

At the Corner of Policy and People: Engaging with the
Transnational Activity System of Women's Rights in Germany and
Senegal

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Abstract

This project utilizes ethnographic research methods (interviews and participant observation) and generic activity system analysis to explore transnational women's advocacy in two countries (Germany and Senegal). By interviewing the individuals who conduct this work on a daily basis, this study will illuminate how women mediate discursive policy and public action in order to enact social change in localized contexts. These organizations are sites of transnational feminist praxis that demonstrate the public work of rhetoric. I argue that rhetorical scholars must expand their research initiatives into transnational discourse communities and the social practices involved in those communities. My project aims to explore the diverse strategies involved in transnational women's advocacy work and the possibilities of negotiating multiple constraints on that work. This study seeks to understand the material capacity of transnational rhetorical practices to alter or transform the rhetorical and social contexts of the members of advocacy organizations.

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Dedication

For the struggles, pain, and uncertainty; for the fearlessness, growth, and achievements.

Ad astra per aspera

Table of Contents

List of Figures	viii
List of Tables	viii
Chapter 1 – Globalization, Transnational Feminism, and the International Women’s Movement	1
Chapter 2 – Systems of Governance as Rhetorical: A Study Connecting the Global and the Local	36
Chapter 3 – The Transnational Activity System of Women’s Rights Policies.....	58
Chapter 4: Intersections and Diversions in Advocacy Workers’ Perspectives on Women, Gender, Equality, and Rights.....	103
Chapter 5 – The Middle Rungs of the Ladder: Rhetorical Implications of Connecting the Global and the Local.....	125
Appendix 1.....	145
Appendix 2.....	147
Appendix 3.....	150
Appendix 4.....	151
Appendix 5.....	152
Appendix 6.....	154
Appendix 7.....	156

List of Figures

Figure 1: An Activity System	46
Figure 2: Illustration of Equality and Equity	71

List of Tables

Table 1: List of Policies	59
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Chapter 1 – Globalization, Transnational Feminism, and the International Women’s Movement

The ways gender, rights, and economic development policies are implemented significantly influence power relations across the globe as they relate to women. The relationship between women and the state is complicated by multiple levels of policy, from the local to the international level. These policies – national constitutions, international covenants regarding rights, economic policies, etc.—and their effects, are “bound by transnational networks of power, neoliberal logics, and similar rhetorical practices that function to define and contain women’s agency in the global marketplace” (Dingo, 503). Even in “transnational situations that may seem radically different and disconnected”—for the purposes of this study countries like Senegal and Germany—there are networks of power that work through, within, and against governance systems and policies to mediate women’s agency across the globe.

Walking down the street on the first Friday after I arrived in Dakar, I noticed the brightly colored traditional dresses women were wearing as they went about their day, including the women at the office I visited that morning. As I conducted an interview with an advocacy worker, I asked why the dress code in the city had changed so drastically from the day before. She explained that Fridays were a special day of worship, the day people went to the mosque, and they dressed up for the occasion because under colonial rule it was the one of the few times people were permitted to wear traditional dress. Throughout the interview, she was called away to deal with an upcoming land rights proposal that would be presented to the Senegalese government, and I took note of how many women went in and out of the small office space – employing only 3 women - we occupied in just under an hour. During these periods when she left the room, I thought about the theories and terms relating to transnational feminism,

transnational advocacy, and the relationship between the Global South/Global North, how essential they would be to foregrounding the role of the African continent in women's rights and development policies in the past 60 years¹.

As I sat in yet another office with limited staff and resources in Berlin, I listened as a woman explained her understanding of the relationships between women in the Global North and Global South as it related to climate change. We agreed with Millie Thayer's explanation of these two terms, using "global North to refer to economically dominant countries in North America, Europe and Asia, and global South to refer to those countries considered part of the so-called Third World" (179). Like Thayer, we recognized the inadequacy of this terminology as it related to social, political, and economic differences in these regions, and shared the understanding that the labels are a rough estimation of the longstanding complexities that make up the relationships between entities in the global economy. Throughout our conversation, my goal was to understand how working in an urban center in Europe presented advantages or disadvantages to women's advocacy that were also present in Senegal. Of course, the context was entirely different for me in Berlin: I spoke the language, public transportation was reliable, and there were limited if any religious observances to be conscious of as I conducted my research. When I arrived back in my neighborhood, snow falling on my jacket as I walked back to my flat from the train station, I wondered how I would connect the experiences of the women in Berlin with the women in Dakar.

Conducting research in these two countries, Germany and Senegal, was a way to combine my interest in African Studies and my experience with German Studies. I recognized that if I

¹ I have also adopted the following terminological definitions from Thayer: "'global' to describe phenomena that characterize many regions of the world or whose local roots have lost meaning or become obscured, 'international' to refer to institutions that assume clear national distinctions, and 'transnational' to describe phenomena that link on part of the world with another" (180).

could analyze policies from both countries as part of a larger framework about women's rights and spend time with people working for non-profits and NGOs in both countries, I would have the opportunity to contextualize the relationship between rhetoric and social action in the process of women's rights advocacy. During my undergraduate program I studied German language, history, and culture, even though it was not my major. Years later, as I attempted to research the movement to end gender-based violence in Senegal, I realized that the avenues women used for advocacy were treated as discrete occurrences that were unconnected to other contexts. I could not find the scholarship I was looking for to write effectively about rhetorical practices and social action by women on the African continent. When my planned research trip to Senegal was postponed due to the Ebola crisis, I chose to spend that time in Germany instead because I recognized that doing comparative work between the two countries could provide contrasting examples for the questions I had about relationships between policies focused on women and women who actively engaged in women's advocacy.

The field of Rhetoric and Composition has focused recently on transnationalism and globalization as a way to understand prevalent issues in the discipline such as translingual teaching practices (Horner, NeCamp, & Donahue, 2011), world Englishes (Canagarajah, 2006), and non-Western rhetorics as they pertain to the disciplinarity of Rhetoric and Composition (Horner & Kopelson, 2014). There have also been calls for more academic research involving the concepts of transnationalization and globalization, including Wendy Hesford's claim that "the promise of global ethnography for rhetoric and composition studies lies in the conjoining of ethnographic and rhetorical methods in our ability to engage the local and the global as traveling signifiers bound by material forces" (793). Scholars such as Paula Mathieu (2005) and Linda Flower (2008) have focused on the public work of rhetoric in local spaces, and how universities

and English departments can reach into communities as a way to bridge the divide between the academy and the public. While engaging in the local, public work of rhetoric is a meaningful avenue of scholarship, there are other areas in which scholars can pursue this concept in our research, including national and international contexts.

