogging (e.g. YouTube) and microblogging (e.g. Twitter), has created a large amount of online social activity. These activists, writers and bloggers engage everyday with their audience (Courtney et al., 2012). Moreover, **web-based mobilisation** represents a forum in which the barriers to women exercising their citizenship are lower than in offline civic spaces (Knappe and Lang, 2014).

2.2.2. Issues

This new movement is creating an online culture to **call-out and challenge** issues including sexism, misogyny, politics, advertising, literature, new media and so on (Munro, 2013). As Deiana argues, these issues are normally placed **outside the sphere of institutionalised politics** and the community sector (2013). Moreover, as Munro suggests (2013), some researchers argue that campaigns or petitions that circulate online do not necessarily enable political action. However, campaigns such as 'give girls images of real girls' undertaken at Change.org to demand that 'Seventeen Magazine' display realistic images of young women, have influenced this magazine's treatment and representation of young women. Online feminist activism has also influenced the way that companies target women in their marketing strategies. However, as Baxter claims (2015), these female-empowering advertising campaigns from companies such as Unilever are primarily driven by a wish to engage consumers for bigger profits rather than support activism.

2.2.3. Funding

There is a trend amongst some fourth-wave feminist organisations of **not pursuing statutory funding** in order to distance themselves from the structures of engagement with policy formation processes that exist between the established women's movement and government (Munro, 2013). As Priest shows, it gives them a freedom in the content and delivery of their activism (2015). For example, feminist organisations which principally organise and network online, such as the Belfast Feminist Network (BFN), operate outside the structures of government funding and do not seek to engage with this more formalised relationship with the State, in order to maintain a non-hierarchical, non-formalised and inclusive operational style (Deiana, 2013, Opcit Research, 2013).

2.2.4. Link between older and newer feminism

As Schuster shows in relation to the feminist movement in New Zealand (2014), there is a **generational gap** between the young feminist and older activist. For Schuster, online feminism is only visible to those who use it, and it is therefore largely hidden from politically active and well-connected women of older generations who are not aware of social media and young feminist initiatives. Moreover, Schuster argues that there is a **lack of feminist scholarship** focused on fourth wave feminism, because academics in a position to research and publish belong to this older group.

However, evidence from the UK points to **effective and strategic engagement** between these newer, fourth-wave and campaign-driven feminist groups which largely operate online and outside statutory funding arrangements, and older, established women's organisations more focused on institutional engagement and representation. For example In Northern Ireland, the Belfast Feminist Network works in collaboration with established women's organisations on an issue-driven basis (Deiana, 2013). Similarly, UK Feminista, 'involves a network whose organisational properties exhibit updated versions of the public mobilisation repertoire of second-wave autonomous feminism, as well as cultural and social media savvy strategies of the third wave' (Knappe and Lang, 2014). It forms strategic alliances with established women's organisations on an issue-by-issue basis, such as the End Demand campaign, which seeks the criminalisation of the purchase of sex and the decriminalisation of selling sex; again, to bring together new feminism's networks amongst young women and use of online campaigning methods, with established women's sector influence and institutional connections. As Knappe and Lang argue, 'Cyber-feminists of the fourth wave, in particular, do not discriminate between online and offline activism. Second- and third-wave organisations also increasingly turn to the web for organising and communicating within and beyond their networks' (ibid).

3. MAIN FINDINGS FROM THE CASE STUDIES

KEY FINDINGS

- **65 organisations** were examined over seven Member States.
- There is a broad **diversity of ideology** and of short and long terms objectives.
- New feminist organisations are **more pluralistic** compared to second wave organisations.
- New feminist organisations are concerned with the intersection of **race, disability, sexuality and gender**.
- There is very little access to national or EU **funding**.
- The majority of organisations are registered formally as **non-profit**.
- There are many **informal organisations** – those that have no official registration such as blogs, events and online platforms.
- The organisations vary widely in terms of staffing structure – many rely on the work of **volunteers** in many cases, only a handful of women run the organisation.
- **Online platforms and social media** are essential means for the organisations to connect with a diverse range of supporters.
- It is apparent that many new feminist organisations are encouraged by or respond to conditions that resulted from **austerity** following the financial crisis of 2008.

3.1. Main characteristics

A major finding from this research is that new feminist organisations examined represented a broad **diversity of ideology**, as well as broad diversity of specific objectives. Thus a major theme across all case studies is the extent to which these new organisations relate themselves to older, usually '**second wave**', feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. A number of interview respondents picked up this issue, across case study countries. For example, in the UK a respondent from a feminist social enterprise reported, 'we don't have much to do with older feminist organisations, our network is with the new organisations'. In France, older 'second wave' organisations were criticised by the new organisations examined for being **exclusionary and focusing** too much on the challenges facing 'white middle class women' (France case study respondent). Similarly, in Italy, one new feminist organisation specifically pursues gender balance in the Parliament, contrary to earlier feminist movements, which shunned the idea of working within existing institutions. To a large extent, therefore, many of the new feminist organisations identified appear to represent a **less radical** stance – for example, the issue of **women's separatism** and female-only spaces do not feature in any of the examined organisations' arguments.

The Polish case represents a slightly interesting departure, compared to other case studies from Western Europe, in that Polish feminism developed and was supported by **communism**. After the end of communism in Poland, social conservatism and suspicion towards political feminism provided the context for the current feminist movement. Politicians of the ruling party in that country have spoken openly against 'gender' or 'any

lesbian or gay studies' for example. Within this context, and with a **public that is hostile** towards gender equality discourses, many of the feminist organisations examined avoid language that positions them in line with older feminism of the communist era.

Interestingly, a number of organisations across case studies **deliberately avoided the use of the term 'feminist'** or 'feminism', despite identifying as feminist in face to face interviews with people from those organisations.

No organisation examined is officially affiliated to a formal **political party**. However, one organisation in the UK is itself a (new) political party (The Women's Equality Party). Feminist organisations were generally reluctant to align themselves with political parties. However, where party ideology was discussed with interview respondents, there appears to be more natural affiliation with left-leaning parties than right-leaning.

3.2. Specific issues and audience being addressed

A large proportion of the feminist organisations examined have **specific and seemingly contained issues** or groups that they are concerned with. These include women who are victims of male violence, migrant women, women and girls' access to science, technology, engineering and maths (STEM), women with disabilities, gender impacts of austerity measures, sexuality, body image and sexual shaming. The large proportion of organisations examined, address the **intersection** of race, sexuality, disability and gender. Moreover, a number of organisations take a deliberately inclusive, pluralistic approach to gender equality, for example, locating their objectives within a human rights discourse. In Italy, Femministe Senza Frontiere (Feminists Without Borders) strive for 'human rights, and to change society into one that is more fair, equal and feminist' (Femministe Senza Frontiere Mission Statement). In France, 'FièreEs' describe themselves as a feminist organisation led by lesbian, bisexual and trans people. In Poland, Scena Dla Twardziela (Scene for Toughness) aims to raise awareness on how gender-based violence is also men's problem. In Sweden, except for one organisation which provides advocacy for women victims of violence, the organisations identified are concerned with gender equality within existing social hierarchies. For example, achieving more women on company boards and encouraging women entrepreneurs in various male dominated sectors such as technology or music industries.

France represents a fairly unique picture in that its feminist organisations are **polarised** between on the one hand a new form or 'pro-choice' discourse, defending the right to practise one's religion and the right to bodily autonomy - including the right to work in the sex trade and to wear a hijab or veil; and on the other hand, a more structuralist and secularist discourse opposing both these practices. In this sense, there is rather more continuity between the new feminist organisations examined in France and earlier feminist movements that dominated the 1960s and 1970s.

It is apparent that many new feminist organisations are encouraged by or respond to conditions that **resulted from austerity** following the financial crisis of 2008. This has had two clear effects. First, austerity has removed many functions that governments were previously funding and this has created a need for feminists to campaign for women's services (for example Sisters Uncut); second, austerity has perhaps shaped the nature of new feminist organisations. The lack of government funding available to support them has necessitated working with few resources, exploiting online opportunities and further encouraged a 'Do it Yourself' culture.

