

5. LEFT-LIBERTARIAN PARTIES I

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HERBERT KITSCHOLT (1988): LEFT-LIBERTARIAN PARTIES

1. left

- mistrust of the marketplace and private investments
- egalitarian and solidarity appeals

2. libertarian (liberal)

- reject the authority of private or public bureaucracies to regulate individual and collective conduct
- Respect for individuals and their freedoms
- Self-governance
- Decentralized communities

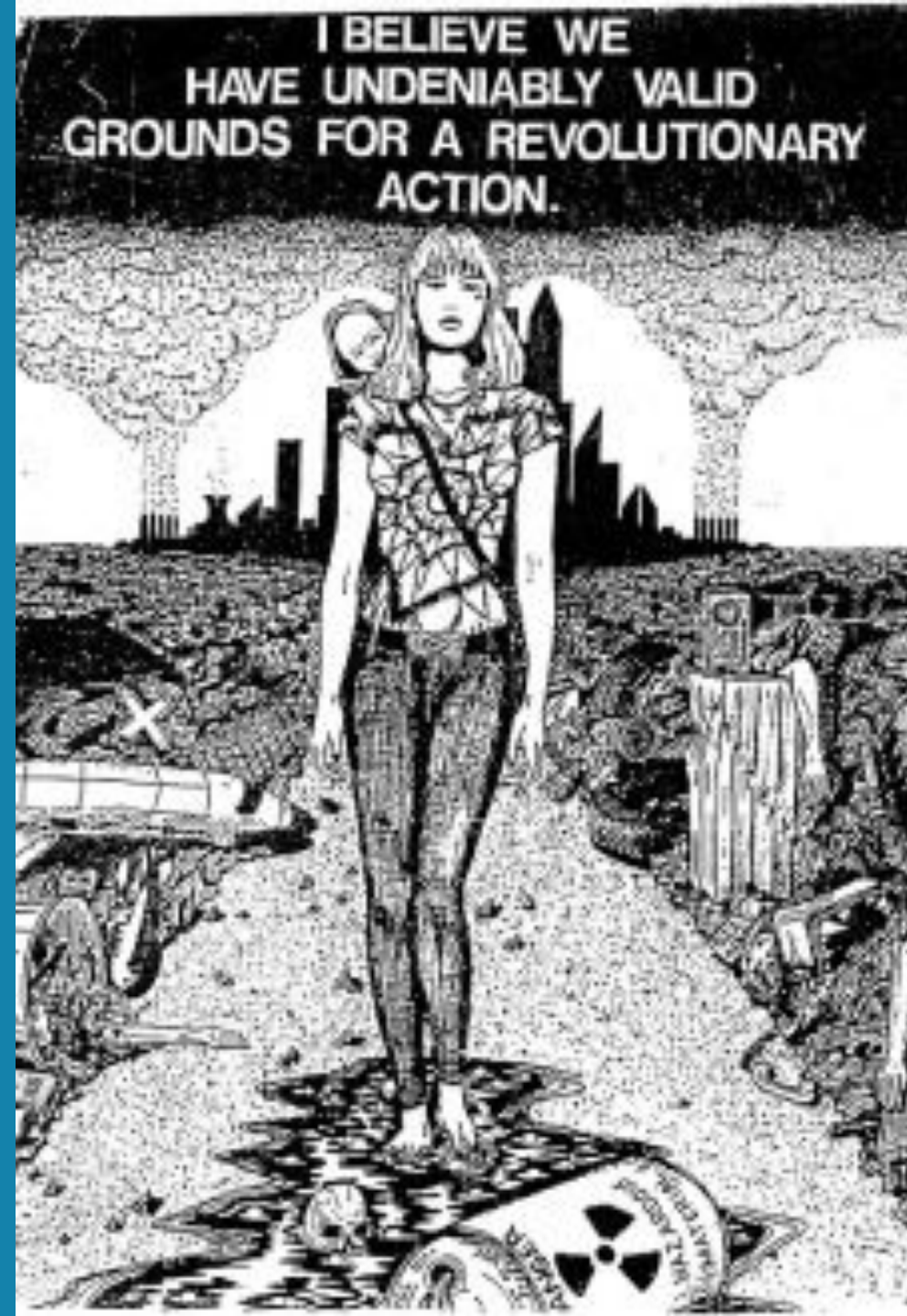
Criticism of modern societies

1. Priority given to economic growth in public policy making
2. unacceptable risks to the environment
3. unacceptable risks to human life
 - restrain the autonomy of the individual citizen
 - Restrictions placed on spontaneous participation
 - Policy making limited to elites of well-organized interest groups and parties
 - Overly bureaucratized welfare state subject individuals to centralized controls