North American and U.S.-based scholars of rhetoric and communication have also been faced with the overarching questions of how globalization is affecting feminism, gender, and the public sphere across racial lines. Citizens engaging in the public sphere (Gripsrud et al., 2010) face a unique set of challenges when it comes to social action, and disenfranchised populations must navigate uncertain personal and political climates to advocate for change, especially in cases where the (inter)national policies contest the values of local authorities and citizens. Global South conceptions of public spaces challenge international discussions of feminist ideology as it relates to policies targeted toward women in the global marketplace (Dingo, 2008). Focusing largely on U.S.-centered spaces without an acknowledgement of globalization and its relationships with gender has left significant gaps in scholarship about communication, rhetoric, and feminism (Shome, 2006). However, work from scholars like Royster and Kirsch (2012) demonstrate “a growing commitment to shift rhetorical studies . . . to a more democratic and more inclusive one that recognizes transnational constructions of rhetorical enterprises, not just Western ones” (11). This project is part of that commitment, and a growing body of work incorporating transnational frameworks into rhetorical studies.

Researching the connections between the local (i.e. specific places or day-to-day experiences) and the global, not as discrete entities but contested spaces in which intersectionalities² are reconstituted through policy, provides a more nuanced explanation of

² Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw (1989) wanted scholars and society to move beyond “a way of thinking about discrimination which structures politics so that struggles are categorized as singular issues” (167) to a framework

globalization as it relates to gender and race politics. The consequences of politics and government bear on all spheres of what is considered private life. Nancy Fraser (2007) has argued for the investigation of “discursive arenas that overflow the bounds of both nations and states” (7) to understand “transnational public powers” and how to make those powers accountable to “transnational public spheres” (23). In response to criticism regarding this argument, Fraser (2013) further explains that “ordinary people are not just objects of the designs of the great [leaders, politicians, and rulers] but political subjects... they deserve a say in the matters that concern them in common [and] have the capacity to mobilize communicative power both as a means to effect change and as an end in itself” (155). Relevant to the issue of personal development and citizenship is the way our current configuration of private and public produces barriers to our sense of common concern with our neighbors at every level of political organization from the village through the globe.

Additional scholarly work addresses the rhetorical relationships between race, feminism, and cultural studies as they relate to research. Audre Lorde (1984) and Patricia Hill Collins (2000) have done significant work regarding Black women’s activism and the politics of empowerment as it relates to feminist epistemologies, as well as assessed the relationships between racism, nationalism, and feminism (2006). Rhetorical scholarship from Marcia Alesan Dawkins (2012) brought forward the concept of passing, “a series of rhetorical intersections

addressing the “complexities of compoundedness” in which oppression is not seen as merely a sum of multiple discriminations. Crenshaw (1991) defined intersectionality as, “a provisional concept linking contemporary politics with postmodern theory. In mapping the intersections of race and gender, the concept does engage dominant assumptions that race and gender are essentially separate categories. By tracing the categories to their intersections, I hope to suggest a methodology that will ultimately disrupt the tendencies to see race and gender as exclusive or separable” (1244). For the purposes of this project, I utilize the term “intersectionality” to understand relations between race, gender, and global position of the women in the study. The ways in which these women interacted with policy were not informed solely by one aspect of their identity or another, but by the complex and reciprocal interactions of their identities with advocacy, policies, and local concerns. For additional scholarly background on intersectionality, see: Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013) and Crenshaw, et. al (2013).

where tropes and identifications meet texts, personalities, social situations, categories, and hierarchies” (xi); Dawkins explains that “passwords mix a traditional meaning of passing with traditional meanings of rhetoric” (xi-xii) and demonstrate how the two concepts inform each other. Her idea of creating spaces is similar to what I hope to do with this project: create a space called the transnational activity system of women’s rights and map out how policies and advocacy workers “bring the hybrid spaces created by passing into dialogue with each other and the hierarchies in which they are contained” (154). Similar to the critical work of Sarah Banet-Weiser in which she discusses the relationships between race and postfeminism (2007) and the purpose of critique in communication and cultural studies (2013), this project operates in the space between optimism and pessimism regarding transnational rhetorical research³. My goal is to map out possibilities for a project and avenue of inquiry that involves the intersections of critical race theory, cultural studies, transnational feminisms, and rhetorical research.

Throughout this chapter, I will provide the theoretical overview that forms the background for this research project. The description of the study and the specific methodologies I employed will be explained in chapter 2. The project draws on activity systems and genre theory, as well as ethnographic research methods (interviews and participant observation), to “map the terrain” (Fraser, 9) of a “constellation” (8) within discursive arenas I describe in this project as the transnational activity system of women’s rights. First, I will provide a brief overview of different women’s movements from a global perspective, including the international women’s movement. Then I will discuss the relationship between globalization and transnationalism as they relate to governance structures and policy creation. I also propose a description of the ways policies constrain women’s rights and the social actions women’s

³ particularly how the voices of scholars and people of color are utilized in scholarly work.

movements utilize to achieve certain rights. Finally, I address transnational feminism as a critique of globalization and policy constraints for women, describing the ways women have challenged categorizations and boundaries placed on them by governance structures. Each of these theoretical frameworks is key to understanding the activity system I define in chapter 2, the overarching structure for this research project.

The chapters that follow serve to describe a qualitative research project that arose from questions I had about the relationships between policies about women's rights and the people who engage in women and gender advocacy work on the ground. By studying policies that describe or define women's rights and analyzing them with references to people engaged in women's rights advocacy work in two countries, Germany and Senegal, this study explores how women's rights are constructed and enacted at multiple points in the transnational activity system of women's rights. Connecting transnational feminism, law and society, and public policy, this project provides insight into the relationships between policies at multiple levels of global governance and the relationships between the experiences of advocacy workers in Germany and Senegal. This research project is guided by the following questions: How does terminology and framing in policies at the local, national, and international level construct women's rights as a transnational issue? How do these policies enable and constrain the actions of advocacy workers? How might specific rhetoric foster advocacy in one location but discourage it in another?