3.3. Internal organisation and arrangements

The largest proportion of feminist organisations are registered **non-profit organisations** and obtain funds either from individual donors or through sponsorship. **Lack of national or EU funding** was mentioned as a problem by respondents in all case study countries. In the UK a number of respondents were resistant to government funding for fear that this would compromise their independence and creativity. However, in all other case studies, the lack of government funding meant little or no funding. Organisations responded to this by **relying on volunteers** or, where a little funding was obtained, by employing people on a short term, contract basis. **Social enterprise** appears to be a feature of new feminist organisations' finances. For example, Fearless Futures in the UK, attracts a fee for the workshops that it delivers in schools. Other organisations sell goods or products for a small fee. However, it seems that Fearless Futures in the UK is the only example of this financing model being sustainable. This is likely to be due, in part, to the particular social economy in the UK.

This study revealed a wide **variety of staffing and structures**. The majority of organisations included are non-profit NGOs with some form of registration and official address. However, a smaller number are registered as non-profit but consist of only a handful of volunteers. Conversely, one organisation is a well-organised campaign with hundreds of volunteers but which has no formal registration (Sisters Uncut, UK). The reasons for the different structural and staffing arrangements are as numerous as the organisations themselves. There are no particular patterns in terms of structure and staffing by case study country; however, in the UK there appears to be more social enterprises compared to other countries.

An interesting finding in this research is the emergence of **self-sustaining, informal organisations** that are not registered as a charity or NGO and that operate with no physical space. These organisations are **social media and web focused**. In one case, the operation is the work of one woman running a blog. Such lean organisations are able to reach a large number of followers and observers through social media platforms despite being run by an individual or handful of individuals.

3.4. Barriers and opportunities for feminist organisations

A number of barriers were common across case study countries and across organisations. The most commonly mentioned was **access to funding**. Particularly in times of **austerity**, interview respondents pointed out that it is difficult for feminist organisations to obtain funding. Whilst in some cases, organisations had given up trying to obtain government or other institutional funding, for example Fearless Futures in the UK and others have found other ways of obtaining finance, this is not always possible. Organisations that can offer a service or where there is a strong appetite for their views and knowledge may be able to attract a fee for running a workshop for example. However, most organisations are only able to exist from donations or grants, which are short in supply.

Organisations have responded by relying on volunteers, which is not in itself a problem and can, in many ways, **galvanise an organisation** by encouraging active participation. However, some respondents suggest that new feminist organisations need to be professional and organised in their work in order to gain credibility and needed sponsorship to achieve this. This may be difficult when relying on volunteer time only. The opportunity of social media and websites means that some organisations are able to achieve a wide reach with few resources and few staff or volunteers.

Another key barrier suggested across case studies is a level of disagreement and **discordance between feminist organisations**, particularly those that represent older

'second wave' and newer 'third wave' feminists. This is particularly the case in France but also mentioned in Italy and detected in the UK. Whilst the new organisations included in the study represent a break from previous feminist movements, and in many cases, consciously so, older feminist organisations and individuals may have access to power and leverage within political and social circles that could help newer feminist groups.

A particularly striking barrier was noted in **Poland** - the **hostility facing feminism** in general and by the ruling political party. As noted in both Poland and Bulgaria, which are **former communist states**, feminist organisations emerged following the transition from communism from 1989, in response to a rolling back of women's rights that were, to an extent, protected under communism and a **return to social conservatism** that is distinctly anti-feminist. There were also many examples across case studies of new organisations resisting the use of the word 'feminist' because they perceive public and media hostility towards feminism.

The existence of these new organisations in itself represents an opportunity (or achievement) for new feminism. These organisations have developed in the past five years and have attracted much attention and prestige. They are able to participate in and influence national debates on wide ranging issues such as violence against women, women in business, gender equality in politics, migrant women's rights, women with disabilities and sexual identity. To a large extent, this has been a result of **careful and creative use of new media** to reach diverse audiences. However, many organisations' success in this regard is down to the ability to **engage creatively with the public** to catch their attention and raise awareness. Slut Walk – which has attracted much media attention for its demonstrations of women walking in 'sluttish' (provocative) clothing and Birdsong, which sells clothes using models that are not edited with photo-enhancing software are examples of this.

The ability to capture public attention continues to be an asset for these organisations. With the use of social media, which allows small numbers of people to reach very large numbers, new feminist organisations are able to create their own discourse and demands, departing from existing political hierarchies and older feminist organisations.

4. FINDINGS FROM EACH CASE STUDY COUNTRY

4.1. Bulgaria

4.1.1. Introduction

Six organisations have been included in the Bulgarian case study. These organisations do not explicitly identify themselves as feminist, however it is our opinion that their aims and objectives are implicitly feminist, in terms of advancing gender equality or directly assisting women to overcome gender inequalities. The organisations are:

- The Bulgarian Centre of Women in Technology (BCWT),
- the Council of Women in Business in Bulgaria,
- Imago association,
- Balkan Union of Women in Crafts (BUWC),
- Kubera, and
- Foundation for Mother and Child Health (FOMADEZ).

None of the organisations listed were able to participate in interviews due to their reluctance to see themselves as feminist, and therefore believing that the research did not concern them.

4.1.2. Background

The start of the modern Bulgarian women's movement can be traced back to the 1840s and was heavily focused on the issue of women's right to education. The first secular schools for girls which aimed to improve the education available to girls was opened in the 1840s (de Hann et al, 2006). In 1901, The Bulgarian Women's Union arose as an umbrella of women's organisations from around the country with the aim of working for the intellectual uplifting of Bulgarian women including access to university. At the beginning of the 20th century, Bulgarian women's roles were still limited to the household, fieldwork and child rearing. However, during times of war women's roles shifted towards traditionally male occupations (Mladenović, 2014). After the Second World War, during the communist period that began in Bulgaria, women's rights were increasingly institutionalised. For example, under the communist regime the right for women to vote was gained in 1944 in Bulgaria (Mladenović, 2014).

The post-communist transition reversed many of the rights and protections that women gained resulting in increased vulnerability to violence, commodification of sex and reversion to traditional gender norms (Nikolic-Ristanovic, 2002, 2004). Whilst these developments have galvanised the women's movement in Bulgaria, the return of anti-gender equality attitudes and opinion represents a challenge for it. There are currently **four main critical areas of concern** for the feminist movement in Bulgaria: violence against women, trafficking in human beings (including trafficking for sexual exploitation), the participation of women in decision making and in political life as well as encouraging women's entrepreneurship. Women's organisations have continued to grow rapidly in the last fifteen years, although their rise was steeper in the early 2000s.

4.1.3. Aims and objectives

None of the identified organisations identified themselves as 'feminist' in their mission statements. However, they do explicitly address the experiences of women and seek to improve outcomes for women. Three organisations provide **direct support** to

women experiencing particular difficulties, the other three are concerned with improving women's position in business and focus on running networking events, workshops and training primarily to support and encourage women in business.

4.1.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

Three of the organisations examined provide support for specific cohorts of women. The Imago Association provides support for women **victims of male violence**. Kubera supports women experiencing **direct discrimination** with a helpline for victims. Focussing on **child health and prenatal care**, FOMADEZ provides guidelines to women and parents.

The BCWT focusses on empowering women through education, science and technology to increase the number of women entrepreneurs in business. To achieve this, the BCWT brings together stakeholders from the business, government, academia and the non-governmental sector, to increase women's leadership and professional participation in the ICT sector, as well as the development of technological and engineering products. Similarly, The Council of the Women in the business in Bulgaria dedicates its actions to popularise good practices and programs that encourage the professional career development of women. Likewise, the Balkan Union of Women in Crafts brings together women working as contractors in crafts. This informal association aims to help women achieve better representation, offers training and assistance with international contacts.

4.1.5. Funding arrangements

Funding from the Bulgarian Government has not been widely available to the organisations examined. However, Kubera receives grants from the 'program for support of NGO in Bulgaria'. This national program is funded by the financial mechanism of the European Economic Area (EAA) and Norway Grants, which represents the contribution of Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway to reduce economic and social disparities and to strengthen bilateral relations with 16 EU countries in Central and Southern Europe and the Baltics.