COMMON VALUES

- **Self-ownership**
 - property of one's own person, expressed as the moral or natural right of a person to have bodily integrity, and be the exclusive controller of one's own body and life
- **Participatory democracy**
- **Decentralization**
- **Egalitarian redistribution**
- **Collective ownership of natural resources**
- **Post-material issues**



Typical voters

Younger, well-educated middle class

employed in human services (teaching, health care, social work)

left-of-center political convictions

subscribe to "postmaterialist" values

sympathize with environmental, feminist, and peace movements

THREE MAJOR TYPES OF PARTIES

1. Feminist parties
2. Environmental (green) parties
3. Pirate parties



FEMINISM

- Women's movement to advance the social role (private and public) of women
- Two major beliefs
 1. Women disadvantaged because of their sex
 2. This disadvantage can and should be overthrown



Very diverse and heterogeneous

- Ideological sources
 - Socialism
 - Liberalism
 - Radical feminism
- Policies
 - Suffrage
 - Equal success to education
 - Increase in the number of women in public life (politics), business (managerial position)
 - Legalization of abortion
 - Abolition of demeaning dress codes



FEMINISM

Until 1960s gender divisions rarely considered as relevant and important

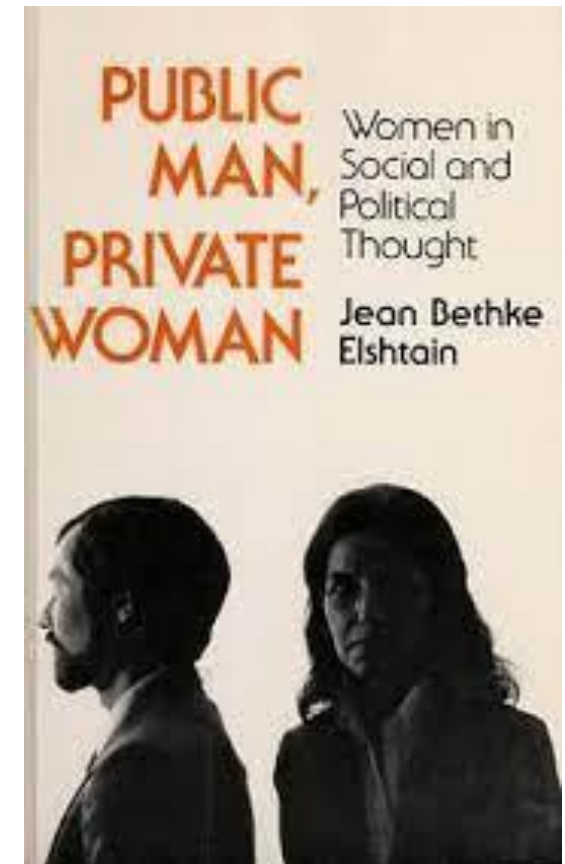
Feminism as an ideology

- ❑ until 1960s and 1970s: not an ideology
 - Rather a doctrine within socialism and/or liberalism
- ❑ Rise of radical feminism: gender division: of central importance
 - Conventional ideologies seen as inadequate
 - Feminism = a cross-cutting ideology
- ❑ Ideologically diverse, but common ground
 - Public – private divide
 - Patriarchy
 - Sex and gender
 - Equality and difference



Public – private divide

- Conventional position: politics = arena of public life
 - Family life and personal relationships = arena of private life
 - »»»» gender issues = non-political
 - Jean Ehlstein (1981): Public Man, Private Woman
- Feminist position:
 - personal is political
 - Break down the divide
 - Ways: transferring the responsibility for family life to public institutions (welfare state support, nursery schools...)
 - However: danger of politicizing the private sphere