Women's Movements Across the Globe

Women's movements have faced many constraints and challenges to their progress, and these problems threaten the vitality of the international women's movement. Even though the Decade for Women worked to address multiple approaches to feminism in the international

women's movement, there is more work to do (Chen, 1996). Not only have nationalist movements pitted "Western" and "non-western" women against each other on the basis of gender and femininity (Narayan, 1997), but the "extensive documentation" of women's mobilization in the United States and Europe has all but erased contributions of women from other regions such as North Africa and the Middle East (Moghadam, 2009), "creating the misinformed perception that women's activism globally was a byproduct of Western feminist movements" (Tripp, et al., 61). This misguided focus, according to Margaret Snyder, is exacerbated by the fact that the "global women's movement" is currently "strongest in the global South," but the engagement of women in the global North is lagging (48). Advocacy groups also face pressures about funding (Tripp, et al., 2009): criticisms about whether the organization is driven by Western agendas (76), donors "focused on short-term projects with measurable outcomes" (104), and activists that are unable to clearly articulate their dilemmas and needs due to a dearth of resources available for women's groups and a desire to preserve what little funding the organization has (102). Each of these issues is a practical matter that the international women's movement must come to terms with, alongside unifying participants' perspectives so outside forces perceive the movement as a structured entity.

A key constraint on the international women's movement is knowledge and power differences among participants and outsiders, which limits opportunities for effective advocacy. While scholars are assessing terminology for transnational feminist practices, we lack information about how to successfully integrate "grassroots women's interests in national, international, and global organizing efforts" (Naples, 6-7). Part of the disconnect between scholarly engagement with effective grassroots advocacy practices is the disparate "nature of the institutions and policies of the states under which we live" (Narayan, 38). When women at the

grassroots level organize, the advocacy is not always clearly understood—even by other women—because “while they suffer from the effects of patriarchy, they do not experience equally the ravages of class domination...” (Patton, 47). Essentially, women’s organizations lack resources and access to influence policy (Tripp et al., 2009) and are viewed as “small, loosely structured, and geographically contained” (Chazan, 191). But beyond the outside constraints placed on the women’s movement by outside forces such as dominant political machineries and policies, organizations and activists struggle to find common ground due to competing views about the class struggle and its oppressive effects on women. As a result, the women’s movement has shifted focus in order to be more fully recognized on a global scale and to achieve workable progress.

The international women’s movement has employed a different approach in order to solidify movement progress and recognition on a global scale. From the 1990’s into the beginning of the twenty-first century, the concerns of global women’s movements – human rights and development – blended under a more unified “rights-based approach” (Gaer, 63; Tripp et al., 2009). As part of this revised approach, women asserted their right to be included in mainstream knowledge “as part of human rights” (Meena, 1) and answered the call to “inform and pressure others to improve the status of all women” (Etienne, 170). The idea that “women’s rights are human rights” has been a part of international discourse since the early 1990’s (Snyder, 2006), and has resulted in “the evolution of an international consensus around particular norms regarding women’s rights” (Tripp, 51). Scholars claim that “the women/gender and development movement, including this recent human rights thread, has made extraordinary progress” (Snyder, 44), and that progress can be seen in the myriad way women have achieved particular policy goals. This consensus is not a holistic solution for women’s advocacy on a global scale and does

not guarantee that behavior will change (Adams, 2006), in part because the scope of so-called universal human rights and the application of policies guaranteeing those rights remain ambiguous (Benhabib, 2008, 2009, & 2013). New laws and policies can set the standards that allow activists to pressure local and national governments to follow through on initiatives to protect women's rights and provide opportunities for those entities to pass and enforce policies of their own. Advocates can also pressure policy-making entities to respond to specific needs that are not addressed in policy or push back against policies that do not answer calls to political action.

Women's movements have capitalized on particular rhetorical advantages to ensure political gains across multiple systems of governance. As women push back against the "processes of global capital expansion" (Naples, 12), they assert "the right to have women's needs treated specifically and collectively... to achieve categorical equity" (Jenson, 414). Part of the success for women's activism stems from utilizing gender as a mobilizing concept for women that broadly connects women outside of religious and ethnic ties (Ferree, 2006; Tripp, et al., 2009). Not only have women's activists reframed debates about women/gender and rights, they have partnered with each other and the United Nations to gain leverage and access to both political and practical gains throughout the global system (Snyder, 2006). Especially now, grassroots social movements should be taken "as potentially formidable political responses to contemporary realities" (Ferguson, 87), because transnational feminist solidarities (Desai, 2002) have allowed for political gains at both the global and the local level⁴. A particular case of successful women's activism is on the African continent, where women's movements have

⁴ "While one part of the movement has secured strategic gains for women at the global policy level, another part pursued practical gains at the local level by implementing concrete programmes, working with the specialised agencies of the UN and organising the grass roots" (Chen, 153).

pressured the African Union to advance women's interests as over forty African constitutions were rewritten or revised (Tripp et al., 2009), including when the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (1963) was revised into the Constitutive Act of the African Union in 2000. Pressuring the subregional international organization, while simultaneously organizing at the local level, has allowed African women's movements, as well as the African Union, to take the lead on women/gender rights issues ahead of Europe and other major powers in the global marketplace, which served the dual purpose of answering back to critiques of women's rights movements being directly equated with Western ideology.

In several cases, women's activism appears to be having an effect on national and international policies. Recent women's activism in Poland in response to restrictive abortion laws has essentially shut down the country in recent weeks, with many across the European Union and across the globe wondering what effect the demonstrations will have on the proposed policy measures. However, countries such as Germany have responded with policies specifically targeted toward women, including adding equitable treatment clauses in employment laws in response to mandates from the European Union. Germany has also shifted the focus away from targeting women with policies to providing guidelines or passing laws that enable women's empowerment across the public and private sectors. Contextualizing global women's movements and activism provides a socially informed perspective about the goals of the movements and the outcomes of those social actions in policy. This project connects women's movements (social action) to policies regarding women (rhetorical action) with the goal of sketching out the mutual influences these actions have on each other.