Organisations promoting women in business appear to receive support and **sponsorship from enterprises** including Hewlett-Packard, Cisco Academy and Entrepregirl. The involvement of prominent public figures appears to be effective at attracting sponsorship and support in this regard. For example, the Chair of the Council of Women in Business in Bulgaria is also the CEO of Siemens Bulgaria and the Founder of BCWT is also the Director Public Sector Growth Markets, Hewlett-Packard Bulgaria. Sources of funding for the other organisations are not clear. A number of charitable institutions have provided support, including The Open Society Foundation (OSF), the Global Fund for Women, Mama Cash, Stability Pact Force, the Netherlands's Foundation and PHARE.

In addition, some of the organisations such the Council of Women in Business in Bulgaria have membership fees.

4.1.6. Structural arrangements

All the presented organisations are registered as **charities**.

4.1.7. Staffing

All organisations examined have a similar organisational structure including a board of directors and executive board with more than three members. Data on the number of volunteers and employees are not available.

4.1.8. Political affiliation

None of the identified organisations are officially politically affiliated. None partner officially with the government or government institutions on specific actions.

4.1.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

The main barrier facing feminist organisations in Bulgaria appears to be the **absence of government funding**. This means that private donations and sponsorships are relied upon. Although this does not necessarily represent a barrier in itself, it may mean that organisations have less flexibility to pursue overtly feminist aims.

A common trait of the organisations examined is the **low usage of social media** to increase visibility and awareness of the issues they seek to address. Although all organisations have a Facebook page, use other channels of communication such as Twitter, YouTube or Instagram is limited. Vlogging and blogging activities are absent in all the cases except in CWBB, which has a communication strategy through social media platforms.

Another trait of the organisations analysed is they do not openly identify themselves as a feminist although they specifically seek to improve women's outcomes.

4.1.10. Opportunities for organisations

Obtaining **EU and international funding** may be an opportunity for these organisations, particularly as women's economic activity, which is a key concern for three of the organisations examined, fits with objectives of the **Europe 2020 Strategy**.

4.2. France

4.2.1. Introduction

The French case study focuses on the eight most well-known new feminist organisations:

- Osez le Féminisme (OLF),
- Femen,
- les Effrontées,
- Femmes en lutte 93,
- Garçes,
- 8 Mars pour Toutes,
- FièrEs, and
- Mamans toutes Egales.

These groups were selected according to their relative importance within the feminist movement, their media coverage, and their online presence. The case study incorporates data from interviews with: Osez le Féminisme, les Effrontées, and 8 Mars pour Toutes.

4.2.2. Background

Like most European countries, the French feminist movement went through a first wave in the early 1900s, usually associated to political and civil rights; and to a second wave in the 1970s and 1980s, associated to the right to bodily autonomy. However, some researchers **doubt the existence of a third wave in France**, which seems to have been mostly Anglo-American (Lamoureux, 2006). The lack of penetration of some academic concepts such as intersectionality and post-colonialism, and the delay in translating key queer theory

and texts into French point to this. In the past ten years, the French feminist movement has been **divided around two key issues**: the **Muslim veil and prostitution** (Ali, 2012; Delphy, 2008; Despentès, 2006; Trat, 2011). A unique polarisation has emerged with, on the one hand, a new form or 'pro-choice' discourse, defending the right to practise one's religion and the right to bodily autonomy, including the right to be a sex worker; and on the other hand, a more secularist discourse opposing both these practices. Therefore, it is problematic to categorise French new organisations under the umbrella of 'new feminism' due to their heterogeneity and dissonance.

4.2.3. Aims and objectives

OLF and les Effrontées' mission is to make **feminism more accepted** and prove that gender equality is not achieved yet. An OLF active member respondent describes their mission as *'improving the level of feminism within society to reduce gender inequalities'*. Both OLF and les Effrontées promote the abolition of prostitution and a secular state as essential steps to challenge patriarchy. They have developed close institutional links with older organisations and are part of the French Collective for Women's Rights (CNDF). They reclaim the legacy of feminism from the 1970s, and see themselves as part of a feminist continuum. In this landscape, Femen has a quite peculiar position. Although they share a very similar agenda to OLF and les Effrontées, their mode of action, and in particular the use of nudity in public demonstrations, has raised numerous debates in France. The other organisations - Femmes en lutte 93, Garçons, 8 Mars pour Toutes - have broken with the CNDF and promote a radically different agenda. Their main mission is to provide an alternative and safe space for minority groups. The association 8 Mars pour Toutes, for instance, finds the more traditional feminist organisations exclusive of minorities and even sometimes violent against them, and for this reason has decided to organise their own demonstration on 8th March, International Women's Day.

4.2.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

OLF and les Effrontées focus on **structural and institutional issues** such as the gender pay gap, women's representation and the abolition of prostitution. They target women as well as men, and aim at convincing society at large to support gender equality. Les Effrontées also fights against austerity measures and, according to an interview respondent from that organisation, *'feminism and austerity are interlinked'*.

Some organisations are more concerned with **specific minority groups**. For example, a respondent from 8 Mars pour Toutes explains that they initially created this organisation *'in reaction to the exclusion of certain groups from official feminist demonstrations, in particular veiled women and sex workers'*.

4.2.5. Funding arrangements

Overall, the new feminist organisations examined appear **under-funded and under-staffed**. Except for OLF, none in the sample receive public funding and rely mostly on individual donations or membership subscriptions. 8 Mars pour Toutes also organises events to collect funds and Femen sells branded objects.

4.2.6. Structural arrangements

Femen is registered as an NGO and the other seven are not for profit associations, according to the 1901 French law.

4.2.7. Staffing

All these organisations are run by **volunteers**. Their size varies from 2,000 members for the biggest (OLF) to a couple of tens for the smaller ones. OLF, FièrEs and les Effrontées have an elected executive board, while Femmes en lutte 93, 8 Mars pour Toutes, Garges and MTE choose a horizontal type of organisation.

4.2.8. Political affiliation

None of the organisations is officially affiliated to a political party, but OLF tends to be closer to the institutional left while Femmes en lutte 93, Garges, 8 Mars pour Toutes, and FièrEs are closer to the radical left. OLF and les Effrontées do not see it as a necessity to remain outside of establishments structures, while the others insist on the need to create **autonomous spaces** and to remain outside of the CNDF.

4.2.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

Interviewees agreed that the current feminist movement suffers from **internal divisions** and a systematic lack of resources. Prostitution and religion seem to have drawn a durable line of separation: whilst organisations closer to the second wave accuse others of promoting a liberal and patriarchal agenda, the minority-rights organisations complain about the exclusiveness and hostility of the movement. A general hostility towards feminism also represents a barrier. For example, a respondent from OLF, explains that they decided to use and reclaim the word '*feminist*' *precisely because 'this word still carries a pejorative connotation'*.

According to interviewees, an important barrier that feminist organisations face is the systematic lack of funding, in the words of one respondent: '*we run our activities on a very low budget and being very creative*'.

4.2.10. Opportunities for organisations

The diversity of organisations was mentioned as an opportunity, as well as the emergence of a **new activist generation** more inclined to be inclusive and respectful of minority identities. New feminist organisations are often part of issue-based coalitions, for instance in support of gay marriage. In this case, the links with LGBT activism appears as something positive, as one interviewee pointed out '*the word feminism although still stigmatised, tends to be more and more accepted as a results of new organisations' activism*'.

Social media is a powerful tool for these organisations for achieving a wide reach with relatively few staff or volunteers.

4.3. Italy

4.3.1. Introduction

The case study on new feminist organisations in Italy is drawn from the analysis of twelve organisations including:

- Femminismi
- Scosse,
- Abbatto i muri,
- La Rete delle Donne,
- Se Non Ora Quando (SNOQ),

- Piano F,
- Zerovolenza,
- Associazione Genere Femminile,
- La Arrabbiate,
- Dominter,
- Bolletino di Guerra, and
- Sonne Ultraviolette.

It also includes two interviews with representatives of SNOQ and Piano F.

