

After I had given ^{a very dull} ~~the most simplistic~~ title to my ^{lecture} ~~conference~~, I looked at my ^{book} shelves and found what could have been the adequate title for the un-pretentious, un-systematic approach of what I have to say. It is ^{the title of} a book by the psychoanalyst Haie Morovici — "Il est arrivé ²⁵ chose" "Something has happened". Indeed, I converge with the author ^{which she} explaining that ^{expression:} ~~sentences:~~

"to discern something of a movement, of a gesture, of a displacement of emphasis and of meaning, which ^{is} ~~are~~ at the basis of the life of the spirit, ^{what is it that} ~~is~~ ^{Rem} not only

~~Indeed, my goal~~ to qualify and to describe an event but to present the intellectual questioning provoked by such event."



This acknowledgment that "something has happened" is the under-current of my reflexion this afternoon.

What ^{Rem} is this something which has happened?

I - ^{A woman's} ~~The~~ perspective ^{about} ~~of~~ this Congress

and the ^{possible contributions} ~~public recognition~~ within the space of the EU of ~~a concern with~~ the women's studies or feminist studies.

When the women's studies started in USA, they ~~had a basic assumption~~: acknowledged the invisibility of women in social life and its link with the absence of women in research at the academic life. The voice of women, when heard, did nothing else but to reinforce the dominant discourse. The women's studies ~~pretended~~ to follow new methodologies, ~~and~~ to open new paths + formulate new proposals in different fields of Knowledge.

In the European space, the women studies can be this "something that has happened" if they follow consistently the initial vision, in the interdependence of reflection + action.

Moreover, they appear as the most obvious case ~~that the~~ ^{the} ~~evolution~~ of the science that confirms the intuition of Schrödinger, who, contrarily to ^{some} the Physics scientists of his time (and even of today) questioned the pure objectivity by stating that "in all observation of an object, the subject is ~~also part of it~~ ^{also} conveyed in that observation".



The theme that gathers us in this Congress cannot therefore ignore ^{from one side,} the concrete conditions of the object, namely, the content + the compelling need for ^{reinforcement} enlargement of the citizenship in Europe and, from the other side, the position of ^{the} subject, namely the women in the multiple interfaces so well suggested in the very title of the Congress: bonds that change, boundaries that are displaced, leading to a mobility that manifests itself through diverse and unusual forms.

We are dealing then with two distinctive bodies of thought, two new realities, ^{I contend that} ~~two attitudes~~ ^{which opens} ~~their~~ ^{their} windows of opportunity for a change affecting both the E.U. + the women. There is a synergy which leads me to ^{the conviction} ~~state~~ that in the building of E. as a polity, women can contribute to accelerate the process in ^{the} dynamic way that recent events so clearly ask for.



The central question becomes then ~~the~~ to finding out where are the entry points, the openings of the European construction and to invent the ways by which the conceptual new frames brought by women may insert themselves there.

I stress again that this is not a process of ~~justification~~ parallel findings. ~~I believe~~ ^{It is as} with Doris Lessing ⁱⁿ her Golden Notebook, ~~that~~ "it is possible to measure the world by describing the life of a woman", I believe then that the analysis of ~~and~~ the lives of women can indeed ^{Fundação Cuidar o Futuro} be a source of new measures of the world + for the world, ^{reform of the E.U.} of new measures for the

I am pleading here for a new approach to study + research. ^{I share} ~~the~~ the theoretical position of Lou Andreas-Salome ^{who has} ~~put~~ ^{long ago} it clearly ⁱⁿ her "open letter to Freud":

"The theoretical questioning is the one that springs forth from the work, from the path of a human life and which, when it takes weight in society, brings change + movement in the other human lives."