Transnationalism, Gender Inequality, and the Global Order

In order to situate the study of how global policies affect women's transnational activism, it's necessary to understand perspectives on globalization and transnationalism. Globalization actively creates structural inequalities that disproportionately affect women, particularly women in the so-called Global South. Key to these structural inequalities are the relationships between governing bodies at all levels of global governance, from local authorities, to the state, to international governing bodies such as the African Union and European Union, to global organizations like the United Nations. To understand these relationships is to view globalization as a process (Naples, 2002) that is negotiated as part of a system which provides "world level prescriptions for nation-state ideologies and practices" (McNeely, 147). Viewing globalization as a space of "unfettered connection" mischaracterizes the "social relations that selectively constitute global society" (Ferguson, 23). These social relations are informed by multiple actors and actions, and the complexity of those interactions is difficult to unravel.

Identifying these relationships as "complex processes" is useful because it clarifies the "societal dynamics" that complicate the role of the state in globalization (Chazan, 1989). Some authors believe the goal of the state is "to preserve and reproduce the social, political, and economic structures of the ruling class's dominance" (Patton, 47). The state is not always successful in this endeavor due to actors outside and/or within its control; "it may be constrained by the ruling class itself and/or transnational agents, and/or it may be challenged by the subordinate classes." Part of this struggle is "economic restructuring" which promotes "increasing internationalization of capital... and a growing disparity between classes" that unfairly burdens women (Naples, 11). More particularly, "in Africa, independence did not bring about significant change in the social, sexual, and racial inequalities perpetuated by colonialism mainly because many of the economic structures of colonialism remained intact and, in some

cases, became even more exploitative” (Terborg-Penn, 11). States in Africa face economic struggles at the hands of transnational institutions, such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which are further complicated by international norms regarding gender and development. As the role of the state in Africa shrinks in response to economic restructuring, women’s work is increasingly devalued, and state support for programs that directly benefit women dwindles, exacerbating “the conflict between traditional African views of women’s roles and European sexism” that perpetuates gender inequality in the name of globalization. While the foundation of the state as a “bastion of male supremacy” (Chazan, 189) is an overarching issue for some authors, “female opportunities and constraints vary within different state contexts.” This is especially true in Germany and Senegal, where states have been defined and acted on in a multitude of ways by international and global institutions.

Similar analyses regarding transnational policy influences and migration are part of feminist policy and legal scholarship in Europe, particularly in Germany. Tensions between racial and ethnic groups throughout the European Union have brought questions of gender to the forefront of policy discussions at the national and international levels in the region. As Bose and Kim (2009) explain in their edited collection on global gender research, “European nations use gender equality as a norm to differentiate themselves from immigrants from nations with different gendered family patterns and expectations for women’s lives” (259). Many immigrants entering the European Union come from Northern Africa from predominantly Muslim nations that are part of the African Union, an international entity similar to the EU. Differentiation on the basis of gender equality works to justify discrimination and racism against immigrants but is misinformed when contrasted with actual policies from the African Union. There is hope for a more intersectional approach to gender issues in Germany, where “inequality and difference

among women has moved to the center of much contemporary feminist theorizing, and the transnational discussion of sex, gender, and sexuality seems to re-connect with Germanophone debates about societal transformation” (273). Discussions of differences among women, and the terminology used to describe these differences, including responses to inequality in policies at the international (from the African Union) and global (from the United Nations) level are pushing back against the view that Germany and the European Union are the center of and model for best practices regarding women’s rights and gender equality. Consequently, there is a call among German feminists to “scrutinize the transformation of gender relations with regard to economic, cultural, and ecological globalization; [and] study the transnational entanglements accelerated by technological and media-related development, by wars and by hegemonic tendencies in international politics” (274). Pairing the foundations of Germanophone feminism with current policies and work by contemporary advocates in Germany and Africa can provide a rich description of how transnational institutions, international organizations such as the African Union and European Union, and individual nation-states influence policies regarding women’s rights.

Examining the transnational institutions that influence nation-states in Africa as they relate to the process of governance in Senegal can help us “move beyond the myth of the sovereign African nation-state” (Ferguson, 23). In a call for additional research about the relationships between states and international organizations, McNeely (1995) wrote, “By examining international organization as a dynamic institutionalizing mechanism by which world cultural themes are brought to bear on nation-state structures, ideologies, and practice, we may be able to add to our understanding of how the transnational context operated to shape and define states in significant ways” (29). However, the transnational context is only part of the complex

processes by which citizens, states, and organizations interact to create policy and change. The institutions themselves, “the powerful but almost wholly unaccountable transnational institutions that effectively (or often not so effectively) rule large domains of African economy and society” (Ferguson, 23), must be explored in relation to the people they attempt to govern. In some cases, “transnational relations of power are no longer routed centrally through the state” (Ferguson, 106), which makes localized structures that operate outside of or in cooperation with the state equally important in understanding systems of governance and power relations. Especially in Africa, “the influence of the African Union, ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States], and SADC [South African Development Community] on African states suggests that the most important locus of transnational diffusion occurs at the regional and subregional levels in diffusing transnational norms, practices, and strategies” (Tripp et al., 165). In many ways, the African Union and various African states have mediated global pressures by taking stronger stances on women’s and gender rights in response to calls for reform from institutions such as the United Nations.

The political and economic structures in globalization, along with power relations that influence those structures from the individual to the transnational level, complicate the relationships between the state and other organizations seeking equity for women. The influence of gender on the social order has come to the forefront as women mobilize to confront and revise the power relations that limit their agency (Ferree, 2006). Scholars recognize that the needs of women vary according to the diversity of the forms of oppression they face, whether it be directly in relation to men as part of family relationships or societal oppression that stems from economic and political structures that affect the state in relation to the global system of inequality (Gordon, 1996; Jenson, 1995). Tensions between “national machineries” and NGO’s

are exacerbated by the multiple sources of women's oppression due to the disparity between which organizations have power and which have "commensurate capacity" to promote policies that benefit women (Tripp et al., 180). Several scholars have criticized scholarship on women and state policy (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994; Meena, 1992; Chazan, 1989), claiming the focus has been on women particularly, but not on gender as a critically important concept for understanding structural inequality, political power, and socioeconomic relations; they criticize failures to explore how masculinities are formed and perpetuated through policy. The overarching "absence of gender issues in all of these world-system theories" (Grewal & Kaplan, 13), including "stereotypes of Western nations helping Africa 'develop'" (Gordon, 115), actively contributes to binaries between women, the state, and organizations that promote women's and gender issues.