4.3.2. Background

Italy has a tradition in feminism that dates back to the renaissance (Gwyneth Roos, 2009). However, compared to other industrialised nations such as France or United Kingdom, the first wave of modern feminism started later in Italy, at the end of the nineteenth century. During the first half of the 20th century, the Fascist dictatorship setback the feminist movement (Malagrecia, 2006). The Italian second wave movement began with the students' revolt in 1969 and focused on diversity and difference between genders; for instance, according to Spagnoletti (1978): 'the difference between men and women is the basic difference of human beings'. Thus, second wave feminism became aligned with public activism over issues such as abortion and divorce. Moreover, second wave feminism in Italy focused on the **transformation of patriarchal culture** rather than the reform of institutions. Self-awareness became an alternative way to practise politics. Many women gave up politics and parties and abandoned traditional 'male' politics. These are important features, which distinguish the previous wave from the most recent manifestation of Italian feminism. Although there is **some continuity** between individual actors involved in new feminist organisations and older, second wave feminists, female and feminist participation in political life is a key qualitative difference between previous and new feminist groups.

4.3.3. Aims and objectives

Four organisations directly mention ending violence against women within their mission statement, however this is frequently extended to violence against members of the LGBT community. By contrast with the older feminist organisations, the new feminist groups focus their attention on **both men and women**. Some groups address 'agender' issues and put themselves **beyond gender** and define themselves an 'open space on feminism of the third wave'. Six organisations are concerned with fostering dialogue within Italian society about equality and feminism to encourage a national debate on gender equality. This involves sharing information through media campaigns, hosting cultural events and workshops. One of the organisations, 'Dominter' directly provides advocacy and legal advice for migrant women as well as campaigning more widely on migrant women's rights. Five organisations of the twelve explicitly **use the word 'feminist'** in either their mission statement, slogan or stated aims. Although the other organisations have clearly feminist aims and exist primarily to improve conditions for women and gender equality, they do not use the word feminist. According to one interview respondent, some new feminist groups do use the word 'feminist' to describe themselves, but tend to neutralise their language in their relations with public institutions.

An increasingly important facet of work among some new organisations is work on **social communication, representation and stereotypes**. They focus on cultural issues such as the use of language in order to fight the predominance of male representation and male

lexicon in social institutions, laws, place names, family names and so on, and believe that education in this regard is important.

4.3.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

All organisations explicitly address the **direct experience of women in society**. Issues directly mentioned include violence against women, respect in relationships, political representation, body image and tolerance of difference. However, particular groups of women are also explicitly addressed including victims of male violence, migrants and sex workers. This reflects a broader and more pluralistic approach to equality with frequent reference to the intersections between race, migration, sexuality and gender compared to previous feminist movements that, according to one interview respondent, concerned only white and middle-class women.

4.3.5. Funding arrangements

The new feminist organisations examined fund themselves through private donations, sponsorships and the contribution of volunteers. **Very few** feminist groups are able to **access public funds**, and this is a challenge and barrier to their work.

4.3.6. Structural arrangements

Donne Ultraviolette and Le Arrabbiate are characterised as having an **informal structure** such as online platforms and blogs. Six other organisations are registered **non-profit** including the more structured ones such as SNOQ and Dominter.

4.3.7. Staffing

Most of the groups examined operate online only and depend on **volunteers'** time and the input of founders.

4.3.8. Political affiliation

None of the new feminist groups claim to be affiliated to a formal political party

4.3.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

Lack of government funding was highlighted by interview respondents as a problem for feminist organisations. In addition, young women's economic and financial challenges, arising from the double burden of having caring responsibilities as well as paid employment, impedes their ability to get involved in activism. According to one respondent: *'the double burden of care work and economic survival impedes feminist commitment of a whole generation'*.

4.3.10. Opportunities for organisations

A crucial factor in the establishment and growth of many new feminist organisations is the fundamental **contribution of technology**. Online resources such as websites, Facebook and Twitter have offered a significant opportunity for these groups to connect to thousands of people through online communication, with relatively little money, staff or volunteers.

4.4. Poland

4.4.1. Introduction

For the Polish case study, seven organisations that are identified as feminist were analysed including:

- Gender Equality Observatory (GEO),
- Fundacja na Rzecz Równości i Emancypacji STER,
- Karioka Girls Rock Camp,
- Scena Dla Twardziela,
- Marsz Szmata,
- Nazywam się Miliard,
- Codziennik Feministyczny, and
- Anna Dryjańska.

Three interviews were conducted with representatives of these organisations.

4.4.2. Background

The first feminist organisations in Poland started their work in the nineteenth century. They fought for women's right to vote, education and access to all professions. Polish women gained the right to vote in 1918, as one of the first in Europe (Kalwa, 2003).

The period between the First and Second World Wars was particularly prolific for women's groups of various origins, with many changes in customs regarding morality and the role of women.

In the post-war period of the People's Polish Republic, women's groups and organisations were under communist party control, with the main organizations being the Polish Women's League and Rural Women's Circles, (Grabowska, 2012).

After 1989 the feminist movement, along with other civic movements, went through a renaissance, with the first groups registering as NGOs as early as 1989. This occurred in response to the **rolling back of rights gained for women under communism** and a return to social conservatism. The nineties brought many changes for women in Poland, such as a ban on abortion in 1993 under very restrictive regulations, and a rise in women's unemployment, along with the new state's withdrawal from many forms of institutional care, a void which had to be filled with women's private work (Charkiewicz, Zachorowska-Mazurkiewicz, 2009).

The current political climate in Poland is **hostile towards feminism**. Politicians of the ruling party Law and Justice have spoken openly against 'gender' or 'any lesbian or gay studies' and despite nominating a woman to the office of prime minister, it appears that the government will remain unwelcoming towards any initiatives connected to feminism or equality (Korolczuk, Graff 2015).

4.4.3. Aims and objectives

The range of mission statements, goals and objectives of the featured feminist organisations is **very broad**. However, a common thread is combating **violence against women** in various forms and with different methods: sexual violence (Slut Walk, STER), economic violence (GEO), the link between violence and the cultural construct of masculinity (Scena Dla Twardziela), **strengthening girls and women** to defeat violence (Girls Rock Camp, One Billion Rising), or delivering and commenting on news on gender based violence (Codziennik Feminsityczny and Dryjańska).

4.4.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

Organisations analysed address the following population groups or issues: influencing the public debate and **policy makers** (GEO), engaging **men** in violence prevention (Scena Dla Twardziela), supporting girls in **music** events (Girls Rock Camp), addressing the **general public** to improve the popularity of and support for the feminist cause (Anna Dryjańska).

4.4.5. Funding arrangements

In terms of funding agreements, organisations apply for grants from the **EU, national grants**, grants from local governments or other foundations. GEO is unique in being a division of a larger, recognised think-tank. Two women are hired in permanent positions, and one on a series of temporary contracts. GEO was developed through structural American grants initially, and secured Norwegian and other foreign grants.

Other organisations also obtained grants from **Norwegian Funds** (Fundacja Pozytywnych Zmian, Fundacja Ster, Scena Dla Twardziela Project) and **local micro grants** (STER). Furthermore, STER used an online **crowdfunding** service to fund their theatre play. There are also informal groups that do not obtain formal funding such as Codziennik Feministyczny.

4.4.6. Structural arrangements

The majority of the organisations are **NGOs** such as STER or feminist projects run by NGOs such as Fundacja Pozytywnych Zmian. GEO is part of a sister organisation think-tank, Codziennik Feministyczny. Slutwalk currently has an informal structure and Anna Dryjańska is an independent blogger.

4.4.7. Staffing

All organisations rely on **volunteer work** to some extent. Staffing arrangements **vary**. Many of the organisations rely on **different sources of income** to cover costs of operating. Contrarily, one organisation (GEO) has two staff members; one hires staff on temporary contracts according to the terms of a grant (STER).

4.4.8. Political affiliation

All organisations featured in this case study **avoid any political affiliation**.