II - The citizenship of women in Europe - a new path

5

A fierce battle is taking place in E.: the enlargement of the concept of citizenship as a condition for a truly democratic Union, and an indispensable dimension of the EU as with a true status of a political entity. (~~the human...~~)



The EP + EC have ~~made~~ made serious efforts to include in the revision of the Maastricht Treaty the civic + social rights. The idea was to build the embryo of a Bill of Rights to be discussed + customized ^{+ decided upon} by all Europeans. But the Amsterdam Summit made only a small step. It included the Charter for Social Rights of Workers + the Social Protocol in the Treaty. It enlarged the Schengen agree / to 12 of the 15 countries. Member-States.

How far away this was from what I heard in many ~~the~~ national Conf. of NGOs, trade-unions, academics, in 11 of the 15 Member-States! I found there a strong will to go beyond barriers and to build a European Union capable to help, through

its political unity, to free the world from⁶
the ~~new~~ unipolar trend that is increasing
since the end of the Cold Wars. Only
such a Union could, in the views of these
thousands of Europeans + NGOs I heard,
help to build a multipolar world, shaped
by the diversity of cultures + civilizations.

Thus, the small steps taken in A'dam
didn't change the profile of the European
citizenships, ^{consisting of:} ~~shaped by:~~

- freedom of movement
- ~~safe~~ vote for EP
- vote for local bodies when living
for 5 y in the municipality
- protection from the Emb. of any
M.-State when in ^{the} territory of a
Third country



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Indeed, ^{as} ~~paraphrasing~~ Habermas, ^{notes} we
~~could say~~ that the European passport is
not yet associated to the rights ~~with~~ which
constitute democratic citizenship?

I see it more of a symbol of what should
be + is not there yet ~~and~~ then the sign of
what exists already.

a symbol of what
can be and not a
sign of what is there
already

7/8

This is why the civic + social rights that shape true democratic citizenship are the most pressing demand of the European peoples.

Three weeks ago the foundations of Social Scientists of E. gathered in A'dam stated vigorously:

"The Union whose citizenship ~~does~~ does not ~~for~~ encompass social rights cannot our support."



They produced concepts that overcome the fallacy of mere "quantity" that characterized policies of past decades. It is true that a critical mass is necessary for those who are deprived of basic rights — ~~the quantity~~ and only that critical mass can unleash the quality of life they deserve as h beings. At the same time, there is in the sequence of h values + goals, a precedence of quality over quantity. The goal of introducing social rights in the Treaties of the European Union will raise the social from a mere correction of or adjustment to the hazards of economics to the level where it should stand: a category of thought, policy + action bound to life and to the right for everyone to lead a life worth living.



unemployed,
homeless.

~~We are~~ ^{I am} not referring only to the
many who are ~~at~~ utterly destituted,
- ~~we we~~. I am thinking ^{also} of the
unmet needs of the overstressed
manual workers and of their
executives, of the young without horizon,
of the old ~~feeling as~~ ^{being} disposed of,
of the impossible dual task of the
generation of women between 30 and
45, coming out of the care for their
children just to face a life of care
for their elder relatives.

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~~Either we are able to~~

Citizen's rights are needed for
~~the~~ millions of Europeans to face
with dignity, hope + joy their
lives. ~~But~~ the old concept of rights
was an abstract one, which
presumed as its subject


a man
of course white
in good health
and able to defend himself in all
situations.



10/6

In the last years,
Our societies in Europe are discovering that their composition is diversified and that ~~all~~ ^{every} individual human being is at the same time a subject of rights and of vulnerabilities.

The more vulnerable we are the more our rights have to be safeguarded. It is the role of the State to ensure that ~~that~~ protection, promotion and safeguard are there, whatever ~~the~~ the agents may be in different societies with different cultural traditions.

In this regard,
Citizenship in the Europe Union cannot lag behind. 

The A'dam declaration enumerates the most important elements of that citizenship, enhanced and strengthened by the social quality in all its territory and geared towards all those who live in this territory.

And the women?

~~There we find a paradoxical situation.~~
It seems, at first sight, that there is no distinction between men's + women's citizenship, understood in the very limited sense spelled out in the Treaties.