The creation of policies that benefit women or discuss gender involve negotiating multiple constituencies and concerns, and there are multiple gaps in scholarship about the ways women's and gender policies are created and implemented. For example, "most single-country case studies of the adoption of gender-related reforms in Africa only tangentially mention the international factors that have contributed to these changes, yet they have had considerable impact" (Tripp et al., 3). The international women's movement, including conferences in Nairobi (1985), Beijing (1995), and Dakar (1994), pressured governments, especially in the global South, to enact policies that directly addressed women's and gender issues for the first time since the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in the 1970s. The creation and ratification of these policies was a result of collaboration between women from diverse backgrounds and part of an overarching discourse regarding the multiple forms of oppression women face. My project is an attempt to merge case studies of women and gender-related

policies with the international and global contexts surrounding those particular cases.

Furthermore, my case studies are taken from the Global North and Global South simultaneously, in order to map connections and diversions at multiple points in the transnational activity system of women's rights. Tracing both Senegal and Germany's policy engagements with women and gender since the establishment of international norms for human rights can illustrate the relationship between rhetoric and social action within women's rights advocacy work.

Policy as Constraint

Power relations between women and the state are complicated by terminology in policies about women. Policies are part of a globalized process in which power and capital are maintained and transferred across geographic regions. Analyzing policies from a feminist perspective can demonstrate how policies shift "as economic and geopolitical contexts do" (Dingo, 492). Understanding policies as a process provides opportunities for strategic feminist change where women's movements can "link policy machineries with advocacy networks to multiply political effectiveness" (Ferree, 11) as part of the knowledge making process. The problems with policy advocacy and strategic feminist change are similar to those between traditional feminism and transnational or global feminism: disagreement over the character of power relations (Jenson, 1995), and the dichotomy of "feminist" as a "movement-centered" term and "gender" as a more popular "policy-centered concept of governmental intervention" (Ferree & Pudrovska, 264). How policies target and address women, and the terms used in those policies, is important to understanding how women mobilize for change and why studying rhetoric is crucial to the political process.

The idea that power on a transnational scale is a flexible network that can be traced rhetorically through policy illuminates the interconnectedness of the so-called Global North and

Global South. The relationship is founded on economic disparity, where “the development policies of international civil society seem to aid and abet the economic dependency of many countries in the global South on organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, which serve the financial interests of donor countries in the Global North” (Morton, 135). Development policies from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund concentrate power in industrially developed countries, and the consequences of economic dependency for the nation-state as it relates to women are receiving new attention (Bose & Kim, 2009; Peterson & Runyan, 2010). As scholars continue to untangle and analyze the complexities of power and policy in globalization, “there has yet to emerge a full appreciation of the way in which policies of the North affect the South, and the interconnections between our mutual fates and futures” (Tripp, 71). One way to understand these interconnections is to examine a cross section of policies and rhetorically analyze how those policies articulate a particular concept – in this project, women’s rights.

While the scope of human rights policies from the United Nations appears to be far reaching, the applications of these policies are limited in practice – especially when women’s rights are considered as part of human rights. Gendered, patriarchal ideology is prevalent in policies regarding women’s rights and their engagement in global governance structures. The gendered biases inherent in global structures are reconfigured as the social order dictates change (Ferree). Part of this reconfiguration in the past 40 years is the establishment of supranational entities such as the European Union and African Union, and the respective responses to mandates from the United Nations about women’s rights. This extends further to the national level, in which countries from each respective conglomerate respond to the policies crafted by the EU and AU, in some cases ratifying, revising, or outright rejecting positions that work against closely

held ideologies of the nation's population or current ruling class, particular those that relate to feminism. As Etienne (1995) explains, "it is unclear whether the United Nations' commitment to human rights for women is particularly weak in these areas or whether the framework of international law is an inappropriate locus for addressing the particular forms of abuses faced by women" (144). She goes on to argue that part of the weakness in women's rights policies, especially as they relate to human rights, is "United Nations documents define human rights norms from a male perspective" (170), a claim I will take into account as I analyze how women are described in policies in this study. If the rights of the human are written into policy without consideration of the particular abuses women face in the private sphere, "the law further hinders international bodies in providing protection for women" (170). The protection of women from abuses that do not come directly from the state or state actors is then left to national and or local authorities as they respond to international pressures to curtail human rights violations. In these cases, "passage of legislation may also depend on state openness gender-related reform... and the specific interests of those in power to ally themselves with or challenge opponents of gender-related reforms" (Tripp et al., 119). The same countries control the World Bank, IMF, and United Nations, which places a financial incentive on states to enact gender reforms. The reforms that have been the easiest to enact "are more removed from people's daily lives and from local power structures and property arrangements" (Tripp et al., 220). My study will explore how international pressure to make governments more open to participation by women and other similar reforms gloss over the daily realities and needs of women in lower classes, and how policies at multiple levels of governance establish and maintain oppressive frameworks for women's participation and rights in public and private spheres.

Protection for women in the private sphere is not the only concern for scholars who study the implications of international policies for women. Manisha Desai (2002) points to several effects policies have had on women that were connected to public concerns regarding labor, fair wages, and climate change. The “feminization of the global labor force” coupled with the fact that “women’s share of unpaid labor in the home has increased as public funding for... social services has declined” (17) places a significant work burden on women across the globe. In addition, as “environmental damage escalates” women in the South and North face survival difficulties related to their communities losing land for cultivation and the remaining land becoming “dumping grounds for toxic waste.” Accounting for the public/private dichotomy in international policies and connecting that with development policies can provide a nuanced picture of how women’s rights and gender-related reforms are codified in the global system.

Women’s relationships with state entities have shifted as more countries include women-specific language in national policies. The African Union has made a concentrated effort to promote gender equity, which has increased “symbolic political capital” (Adams, 207) for the AU as it establishes a role in the global system. Furthermore, gender equality and “anti-discrimination clauses with particular reference to women” are included in over thirty constitutions in sub-Saharan Africa (Tripp, et al., 108), a feat not matched by the United States and many other industrialized nations throughout Europe. As states confront gender struggles and the “material reality” of mobilization as it relates women (Parpart, 6), the policies that result are influenced by “transnational logics” (Dingo, 493) that cannot be mapped in a linear fashion using a top-down approach. Women are using gender as a framework to separate out their concerns from national goals because it is a more useful term for understanding the structures impeding development and the elevation of women in society (Tripp, et al., 2009). Studying

gender as it relates to policies that include women can use a cross cultural approach to determine commonalities among women's policy goals (Terborg-Penn, 1987), employ postmodernity as a framework to "analyze the way that a culture of modernity is produced in diverse locations (Grewal & Kaplan, 1994), or use a combination of approaches centered on transnational feminist research practices and questions. Key to any study of women, development, and policy is the understanding of how these concepts are linked and influenced by gender in multiple ways as part of a system of inequality in globalization.