4.4.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

The main barriers experienced by organisations examined are **finances** and the political climate, which influence each other. Very few feminist organisations are in a position to hire staff and even fewer can hire full-time or permanent contracts, which hampers institutional stability. Difficulties in obtaining grants from government institutions mean that NGOs mostly apply for foreign grants (such as European, Norwegian), which requires considerable resources and expertise. Existing NGOs are struggling to offer permanent positions and fair wages.

The political climate is certainly **hostile to feminist organisations** since the 2015 elections, according to a number of respondents. As one respondent pointed out, *'when it comes to gender-based violence we are met with suggestions that the topic is silly and we are making stuff up'*. Regarding barriers in funding, another interviewee mentioned: *'We will see what happens to grants administered on the central level, but it is clear the new government is opposed to all 'gender' issues.'* Other respondents also see a challenge in terms of the public discourse and media coverage, for example, *'It is clear to us that the*

political scene is dominated by the far right. All this progress of mainstreaming our ideas into new environments will be reversed now'.

4.4.10. Opportunities for organisations

Many organisations see **networking** as a useful tool for activism: as national coalitions for specific causes (CEDAW, Coalition Against Violence), professional coalitions (Watchdog Polska) or as part of international alliances and global events (Girls Rock Camp, One Billion Rising, Slut Walk). Know-how and support from international networks can be a very positive factor for local activists.

As for funding, all organisations look for **European or other foreign grants** as opportunities for growth. In the Polish case, Norwegian and European grants are an opportunity, provided that they are administered by non-government institutions. Some NGOs report that working on the regional or institutional level represents an opportunity for feminism. By this they mean that while national-level politics is hard to influence, talking to representatives from particular public institutions proves more effective (for example a GEO seminar on economic violence).

New media offers an opportunity for creating a community, communicating and organising on a new level. Online magazines make it possible to connect to news of feminist issues and movements from other countries, and can offer platforms for discussion, opinion-making and appealing to media.

4.5. Portugal

4.5.1. Introduction

This case study draws the findings from eight Portuguese organisations identified as feminist including:

- Capazes,
- Associação Portuguesa pelos Direitos da Mulher na Gravidez e Parto (APD),
- Associação projecto criar (APC),
- Clitoris da Razao,
- Confraria Vermelha Livraria de Mulheres,
- Mulher nao entra,
- Festival Feminista da Porto, and
- Universidade Feminista.

The case study also includes data from two interviews with leaders of these organisations as well as reviews of online activity.

4.5.2. Background

The tradition of Portuguese feminism dates from the 19th century with the founding of the Socialist Federation of Females and the Portuguese feminist Studies Group in the early 20th Century (Mayreder in Wayne, 2011). In the 1920s, the National Council of Portuguese Women became an important influence in political and intellectual life (Cova, 2013).

Under the dictatorship period from 1933 to 1974, Portuguese feminists suffered from harsh repression including censorship and imprisonment. During this period Portuguese feminists

focused primarily on fighting dictatorship as a means of gaining rights for women under democracy.

A number of feminist and women's rights groups emerged after the 1974 revolution. The foremost issue was **abortion** and **reproductive rights** and, for the first time, several women's organisations consolidated their efforts. Many older feminist organisations from this wave receive state funding and are represented on the Government's advisory board of the Commission for Gender Equality and Citizenship. Awareness of domestic violence grew during the 2000s, leading some NGOs to receive funding to manage shelters for women survivors. The imposition of **austerity** measures from 2011 compromised the work and survival of feminist organisations. Furthermore, higher rates of emigration of young women decreased the population of potential feminist volunteers and activists.

4.5.3. Aims and objectives

Organisations examined express a wide range of short and long terms objectives. Two organisations address a **specific population group** or issue - maternal health (APD) and gender-based violence (APC). The others are concerned with raising awareness and **opening debate** within society on pro-feminist themes such as sexuality and gender or the protection of women's rights, for example through a Feminist Festival (Festival Feminista da Porto), a library of women's writing and ideas (Confraria Vermelha Livraria de Mulheres) and academic debate and discussion (Universidade Feminista). Mulher nao Entra aims to balance the visibility of men and women in media, public space, the administration, academia and top companies.

4.5.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

The organisations examined address a very **diverse range of subjects and groups**. For example, APC supports women and their children who have suffered domestic violence and APD provides support for pregnant women and their partners. Capazes aims to reach gender equality by promoting awareness and creating a pro-feminist debate in society. Similarly Confraria Vermelha Livraria de Mulheres, Universidade Feminista and Festival Feminista da Porto aim to disseminate feminist theory and ideas.

4.5.5. Funding arrangements

APD, Universidade Feminista and APC rely on **donations and membership fees**. APC also receives **European Social Funds** from the Human Potential Operational Programme (POPH). Confraria Vermelha Livraria de Mulheres receives money through selling books. Capazes gains funds from advertising partnerships. The other two organisations appear to rely mainly on volunteer time to carry out their activities and data on their funding is not available.

4.5.6. Structural arrangements

Of the sample, five appear to be formally arranged as a **non-profit organisation** (Capazes, APD, APC, Confraria Vermelha Livraria de Mulheres, Universidade Feminista). The others appear to have **no formal structure** or registration (Clitoris da Razao, Mulher nao entra, Festival Feminista da Porto).

4.5.7. Staffing

Most of the organisations examined are **small-sized** and rely on **voluntary** work. For example, APC and APD rely on the voluntary work of their founders. Similarly, Capazes, whose founders began by working unpaid, is now able to pay 500€ salary to eight of their employees. There appears to be a strong reliance on volunteers amongst all organisations.

4.5.8. Political affiliation

None of the organisations show affiliation to a particular political party.

4.5.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

Division amongst feminist activists and organisations is identified as one of the main problems experienced by the organisations examined. As one of the interview respondent commented, *'sisterhood is difficult to achieve. Women are all different but we should focus on what unites us rather in what tears us apart'*. Division may be exacerbated by a **competition for funding**, as another respondent pointed out: *'we feel that available funding is not enough for all of us and we all compete for the same'*. There appears to be **resistance at times from older NGOs** to providing support to younger feminists or to share power and recognition, triggering spin-offs from older organisations: *'we decided to found a new NGO because of the lack of control we felt from the [parent organisation]. We felt we couldn't decide about almost anything' (NGO respondent)*. One respondent identified a common language amongst new feminist organisations that older ones *'do not share, since they are not informed nor share our standpoint of view'*.

Another challenge is connected with **government funding**. One respondent reported a need to adhere with government thinking in order to maintain funding: *'the state department simply informed us that our cooperation agreement had finished, arguing that we were excessively feminist, not giving any other explanation'*.

4.5.10. Opportunities for organisations

The promotion of feminism by **global public figures** is viewed as a positive factor in positively shaping how the public and media respond to feminist narratives, according to one respondent: *'we had luck because there is a global agenda that makes feminism trendy'*.

4.6. Sweden

4.6.1. Introduction

For the Swedish case study, ten organisations were analysed including:

- Maktsalongen,
- Matrona Natverken for kvinnor,
- Agera Kvinnojour,
- Sakra Kvinnor Styrelsrekrytering,
- Yoko Djs,
- Agenda: Jamlikhet,
- FATTA,
- Malmo Feministiska Natverk,
- Malmo Jamstalldhetsbyra, and
- Rattvisseformedlingen.

Two interviews were conducted including Sofia Branstrom, founder of Maktsalongen and Magdalena Klingstrand, founder of Yoko DJs.

4.6.2. Background

After a campaigning and organising for women's rights that dates back to the 17th Century, Universal Suffrage for women were achieved in 1921 (Evans, 2012). Women's organisations continued to be active in the World War periods, channelling their demands through different political parties including social democrats and moderate parties.

From the 1960s, a new wave of feminism worked towards gender equality. For example, Grupp 8, established in 1968 with the slogan 'The private is political', aimed to achieve same opportunities for women and men in the job market and equal responsibilities at home (Schmitz, 2007). Moreover, Riksorganisationen för Kvinnojourer i Sverige (ROKS), (The National Organisation for Women's shelters in Sweden) was established in 1984, to support women and children who are victims of male violence.