I don't ~~of~~ need to elaborate much on this aspect, so well-known are the discriminations to which the women are subject (exceptions: Nordic countries - and will there be revisions of the French Constitution??)



The number of women in EP doesn't change much to the analysis given the weak powers of the EP.

But the other rights? ^{Food,} education, health, housing, social protection, good environment? There we find a paradoxical situation. The safeguard of these rights ^(not encouraged then as rights) have been seen through the ages as duties to be fulfilled by women.

Is this outdated? By no means. If it is possible today to have a meeting of the European Council who is unable to mobilize itself towards the inclusion

of social rights in the Treaties,
 (^{accepting} ~~regardless~~ ^{diktat} ~~the position~~ of one Member-State)
 it is because the social contract
 is still built on the implicit sexual con-
tract by which all the tasks needed for
 the ~~fulfill~~ exercise of those rights are
 accomplished by women.

Am I putting women in the place of
 victims? ^{if I look into the future,} ~~No,~~ ^{also} what I am trying to stress
~~by this~~ is the implicit recognition that
 women have an aptitude to exercise in
 the future a multiple citizenship and
 to be today the main activists for
 a citizenship that will encompass all
 rights.

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This aptitude is the fruit of their
 history as a ~~g~~ social group. In that
 history there we can find the driving
 forces for their economic, social +
 cultural mobility and their meaning
 for ~~a~~ the most needed quantum
 leap towards a true citizenship of
 all who live in the E. territory.

III. Economic + social mobility of women
Something has happened, I said in the beginning. Another 13
very important things happened.

~~First~~ ^{+ social} of all, the economic mobility of women is one of the main events of the xx century. It ~~introduces~~ ^{produces} the greatest cultural earthquake in the social contract.

Though ~~they~~ ^{women} started entering the labour force during the beginning of industrialisation, it is in the ~~2nd~~ ^{2nd} half of this century that their presence, step after step, is felt in the labour market. Today, in ~~almost all~~ ^{several} Member-States of the EU they represent almost half of the labour-force - in my own country they are 48%.



~~The economic independence of women~~
~~introduces~~
~~by successive steps~~

The increased of paid work ^{qualified by} of women is a ~~phenomenon~~ a fact that, leading to ~~the~~ ^{their} economic independence of women, induces radical changes in other spheres of society. It is the marriage or non-marriage, the age at which it takes place, the composition + the very concept of family, the number + spacing of children, ~~all that~~ the growing need for community equipments to replace many of the tasks done ~~by~~ until then by the women at home. All this happens within a short time-span, and it cannot be reduced to ~~ethical~~ ^{demographic} ethical questions neither to demographic factors acting, as it were, per se.

In the earthquake that shook the social contract

One of the first questions to be dealt 14
with is the redefinition of work.

A redefinition in the very contents of work
- it is necessary to get away from the binary
equations belonging to the beginning of indus-
trialization, mainly the one who ~~shaped~~ ^{was at-}
~~the root of~~ ^{the} Cold War: capital/labour. ^{the} Berlin wall ^{didn't fall}
^{on their side.}

Today production is encapsulated ~~in~~ ^{by}
the information technology, by the tercia-
rization of the all processes, by the
marketing + its overwhelming publicity. In such
a context, it is absurd, ~~scientifically~~ ^{scientifically} wrong
+ ~~morally~~ ^{ethically} unacceptable that every time
there is an economic difficulty ⁱⁿ an enterprise,
only labour will be penalized.

The presence of women in the economic
life cannot translate itself only in adding
more members to the street-demonstrations.
It is up to women, as a group, to force
the attention ~~on~~ ^{to} the new factors of ~~the~~
the production schemes and to ~~work out~~ ^{work out} the
necessary alternatives.



Moreover, work has to be seen in practice¹⁵
(~~known~~ in research it is already so) as a
continuum, a wide gamut of activities
ranging from non-paid work to the tradi-
tional full-time employment. It covers all
activities which bring benefits both to the
individual + to society.