Policies that assume or promote gender neutrality actively contribute to the oppression of women and limit women's engagement in development. The effects of gender neutral policies in economic can be more clearly seen in Africa where development, modernity, and globalization are contested and refashioned in response to localized concerns. The rise of microcredit programs from NGOs across the African continent is a testament to women's limited access to financial capital, even in countries such as Senegal that are experiencing economic growth. Structural adjustment policies and foreign aid practices in Africa have failed at multiple levels⁵, even though those in power such as Africa's political leaders and Western development coordinators agree on the importance of women and their absence in economic progress (Gordon, 1996). Many countries in Africa have pursued "gender blind development strategies" which "assume that the impact of development is gender neutral" (Meena, 16) and ignore gender at all stages of the development process. A problem with assumptions of gender neutrality in development policies is that "they greatly favor men at women's expense" (Gordon, 138) and "assure patriarchy's perpetuation" (132). The absence of women at multiple levels of

⁵ Dambisa Moyo's *Dead Aid* (2009) is an excellent discussion of the failures of structural adjustment programs from the World Bank and IMF for African countries. The book presents a compelling set of arguments as to why particular types of foreign aid to the African continent should be stopped completely.

development policy perpetuates a system in which personal experiences are being structured by policies that assume men's and women's experiences are inherently similar within specific cultural contexts (Parpart, 1989). One way African states and the African Union have pushed back against patriarchal biases within governance systems is through the introduction of "gender budgeting" or "gender quotas," which require a certain number of seats in different governing bodies to be held by women. The positive responses to this approach on the African continent have led to the adoption of such practices in the European Union and Germany (Tripp et al., 227). Unfortunately, focusing on increasing the numbers of women in government and leadership positions does not solve larger issues of how globalization disproportionately disenfranchises women across the globe.

The complexity of an analysis of international women's rights and development policies and their respective applications on multiple levels—global organizations, international and national governing structures, and finally local non-governmental organizations—presents a significant challenge. There is almost no consensus over whether human rights is a universal concept, and further dissent regarding how "international supervisory bodies" can effectively promote women's rights as equivalent to human rights (Cerna, 1994). The "hollowing out" of the state as an entity presents several problems when it comes to "transnational governmentality" (Ferguson and Gupta, 2002) and the ability of states - even if they want to ratify and enforce global policies about rights and development - to enforce policies on a more local level. In many cases, disparate religious, ethnic, and racial groups exist within the state "boundary" and do not agree on which policies the government should force on them.

The deconstruction of the global/local and North/South divides is critical to the culture of modernity as it relates to global development and women's rights. Globalization discourse is also

challenged based on the Westernized notions of what it means to be a global citizen when performing advocacy and citizenship as a woman (Naples and Desai, 2002). Transnational feminism as a theoretical framework transforms the way we understand the multiple relationships and structures that influence policies about women. It also deconstructs the systematic ways people and texts work together to create and sustain boundaries for development and identity.

Transnational Feminisms as Critiques of Globalization and Policy

Women across the globe have challenged and changed the ways through which women's rights are discussed. Transnational feminist scholars Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan have challenged "global-local as a monolithic formation" regarding it as an extension of the "colonialism-nationalism model that often leaves out various subaltern groups as well as the interplay of power in various levels of sociopolitical agendas" (11). Their description of transnational feminist praxis requires "comparative work" rather than creating "a theory of hegemonic oppression under a unified category of gender" (18). Creating scholarship on women's rights, and the policies that articulate those rights, requires that researchers engage in the kinds of practices that activists use. Instead of viewing globalization in binary terms, we must instead favor concepts that cut across those boundaries and "look at the actual process [of globalization]... including many who are not education or political elites – engaging in diverse types of integrative work" (Ferree, 4). Part of this "integrative work" is understanding how local activism and policy work back against globalization as a top-down enterprise, and how women push back against "national identity and national traditions" being used to further disenfranchise powerless groups in the national community (Narayan, 35). What scholars should be looking for are the links in transnational activism that are ignored in the global-local binary such as the

“subregional, regional, and international levels” (Adams, 210), pursuing questions about “how that place-in-the-world functions in a wider categorical system” (Ferguson, 5). Interpreting the links that denote transnational women’s activism and its effects requires an integrative rather than a discrete approach to articulations of women’s rights. Instead of viewing grassroots women’s activism as simply localized reactions to national, international, or global systems which limit engagement and rights, this project attempts to connect instances of women’s activism - the middle rungs of the ladder between local and global - into policy frameworks as they are changed or implemented in response to that activism.

For over 40 years, women have unified over issues of oppression while challenging inequalities and power dynamics within their own activism. While the use of “transnational networks” has helped with the way issues are framed and resources allocated at various levels (Ferree, 14), “transnational feminist solidarities” have required reflexivity in how women address the inequalities created as part of their activism (Naples, 33). As women’s issues become more prevalent in the discourse of globalization, “ideas and activism are dispersed into varied local sites...and refashioned as they resonate in contextualized ways” (Desai, 15). More particularly, women are “challenging all forms of oppression that affect their lives” and shifting the focus to “empowerment” as a means to “influence change through control over political and economic resources” (Gordon, 159). By focusing on multiple forms of oppression as part of a system of inequality, women have been able to push back against structures that limit their mobility and agency in the global system. Throughout this study, I will search for ways in which ideas from the United Nations have been dispersed to other levels of global governance as well as spaces where international or national authorities contextualized global policies to suit more localized needs. Furthermore, it is important to look for other relationships, particularly

discussions of intersections of race and class as forms of oppression, that exacerbate challenges faced by women across the globe. Examining the ways in which Senegal and Germany have promoted empowerment in response to shifting global terminology and norms can demonstrate how changing the terms in policy contributes to the effectiveness of transnational solidarity and activism.