Since the late 1990s, the feminist movement has enjoyed a strong ascendancy encouraged by the Left Party Government. Gender equality is strongly supported by successive Swedish governments in recent years and many gains have been made to encourage equality in the workplace and in sharing of family responsibilities.

4.6.3. Aims and objectives

Most of the new feminist organisations examined are **networks** that aim to connect organisations that are feminist and/or organisations that work towards equality in society. Whilst the missions and visions of new organisations focus on women, they also include other groups who are oppressed and discriminated against. Their missions and visions include: creating a fairer society, a more equal civil society, a more gender equal music scene, greater gender balance on company boards, an egalitarian society with equal distribution of power, strengthening feminist movements and networks, creating a society free from discrimination and oppression, creating a society free from sexual violence regardless of gender and non-gender, and acting against oppression of people who define themselves as women and girls.

The new (as well as the more established organisations) strive to change and challenge unequal **power structures**. There is evidence to suggest that new organisations seek to promote the skills of women, rather than framing their work in an understanding of patriarchal structures. New feminist organisations often also strive to be more inclusive and take into consideration different structural barriers such as social background, sexual orientation, age, ethnicity and disability.

4.6.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

Most of the organisations examined have a **broad focus** and include all organisations who work towards a more equal society. Others address a more **specific issue** or/and group such as using music to advocate for a more gender equal deeJay scene (Yoko Djs), promote women leaders within companies (Maktsalongen), working to create public debate and understanding that there is a profit to have gender balanced boards (Sakra Kvinnor Styrelsekrytering).

4.6.5. Funding arrangements

Most organisations are funded by **government grants** and/or **institutional grants** (project grants), sale of services (such as workshops, lecturers, etc.), and **membership**.

4.6.6. Structural arrangements

Some of the organisations in the study are registered **charities**. The networks in the study are often informal or not registered, working for example as an online platform.

4.6.7. Staffing

Information on staffing is not always available, particularly for network organisations examined. The majority of organisations that provide services such as workshops and lectures normally have **staff and a board**. The organisations that have staff and boards are usually those which offer services to organisations and companies. The **founders** are often board members.

4.6.8. Political affiliation

None of the organisations examined have a political affiliation.

4.6.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

The two interviewees identified very similar challenges, despite working with different groups of women. These included personal barriers to being successful in their work. This was described as a higher **pressure on women to perform** well as compared to men, be successful at work, have a fulfilling social life and be a good homemaker/mother. The interviewees reported that *'women also often lack high self-esteem, and are often judged on their experience, unlike men who tend to be judged on their skills'*. They reported that it is more challenging for women to retain leadership roles than it is for men, due to the high expectations placed on women.

4.6.10. Opportunities for organisations

Both interviewees agreed that in the last few years there has been a **change** within the feminist movement in Sweden towards being conducive and welcoming towards feminist approaches. The new **feminist party**, Feministiskt Perspektiv, has been a key contributor to this debate. According to one interviewee, *'the political parties are now fighting about who is the most feminist party!'* According to the other interviewee: *'it has also become **trendy** or politically correct'* to be a feminist for both women and men. The organisations examined also include men in their work and as a part of their agenda, believing that in order to change unequal power structures, men need to be involved and challenged.

However, change in power structures and policy is slow to take effect, it was noted. Violence against women is not decreasing it was reported and women are still getting paid less than men for equal work.

4.7. The United Kingdom

4.7.1. Introduction

Fourteen organisations from the United Kingdom (UK) that are identified as feminist were examined including:

- Fearless Futures,
- UK Feminista,
- Women's Equality Party,
- Stemettes,
- The Girls' network,

- The Artemis Network,
- Sisters Uncut,
- Sisters of Frida,
- Daughters of Eve,
- Birdsong,
- IC Change,
- Typical Girls Mag,
- Empower Apparel, and
- Everyday sexism project.

From the sample, interviews were conducted with leaders from three different organisations. Data from the interviews as well as reviews of organisations' online activities are analysed.

4.7.2. Background

Feminism in the United Kingdom (UK) dates from the beginnings of the movement itself in the 19th century, in which women campaigned for specific rights such as abolishing the law which regulated prostitution and allowed for the internment and compulsory venereal disease checks of women in prostitution (Contagious Diseases Act), and removing restrictions that kept married women from controlling their own property (Married Women's Property Act). In the early 20th century, campaigners coordinated a campaign for universal suffrage. '**Suffragettes**' (so-called by a mainly antagonistic press) and suffragists campaigned for the right to vote, enacted the Representation of the People Act, first in 1918 – for all men and women over 30, and then in 1928 extending equal suffrage to both men and women. After a period of relative inactivity and retrenchment in the 1950s, a so-called second wave of feminism emerged from the early 1960s. This was highly influenced by a burgeoning labour movement and focused on equal pay, contraception and the welfare state. Researchers now refer to a third wave of feminism beginning in the 1990s, which operated in the context of a newly neo-liberal economy and welfare retrenchment. There was a particular focus on the quality and quantity of women's employment opportunities (Opportunity 2000), changes to the criminal justice system concerning violence against women as well as addressing issues of sexual identity and body image.

4.7.3. Aims and objectives

The organisations examined are vocal on a **wide range of issues** including female genital mutilation (FGM), cuts in government budgets, violence against women, educational empowerment and in providing grassroots feminist organisations with the resources to take action. A key theme to emerge amongst these organisations is that compared to many more established feminist organisations in the UK, all but one of the sample of fourteen have focused mission objectives that concentrate on **specific issues** or campaigns as a means of achieving more systematic change. According to one interview respondent, '*there is a shift from thinking big to thinking small*'. For example, Daughters of Eve was established by Leyla Hussein and Nimco Ali specifically to prevent FGM and Sisters Uncut to '*take a stand against the life-threatening cuts to domestic violence services*'. Most of the organisations analysed appeared as a **grassroots movement first**, developing later into a more formal organisation. Some organisations' founders and management did not have experience in the feminist organisations before their involvement. As one interviewee reported, '*it wasn't until I started working in investment banking that I start asking myself about sexism in the place of work, pay-gap, and decided to quit [my job] and start doing*

something valuable from a gender perspective point of view'. Similarly, The Girl's Network was set up by Becca Dean and Charly Young in London in 2012 while they were working as teachers. That new feminist organisations develop from a diverse range of backgrounds and experiences indicates a departure from established feminist organisations. According to one respondent *'I don't really have much to do with the [traditional feminist] organisations, I do keep in touch with the [newer organisations] because I know [leaders of those organisations] personally'*.

However, the Women's Equality Party (WEP) has stronger links with established feminist actors; its founders have extensive experience in feminist action and campaigning. The WEP was established in 2015 as a political party by **well-known campaigners** and broadcasters and is funded through **private donations**, including **businesswomen** and philanthropist Martha Lane Fox. Unlike the leaders and managers of other organisations in the sample, the WEP is well connected politically and economically. Similarly, UK Feminista acts as a bridge between women's organisations and grassroots activists, and is committed to **working in partnership** with both new and older women's organisations, many of whom face serious resource pressures, as pointed out by one of its directors: *'The fact is that when organisations like Rape Crisis or Women's Aid are struggling to get enough money to survive, they often can't afford to have that particular online mobilising software that we have which can then support and help them'*. They also work with established feminist organisations within issue-driven coalitions like the End Demand campaign, which advocates for the introduction of a law to criminalise the purchase of sex and the decriminalisation of women in prostitution.

The organisations' feminist objectives are articulated through a common language of 'equality between women and men', with a regular emphasis on equality of opportunity and fair treatment in how state resources are distributed.

4.7.4. Types of issues and population groups being addressed and supported by organisations

The majority of organisations examined have **specified a population group** with whom they work or particular issues which they are addressing. These include: a lack of women and girls in Science, Technology, Engineering, Maths (STEM) research or industry (Stemettes), lack of women's representation in politics and business (WEP), lack of support for women with low social-economic backgrounds (The Artemis Network), lack of support for women's careers (The Girls' Network), sexism experienced by women on a day-to-day basis (Everyday Sexism project), disabled women (Sisters of Frida), women at risk and survivors of FGM (Daughters of Eve), young women and grassroots feminist activists (UK Feminista). The organisations are involved in a **wide range of activities**, including running training and empowerment programmes in schools, hackathons and tech summits, public awareness and consciousness raising media campaigns, running for national election, network building and selling ethical products.