But to think work in such a way,
we need to enter into the active society.

Some basic ingredients are needed:

- the corridors by which \neq forms of
work can be used by individuals without
losing their basic income;
- the ~~def~~ working out of those corridors
as "transitional labour markets"; (Max Planck
Institute, Berlin)
- the inventory of the tasks fulfilled
invisibly in society (care for old people);
- the replacement of the unemployment
~~allowance~~ allowance by pro-active allowance
fields where labour is short;
- the inflection of education and the
over-coming of hyper-specialization by the
concentration on the learning of "transferable skills and talents"
(Core Ngg of Birmingham)
- the abandonment of the ~~old-fashioned~~
sequence of learning - employment - retirement.
in favour of a more dynamic, creative and enjoyable
perspective of the human life-span. and the adequate
learning corresponding to different life-cycles;



Linked with work, we find not only the question of minimum income but a broader question raised by the social scientists of Europe and which they call "social quality", encompassing all aspects of citizen's life.

We are then at the heart of social cohesion, ~~understood~~ within ^{the society of} each Member-State and among the societies of all Member-States, that is, at the level of the European Union itself.

Collective security at the social level is a task of research and of political action which we are far from accomplishing. And yet, one of the ^{remarks} ~~conclusions~~ ^{quote} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~be~~ ^{from} the praise given by Pres. Clinton to the "global economy" is ~~the~~ need to raise world social + economic security to, at least, an equal level with military + territorial security. (even making the Sec. Council able to deal with those profound threats to peace in so many regions of the world). We need global mechanisms to manage ~~global economy~~. And at the basis of the necessary vision

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17

Social cohesion ^{should} stands out in the women's agenda. Not only has it been affirmed, ^{though} with other words in the UN Conference of the first half of the 90's, but it ~~is~~ is asked in our region by the astounding figures of poverty + after destitution. In all big cities of E. I have heard reference to those who are not only jobless but even homeless + sleep in the streets. The figures must be repeated loud + clear so that ~~we~~ ^{everybody} may ~~respond~~ ^{feel compelled to face} the challenge. 17% of poor in the EU, to which no country escapes; 6% in Denmark, 11% in Germany, 17% in France and ~~I say it with shame + rage~~ 25% in my own country and also in the UK.



Such figures are unacceptable ^{They} and are not, ^{however,} ~~being~~ exclusively the responsibility of the politicians. They are the result of the pruned global economy and of the indifference + neglect of those who should actively claim their own capacity to ~~be social acts~~ be fully citizens and responsible social partners in all matters affecting the basic civic + social rights of people. It is time for ~~the~~ Europeans to be mobilized agt this flagrant violation of L rights.

IV - Cultural mobility :

18A

By their economic mobility and the double task that they have to carry women in the EU are faced with the dialectical interplay, source of suffering + ^{of} difficult solutions, ~~of~~ ^{between} the immediate + urgent - the sickness of a relative, the need for taking of a child, ~~and~~ a moment that may never come again - and the vision, plan, dream for ~~the~~ the field, ~~administration~~ institution in which they work.

They bring with them, in their unique experience, ~~that is~~ the living contradiction of the short-term and the long-term, one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult problem of ~~governance~~ ^{Fundação Cuidar do Futuro} of our time.



By their economic mobility, women have reinforced in society the dialectical ~~interplay~~ ^{interplay} between the long-term and the short-term.

It is impossible to cope with the problems of today without a vision of the long-term, demanded by the change of civilization ~~with~~ ^{with} which we enter the III millennium.

This is particularly true with the short-term decision-making concerning the European Union. ~~Also~~ Political decisions concern the management of the short-term. In the EU the short-term is indeed very short. As only the E Council has ~~the~~ ^{the final decision-} ~~making power,~~ ^{uncontrolled} ~~decision-making power~~ we are, in fact, dealing with periods of 6 months leadership. (These attempts to start with its preparation or to give an outward appearance of a long-standing exercise of power.)