The guiding framework for my analysis of women's rights policies stems from transnational feminism. Since the 1980s, feminist discourse has made a "transnational turn" in which scholars engage with feminist ideologies from the so-called Third World or Global South. The longstanding divide between women in the global North and the global South has plagued women's movements and policy developments from the United Nations and other global entities since the 1970's⁶. As the dichotomies of local feminisms in a global context and the "politics of feminism" as it relates to the intersectionality of gender and race attest, a feminist critique of women's rights policies seems unwieldy at best and Western-centric at worst (Basu & McGrory, 1995; Mohanty, Russo, & Torres, 1991). Central to each schism are questions of the terminology required to represent the concerns of women on a global scale as they relate to localized groups and situations. In the introductory section of chapter 3, I take up a discussion of terminologies and definitions throughout policies regarding women and gender across the globe to establish the complexity of the relationships between policies from different governing structures. For the purpose of the current discussion, tracing the ways transnational feminism operates as a critique of the concepts and structures presented earlier in this chapter demonstrates the foundational principles for the upcoming policy analysis.

⁶ This divide has been at issue since the Colonial Era and discussed at length in many articles and collections of scholarly essays (Parpart and Staudt, 1989; Terborg-Penn, Harley, and Rushing, 1987). For the purposes of this project, I am looking at the transnational relationships between women since the 1970s and the influence of those relationships on international policy discourse regarding women.

Scholarly discussions of globalization and feminism are largely dominated by Western ideology, but more recently have been challenged and revised to include more dynamic perspectives. Women in the so-called Third World face multiple challenges as they engage in critical dialogues about feminism and women's oppression. In some cases, overarching feminist discourse centers on "gender inequality and the sexual division of labor" (Gordon, 78) as the primary sources of oppression for women, while ignoring the effects of larger global and economic structures on women. The division between feminists in the so-called Third World is exacerbated by economic disparity because only urban women are seen as feminists – their opinions are then marginalized as a mere adoption of Western values (Narayan, 1997) as opposed to a nuanced adaptation. Another criticism of feminist ideology is focused on "cultural authenticity" and national identity as key values, contrasting them with "imperialist and elitist" feminism (Gordon, 1996). For women in the so-called Third World, and particularly women in Africa, focusing on "cultural contrasts" has promoted a redefined feminism (Tripp, et al., 2009). Instead of viewing feminism in binary terms as it applies to different groups of women, feminists from the so-called Global South have created a terminology and discourse that calls into question all aspects of globalization that limit women's agency and opportunities.

Transnational feminist rhetoric reframes the relationships between policies that constrain and those that enable women's engagement as citizens in the public sphere. New perspectives of transnational feminisms have challenged the ways rhetorical scholars conceptualize discourse in practical settings, such as social movements in South Africa (Bullington and Swarr, 2010), an activist organization in Guyana (Peake and de Souza, 2010), and court cases involving asylum applicants (McKinnon, 2010). These scholars illuminated several issues at hand in the relationships between transnational feminism, gender, and politics. For Peake and de Souza, a

key issue was the “links between activism, social change, and research” (106) and how those links influenced the reproduction of hierarchies in the research process. Their case study of the Red Thread organization in Guyana discussed transnational feminist praxis as it related to academic and activist work between the global North and South. Sara McKinnon described how “participation in publics is constituted by the state” (133), contrasting asylum cases in the United States – women making claims on the grounds of gender-based violence, and gay men claiming persecution based on sexual identity and/or orientation (145). Feminist scholars have argued that traditional conceptions of citizenship and public discourse gloss over the realities of contested spaces in transnational environments (Grewal and Kaplan, 2005). Assessing the relationships between feminist intellectuals and subaltern women (Spivak, 1988) foregrounds how the terminologies of feminism and Westernization complicate progress toward transnational feminist solidarity.

Transnational feminism works against hegemonic discourses of globalization and calls feminists in multiple arenas to critically interrogate practices that ignore the oppressive implications of globalization. Feminist scholars must work to address the “transnational cultural flows” and “material conditions” (Gordon, 17) that influence women’s movements to achieve “transnational feminist solidarity” that does not perpetuate difference and oppression for the “gendered subaltern” (Morton, 139). Through “feminist theorizing and activism” (Desai, 16) feminist scholars can challenge how globalization works to “reinscribe differences through market relations” (Naples, 9). Women in the South, particularly in Africa, have shifted global feminism into a South-centered movement (Tripp, 2006; Tripp et al., 2009). The conceptual changes in global feminism stem from African feminism, which focuses on women as primarily human and dispenses with the separation between the public and private spheres (Terbrog-Penn,

1987). Global feminism and transnational feminism are viewed as more inclusive than traditional feminism⁷ because they account for the multiple dimensions of oppression women face across the globe, including but not limited to race, culture, and class. These elements are key to understanding power relations that define women's agency and autonomy in relation to the state.

Conclusion

Autonomous women's movements across the globe have attempted to unify into an international women's movement since the 1970s in order to advance women's concerns on a global scale. While there are issues within the international women's movement, such as[?] the divide between Western/non-Western ideology, feminist scholars reinforcing oppressive ideologies about subaltern women, and outside forces working to further divide women's advocacy efforts, transnational feminism and the solidarities women are working to create under this framework are mediating those boundaries. Though there is not a unified platform from which women advocate for their rights, transnational feminist practices can bridge the gap between intellectuals and activists, and provide avenues to connect policy and action in the global system.

As I move forward with this project, I plan to analyze how particular policies at national, international, and supranational levels articulate women/gender rights⁸. As a scholar of rhetoric, I

⁷ In much of the reading I have done for this project, global feminism and transnational feminism seem to be interchangeable. Both principles focus on systems of oppression being combined and studied as problematic for women – feminist scholars doing global/transnational work are most interested in practices that cut across boundaries and great common ground for women across the globe. Other scholars (Deleuze and Guattari, 1972) refer to this type of work as “deterritorialization.”