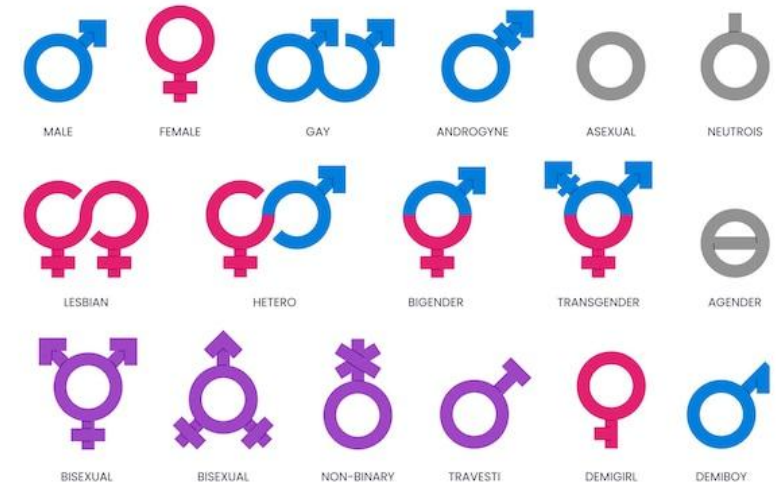
Patriarchy

- ❑ Feminism: gender = the deepest and political most important social cleavage
- ❑ Patriarchy = power relations between men and women
 - Supremacy of men over women in family, workplace, education, economic life...
 - Unequal distribution of rights, duties, and entitlements in society
 - Under-representation of women in senior positions in business, politics, public life...
- ❑ Feminism seeks to fight against male supremacy/dominance
- ❑ Radical feminism: patriarchy = systematic, institutionalized, and pervasive form of male dominance



Sex and gender

- ❑ Sex refers to biological differences between men and women
- ❑ Sex differences should have no social, political or economic consequences
- ❑ Gender – cultural phenomenon
- ❑ Gender differences: socially, politically constructed
- ❑ Gender: if socially constructed, it can be changed and even demolished

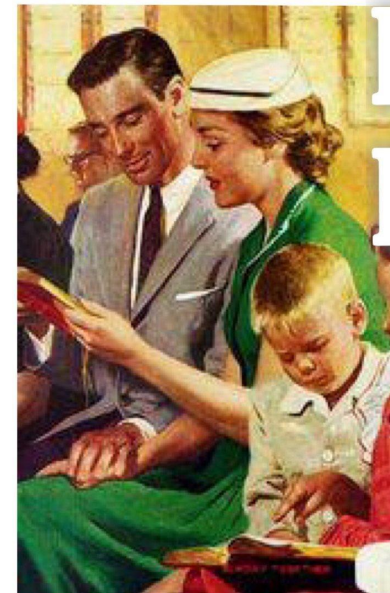


Sex and gender

- The most common of all anti-feminist arguments: gender divisions are natural
 - Nature designed women to bearing and rearing children
 - „Biology is destiny“




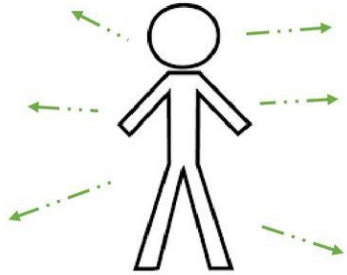


Kinder
Küche
Kirche



Sex and gender: feminist position

- ❑ Childbearing is unique, but link between it and child-rearing is cultural, not biological
- ❑ Domestic responsibilities should be equally distributed between men and women
- ❑ Physical strengths typical for men are no longer as relevant as in the past

Understanding people

<p>Sex Assigned at Birth What parts were you born with?</p> 	<p>Gender expression How do you show the world how you feel inside?</p> 
<p>Gender identity What gender do you identify with?</p> 	<p>Sexual orientation Who are you attracted to?</p> 

Equality and difference

- ❑ Common goal: to overthrow patriarchy
- ❑ However: contrasting notions of equality
 1. Liberal feminism: equality = equal access to the public realm
 2. Socialist feminism: equal rights are meaningless unless they refer to economic rights (gender pay gap, ownership of wealth, waged x unwaged labour...)
 3. Radical feminism: mostly concerned with equality in family and personal life (childcare, domestic responsibilities...)



Feminist parties

1983-2000 Iceland

1979 Canada

1995 Germany

2005 Sweden

2015 Norway



Partei Programm Mitmachen Themen Netzwerk Termine

- Themen
 - Ökologie und Lebensgrundlagen
 - Feministische Ökonomie
 - Selbstbestimmt und gewaltfrei leben
 - Frieden und Krieg / Pazifismus
 - Migration und Flucht
 - Gesellschaftliche Verantwortung und Utopie

Unsere Fokusthemen
Jedes Thema ist ein Puzzleteil auf unserem Weg

Kvinnu
listinn

Common issues

- ❑ Not only women, but advocacy of gender minorities
- ❑ Support for oppressed people, including immigrants
- ❑ Pacifism
- ❑ Green
- ❑



Electoral „success“

- ❑ Irrelevant from electoral point of view
- ❑ But...
 - Feminist issues largely taken over by mainstream parties (contagion theory)
 - Rapid rise of progressive issues in the Western world