But indeed, how can a country, ~~is~~ ^{the pre-} ~~looking at the~~ ^{sidency of the E Council,} ~~the~~ ^{long-term and its consequences (the} enlargement of the EU and the global economy), say what is obvious in such a perspective: we have to change, ~~because~~ ^{because} "more of the same won't do"?

~~Moreover~~ ^{But}, The short-term is doomed ^{to} fail if it doesn't follow already now the logics demanded by ^{a vision of} the long-term.

The governance of ~~the~~ contemporary society, and particularly of the EU, asks for two types of actors. While the short-term asks for the immediate answer of the political decision-makers, the long-term asks for the research, the innovation worked out by those whose task is "to think".

Today, the balance between these 2 dimensions ^{Fundação Cuidar o Futuro} is at the heart of any political activity. Their interplay gives the measure of the vision of both groups. (B)

~~Women are obviously part of the two groups. How do they relate the two?~~



One of the ^{greatest} ~~most important~~ ~~task~~ ~~difficulties~~ ²⁰ ~~X~~
for politicians,  rather for governance.

There is a short-term and a long-term
task. In the short-term, governments
and non-governmental organizations
have the ~~the~~ responsibility to make
that social quality a reality. //

*NGO's in legal
framework
of the OPS*
But in the long-time a great deal
of research is needed to ~~cope with~~ ^{find answers}
to the many difficult questions at
stake. // This is why NGO's and
research + academic institutes have
to become social partners both
at national and at European level.

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② It is in these \neq interfaces of
different actors, working within
different time frames that we can
find the solutions for equity and
fairness to all.



↓ The good thing of being in political office is to discover
what we don't know and what others around you
don't know. Advisors are often Cardinal Richelieu,
leading their own way.

Social partners

In a letter to me, my colleague + friend Baroness Shirley Williams, states very clearly what is there to be done in this regard.

8

(...) from the House of Lords

BOTH NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN LEVELS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO CREATE DATA-BASES OF MEMBER NGOS, WITH PROVISION FOR REGULAR UP-DATING.

This is why it would be extremely important that in each country a process be conducted and stimulated by the European Commission.

3. Social Partner Status for NGOs



+ research networks
(including networks of all types)

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RECOGNITION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS BY THE COMMISSION, AND IN PARTICULAR BY DG.5. THE SOCIAL FORUM AND THE RECENT DECLARATION OF DG.23 ARE BOTH TESTIMONY TO THAT. BUT A FORMAL RECOGNITION OF THE NGOS AS A SOCIAL PARTNERS ENTITLED TO BE CONSULTED ABOUT PROPOSED COMMUNITY SOCIAL LEGISLATION, AND TO BE INVOLVED IN ITS IMPLEMENTATION, IS NOT YET ACCEPTED BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, OR BY SOME OF THE COMMISSION'S DIRECTORATES.

+ research networks
+ networks

THE IDEA THAT NGOS SHOULD BE CONSULTED IN KEY AREAS LIKE ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY IS STILL

REGARDED AS UNACCEPTABLY RADICAL, THOUGH A NUMBER OF NGOS PLEADED AT THE CONFERENCES (~~IRELAND, ENGLAND~~) THAT THEY SHOULD BE HEARD ON SUCH MATTERS TOO.

HOWEVER, ^{and research networks} IN CERTAIN MEMBER-STATES, THE PARTNERSHIP STATUS OF NGOS IS BEGINNING TO BE PROMOTED. EXAMPLES OF LOCAL PARTNERSHIPS ADMINISTERING STRUCTURAL FUNDS, OR SPECIAL FUNDS LIKE THE IRISH PEACE INITIATIVE, CAN BE FOUND IN SCANDINAVIA AND IN BOTH PARTS OF IRELAND, SOUTH AND NORTH.