4.7.5. Funding arrangements

All but three of the organisations receive private **charitable donations** and from charitable trusts and foundations. **None receive government funding**. Two receive funds from selling goods or services; one is funded by political donations. Funding continues to be a **challenge** for many organisations. According to one respondent from a charitable organisation, *'there are not many rich women, therefore there is less investment for women and feminist projects'*. Fundraising also puts pressure on already **time-poor staff**: *'Fundraising is hugely time consuming; we don't have a dedicated fundraising officer, so that responsibility falls to [the two directors]. It does take a large chunk of time, and because we very rarely have secured funding for years and years, it's constantly something*

that we're having to think about and go back to' (director of a women's organisation). Two organisations receive funding from corporate sponsors. For example, Stemettes, which helps women who want to study STEM, has sponsorship in the form of money and advice from Starbucks, Deutsche Bank, Accenture and Microsoft to run their workshops in schools. One organisation – the Artemis Network – was funded by its founder until they received external sponsorship.

4.7.6. Structural arrangements

Of the sample, five organisations are registered as a **charity** (charitable incorporated organisation), five are **social enterprises**, one is constituted as a **political party** and three have an **informal structure** or have not been established formally.

4.7.7. Staffing

The staffing arrangements and management structure is not always displayed and, therefore, findings on this issue should be treated with caution. Organisations that have funding (and, therefore, paid staff) are more transparent about staffing. Where an indication is given, all organisations are staffed by **volunteers** as well as **paid staff**. It also appears that the large majority of staff and volunteers are women. One exception is Fearless Futures for which some men are involved in its executive board.

4.7.8. Political affiliation

None of the organisations show affiliation to a particular political party, except the WEP, which is a political party itself.

4.7.9. Barriers and challenges to organisations' work

Funding continues to be an issue for the organisations surveyed. Organisations have to work hard to secure money either from individual donations or corporate sponsorship. Linked to this, a key barrier expressed in interviews is **distrust for explicitly feminist objectives**. Whilst organisations can be explicit about working for women or girls' rights and progress, some are reluctant to describe themselves as feminist, except in private conversations, for fear of alienating sponsors and partners. As one interview respondent stated *'the word feminist is not deliberately hidden but not widely used'*. Furthermore, working in a pro-feminist way can present a challenge to partners, for example empowering girls in school may encourage the girls to object to school policy or argue with authority. The purpose of feminist organisations is to disrupt and challenge and this can, at times, be difficult for partners and sponsors. It should be noted, however, that one respondent from an organisation extensively engaged with schools reported widespread enthusiasm from teachers and students to feminist-driven workshops and training sessions.

Moreover, there are new challenges and issues that the new feminism faces, as one interviewee pointed out: *'the daily use of pornography [in schools] as a bullying tactic', 'the rise of mainstreaming pornography', 'the music videos of today are soft porn' and 'the pornography industry becomes more hardcore in order to differentiate itself, so it's a vicious circle'*.

4.7.10. Opportunities for organisations

Many of the organisations surveyed were adept at using **social and mainstream media** to build support. Social media in particular has been useful in this regard. For example, whilst one organisation found that although they were established 'before our Twitter account', Twitter has enabled them to strengthen their campaigning force. In another example, Sisters Uncut had little attention until they campaigned at the premiere of the film

'Suffragettes' in London in November 2015. After this, television and press launched them to a mainstream audience, thus implementing their social media notoriety world-wide.

There also appears to be an attraction for new feminist organisations by national mainstream media that frequently profile new feminist organisations as 'young rebels'. If feminist organisations are able to develop **creative campaigns** or actions that capture the public imagination, there are opportunities for wide public coverage, for example, Birdsong (a clothing company) attracted attention for refusing to photoshop models used in their advertising. Furthermore, as one interviewee stated *'I think social media has a huge role in the resurgence of feminism. In 2010 feminism was not in the papers, now the context has changed and feminism is talked about openly, blogged about, and discussed on social media'*.

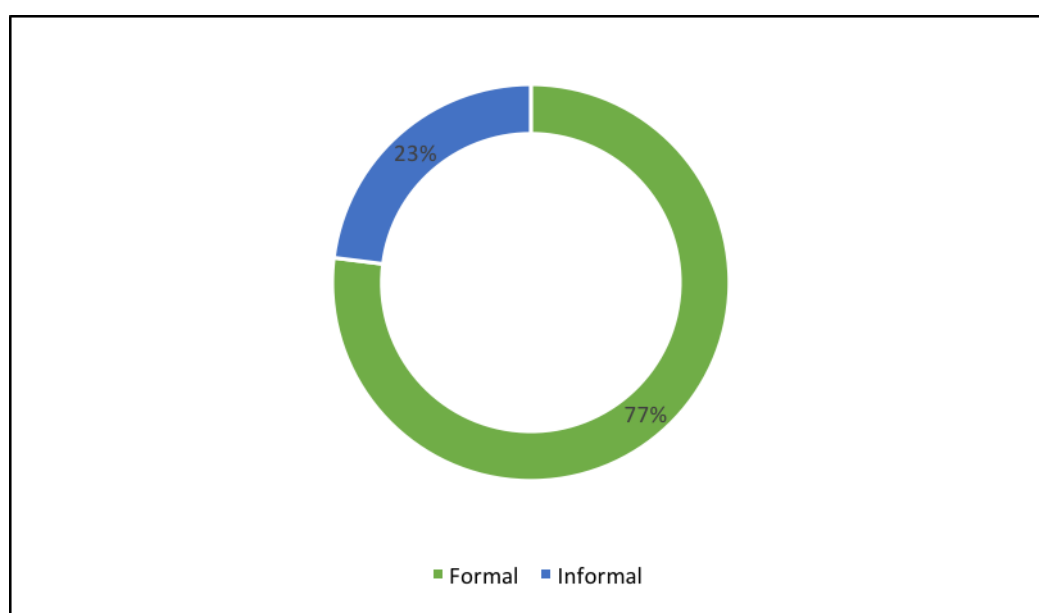
There is an opportunity for renewal by including **younger key actors**. Thus, the majority of organisations included are managed or were created by women under 40 years old. This is the case for UK Feminista's Kat Banyard, Fearless Features' Hannah McCloskey, Laura Bates from the Everyday Sexism Project and Stemettes founder and CEO Anne-Marie Imafidon.

5. QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS: SUMMARY OF STATISTICS

5.1. Type of organisation

In total 65 new organisations that are identified as feminist were examined. Chart 1 demonstrates the distribution of organisations by 'type of registration'. It shows that 50 organisations (77%) have some kind of **formal registration** such as charity, NGO or social enterprise. A significant minority of organisations (15 or 23%), were identified as being an **informal** type of organisation this includes 'organisations' that are blogs, online platforms, events or individual activists.

Chart 1: Percentage of organisations by type of registration



Source: Opcit research, 2016.

5.2. Social media

Uses of social media platforms **vary widely** between countries and organisations. For example, only 34 organisations from the sample (59%) are reported to have Twitter account. 53 organisations (89%) have a Facebook page.