WHAT ALL THIS MEANS IS THAT THE WORK OF THE COMITÉ DES SAGES, ^{we need} AND THE GUIDING NATIONAL CONFERENCES, HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED UP BY CONTINUING ACTIVITIES TO ESTABLISH THE NGOS AS SOCIAL PARTNERS, CO-ORDINATED WITH ONE ANOTHER, AND LEADING TOWARDS THE NEXT SOCIAL FORUM AND THE NEXT IGC.

^{and the research networks} The same can be said to apply to the fostering of networks of researchers dealing with the ^{se} questions raised by the Comité des Sages' proposals and able to find new solutions to the already foreseeable problems.



3. Proposals from all social partners

No doubt that the system has to be changed in its very premises.

It is clear now for all those involved that environmental questions cannot be solved at the national level. And yet the leaders of the UE have accepted to participate in the II Earth Summit without being able, at least, to maintain the commitments they had taken with Agenda 21 in Rio and even earlier, in what concerns ^{commitment} CO₂ in the Hague Conference convened by Record in 89. Here we have to recognize that "something did not happen."

~~Read:~~ The question of work for all is similar to the question of the environment. None of our countries alone can face the globalisation of the economy. But regionally as an E.U. we can. We have the human and the material resources. ~~The~~ Different possible solutions have been proposed. They encompass basically sharing work, sharing time, sharing profit. But if one country, however rich it may be, does it alone, it will be crushed by competitiveness. But if the EU takes a bold step together in this direction it is likely that we may solve the problem, ^{and} ~~through~~ remaining competitive.
 ✓ - the biggest pop., the greatest G.P., the biggest market.

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To move into this direction, a capacity to change from a well-known terms of reference to still fluid ones is a daring gesture. But isn't cultural mobility exactly that gesture? And isn't this fluidity part of w's experience?

I think, in terms of the problems we are dealing with here of a Wangari Maithai from Kenya, of Vandana Shiva, India who certainly made things move in the understanding of the environmental dimension of economics. More boldly even Marilyn Aitken, ^{New Zealand,} challenged the way national accounts are made, leaving in total invisibility unpaid work done by women. And what to say of Hazel Henderson who having been a member of the Committee for Technology Assessment at the American Congress went on developing elements for "economic paradigms in progress"? They ~~were~~ - and women who thought, spoke + wrote like them - were laughed about, listened to ~~condemned~~ complacently... Today, more than 300 economists from all over Europe take the "social factor" of economics, affirming



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that economics ~~is shaped~~ cannot be limited to its financial indicators but stressing that economics involve today "growth, work, social protection, environment", what is, in short, called the social factor within economics itself. Indeed, with the work of ~~some~~ that kind of women "something has happened"...

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What is still to happen then?

24

I am committed to the W's movement because I believe that we can make things happen. Sometimes not in the place where we had intended them to happen; very often not immediately but ~~in a period of~~ still within our life-time.

The EU needs the input of women. But in the same logic of my first words: in the interplay between our experience and our action. One of the leading sociologists of Europe, Alain Touraine, says in his latest book that ~~there is a need for a new principle to build modern society.~~ And he finds it ~~in the sociology of the~~ ^{we need} ~~subject~~ self, leading to "a politics of action defined as a production of meaning of our personal life."

We cannot exercise full citizenship if we ~~do not~~ put into motion ~~our~~ convictions.

~~Our~~ The conviction that however modest, our capacity of cultural creativity is enhanced by the



25
mobility that makes us uncompar
always new worlds + be surprized
by new questions.

Second, The conviction that the multiple exercise
of our diverse solidarities is the best antidote
to the ~~passive~~ role of spectateur, ^{even} of scholarly
analyst and the faith to simple + modest
commitments as actors.

It is upon such attitudes that the
EU can be built, a polity whose configurat-
ion we don't know yet but one that
we will help to shape by being alert
open, active, committed citizens.

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