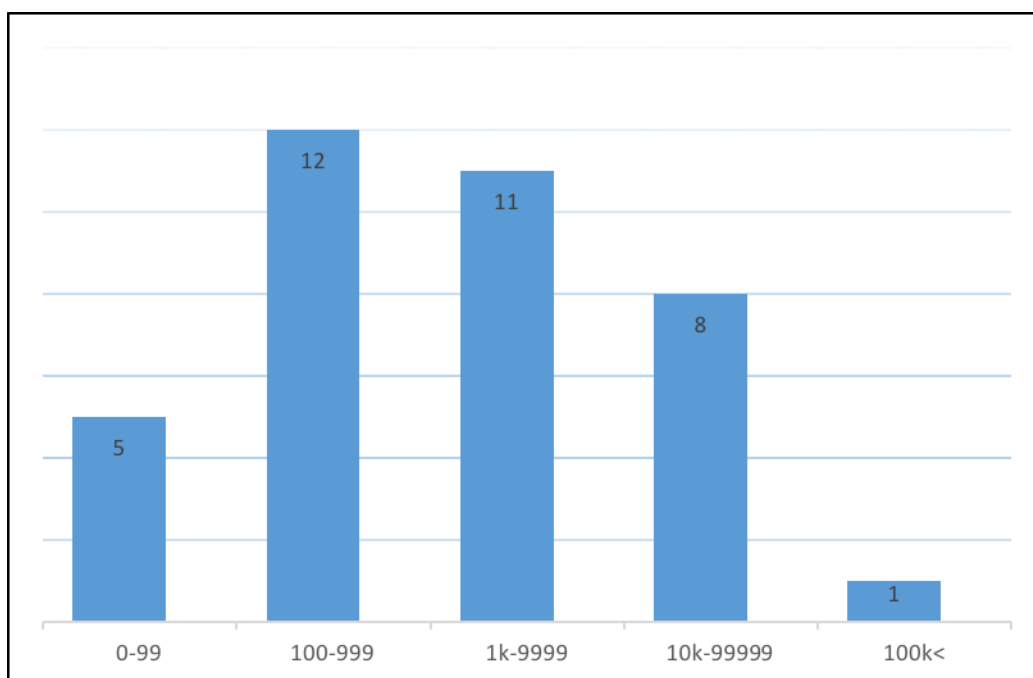
A large proportion of UK feminist organisations (93%) have Twitter account, as do 63% of French organisations and 60% of Swedish. 33% in Italy and 25% of organisations in both Portugal and Poland have Twitter account. Only 17% of organisations are reported to use Twitter in Bulgaria.

Use of **Facebook also varies** between countries. For example, all Portuguese organisations in the sample (100%) are reported to have a Facebook page. 88% of Polish and 86% of UK organisations have Facebook; Swedish and French organisations account for having a Facebook page in 90% and 88% of cases respectively; Italy (75%) and Bulgaria (66%).

Organisations' uses of social media were examined and are described in chart 2 and 3. This shows that 17 organisations (of those that have a Twitter account) have 999 or fewer followers and 5 of these 17 organisations have fewer than 99 followers. 19 feminist organisations have followers ranging between 10,000 and 99,999. Chart 3 shows only the

UK's 'Everyday Sexism Project' from the whole sample of organisations has more than 100,000 followers.

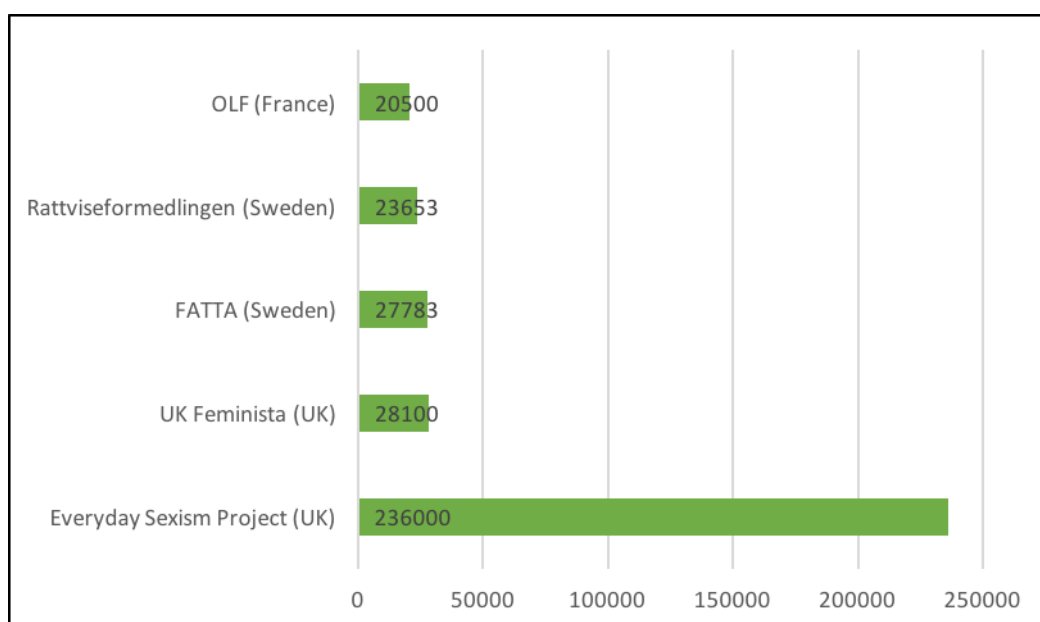
Chart 2: Number of organisations by number of Twitter Followers



Source: Opcit research, 2016.

In terms of **highest numbers** of Facebook 'likes', the Portuguese organisation Capazes achieves the most with 138,868 likes on their Facebook page, followed by SNOQ in Italy with 84,978 and Rattvisformedlingen in Sweden with 72,841.

Chart 3: Top 5 organisations by number of Followers on Twitter



Source: Opcit research, 2016.

6. SUMMARY

65 organisations were examined for this study. The organisations either describe themselves as feminist or work towards aims and objectives that may be understood as feminist. All organisations work at a national level to improve the **experience and outcomes for women and girls**. That some organisations use the term 'feminist' to describe themselves and others do not is an interesting finding in itself. There is a clear suggestion that the feminist movement has attracted **negative associations** and that it is, therefore, sensible for organisations to **dissociate from the term**. For some organisations, dissociation from feminism (either the term or movement) is deemed necessary in order to attract funding and support from Government or elsewhere.

The dissociation from feminism – as a term and movement – is likely to be connected, in part, to dissatisfaction with 'second wave' feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. It should be made clear that the existence of '**fourth wave**' feminism is **still in dispute** and, for most new feminist organisations, a key defining issue is the extent to which they depart from second wave (as opposed to third wave) feminism. Second wave feminism is frequently associated with left-leaning politics – in Poland and Bulgaria, with communism – and sometimes radical feminism. These associations make feminism (word and movement) unpopular with the wider public and therefore stigmatised for newer feminists. Moreover, it is widely perceived across case study respondents that 'second wave' feminism was disadvantaged by in-fighting and focused unreasonably with the experiences of **white, middle class women**. New feminism is more concerned with a **plurality of experience** and the intersection of race, disability, sexuality and gender; this is evident from the data reviewed.

The organisations examined are concerned with a **broad range of issues** and population groups: victims of gender violence, women with disabilities and mental health problems, women in science, women in business, female genital mutilation and women in media are examples. However, some organisations work without a specific population group in mind. Rather, they work to promote feminist ideas or raise awareness of gender power structures. An interesting new type of organisation is evident from the study – one that exists **simply to document** women's negative experiences such as every day sexism or everyday examples of women's absence in the public sphere. This is made possible through digital media in which data collection is easy and accessible.

In terms of structural arrangements, a **significant minority** of organisations have an **informal structure** (or rather, they lack a formal registration). This was a sample of young organisations and having informal structures is, therefore, expected. These organisations include a single individual operating a blog as well as groups of volunteers working together, for example to run a radio show and magazine. However, the majority of organisations are registered in some way as a **not-for-profit**. There was no mention of strategic or other links with pan European gender equality institutions such as the European Women's Lobby or European Institute for Gender Equality.

Case study respondents frequently reported a **lack of government funding** being available. The impact of this is various. In one sense it affords ideological freedom. In another sense, it encourages organisations to work with different partners, particularly business. Only a minority of organisations reported being funded by **European sources**. Overall, a lack of state funding is frequently complained about, meaning that work relies of **volunteers** who may be unable to commit the time necessary for organisations to be effective. A minority of organisations have employees and if they do, only a few people are employed. The opportunity of social media and websites means that some organisations are able to achieve a wide reach with few resources and few staff or volunteers.

There was no example of formal affiliation with a political party and the organisations examined tend to distance themselves from party politics.

Consistent with existing research about fourth wave feminism, many of the new organisations examined rely strongly on **online activity**. Thus, digital and social media are an important opportunity for new feminism.

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