⁸ I limited the scope of my readings for this project in a few ways: 1) I am not addressing postcolonialism because there is a significant body of scholarly work on that subject and it will distract from the connections I am trying to make in this project; 2) I did not include many readings from Composition scholarship because it does not suit the purpose of this project – a rhetorical engagement with social issues. While I value Composition scholarship, it is outside the purview of my project and it is unlikely that my project could inform that section of scholarship; 3) I did not include scholarship in French or German because I am not fluent enough in either language to do so. Not only does this preclude my engagement with African scholars whose primary scholarly language is French, it removed German scholarship about women's issues that would contextualize feminism in the European Union.

am interested in whether these policies are in agreement, how they define rights, and how they work together in the activity system that actively creates women's rights and the connection to women's movements and advocacy work. The international women's movement to date resulted in the creation or revision of many of these policies, and analyzing samples from multiple levels of the global governance system over a quarter of a century can yield meaningful results about what "women's rights" means and why it is still a problematic concept to enforce even when clearly articulated in policy. These policies were not created in a vacuum, separate from global pressures, grassroots protests, and efforts to gain political and economic capital. In the next chapter, I focus on the analysis of these documents as well as interviews and participant observation, before moving into a larger discussion about the implications of the transnational activity system of women's rights.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter II: Systems of Governance as Rhetorical: A Study Connecting the Global and the Local

Following this introduction, I will provide a description and the methodological framework for the project design, and explain my data collection and analysis process. This chapter will also describe the structure of the transnational activity system of women's rights, and the necessity of this framework as it pertains to the design of the study. I will also further explain how the concept of activity systems is appropriate for connecting policies to people as a mirror for rhetorical and social action.

Chapter III: The Transnational Activity System of Women's Rights Policies focuses on policy

documents from the United Nations, World Bank, African Union, European Union, Germany and Senegal as a way to understand the transnational strategies involved in creating policies regarding women, development, and rights. To develop a more nuanced analysis, I consider the

specific references to women, gender, equality, and rights in each document rhetorically and quantitatively. This chapter describes the rhetorical strategies used to contextualize policies from the UN and World Bank for more local interests, and the implications of those policy relationships for economic development.

Chapter IV: Intersections and Diversions in Advocacy Workers' Perspectives on Women, Gender, Equality, and Rights discusses my interviews with advocacy workers from organizations in Germany and Senegal. The purpose of this chapter is to bring the lived experiences of the people working to implement policies and advocate for policy changes to support advocacy work into conversation with my analysis of policy documents from the previous chapter. My goal in this chapter is to privilege the voices of the women I interviewed prior to synthesizing information from the study.

Chapter V: The Middle Rungs of the Ladder: Rhetorical Implications of Connecting the Global and the Local will discuss the results of the study, and how they represent extended possibilities for transnational rhetorical research. This chapter will highlight the significance of transnationalism on the reflexive relationships between policy and activist work, specifically how policies can constrain and enable local actions and how local advocacy efforts can influence policies directly. It will also include a discussion of the implications of being a transnational activist researcher. Finally, this chapter will offer recommendations for future research.

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Chapter 2 – Systems of Governance as Rhetorical: A Study Connecting the Global and the Local

Project Background

This project began because of my curiosity about the presumed universality of women's issues, especially as they related to the global women's rights movement. While preparing to conduct research in Dakar, Senegal, I realized there was not as much scholarship about Senegal in English as I wanted to read for my seminar papers at the time. After conducting a research project about the women's movement to end gender-based violence in Senegal – which included public demonstrations such as the “white march” in Dakar and lobbying efforts from organizations like the Association of Senegalese Women Jurists – I realized that the relationships between policy and action were not only incredibly complex, but could be meaningfully addressed from a rhetorical perspective. The questions I had centered on the reciprocity of rhetorical principles and social action, how textual practices enable and constrain actions at multiple levels and across boundaries. My current research project is guided by the following questions: How does terminology and framing in policies at the local, national, and international level construct women's rights as a transnational issue? How do these policies enable and constrain the actions of advocacy workers?

The Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals from the United Nations (see Appendices 1 & 2 for the full text of both the MDGs and SDGs) demonstrate what appears to be an overarching global commitment to the advancement of women and girls across the globe, and the midpoint of the decade is an important checkpoint for understanding the creation, implementation, and response to these goals from a policy standpoint. There are missing links in how these goals have been implemented, particularly when

it comes to the vast disparity regarding who counts as women and girls across racial and geographic lines. With the African Union declaring 2016 as “The Year of Human Rights with a Special Focus on Women’s Human Rights,” my research is a timely assessment of policies regarding women’s empowerment and how they are applied throughout the African continent. Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly West Africa, is an opportune location for understanding how global and international policies influence women’s and gender rights for Black, West African women⁹. As I explained in chapter one, I adopted Millie Thayer’s terminological definitions for the project as follows: global refers to matters involving many regions across the world, international refers to entities which recognize clear national distinctions, and transnational refers to matters which “link one part of the world with another” (180). This project’s focus on the relationships between global, international, and national policies and local actions provides a transnational context for understanding or evaluating the effects of new policies regarding women’s empowerment coming from the African Union and the European Union. It is also an analysis of the ways governments and other organizations respond to the calls for policy initiatives to address the racialized disparities in women’s rights policies, the strategies advocacy workers use to promote the integration of intersectional women’s empowerment frameworks into policy.

Analyzing and understanding policies related to women and gender issues informs activist practices. To conduct this study, I collected documents from multiple entities at the global, international, and national levels to form a corpus of texts discussing women. I selected texts from the United Nations because this entity controls most humanitarian policies at the

⁹ I make the distinction here between Black women in the diaspora, and white women born on the African continent that claim African origins who are not Black. The racialized dynamics of women and policy are a key frame in this project, as I mentioned in chapter 1 and will further explain in this chapter.

global level. Texts from the European Union and African Union, such as the constitutions and other charters, as well as more specific policies related to development and social issues, were selected as the second level of policies. Senegal and Germany are the case study countries for the project, and I selected the constitutions and other documents at the national level that mentioned women or were targeted toward women. Selecting texts from these different levels was my way of determining if women were conceptualized similarly in different areas of governance, if women treated as a homogenous group across multiple policies. Alternatively, I wanted to know if certain policies attempted to address the diverse needs and contexts of women, and whether the priorities of the women I interviewed influenced or aligned with policy mandates. The list of the policy documents I analyzed is in Appendix 6. In order to connect the policies with practitioners, I interviewed and engaged in participant observation of advocacy workers for women's issues in both Senegal and Germany. The individuals I interviewed worked for the following organizations: Tostan, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the Association of Senegalese Women Jurists (AJS), Deutscher Frauenrat, Die Feministische Partei die Frau, and Agisra; I will provide more detailed descriptions of the goals for each organization in chapter four. The interviews were recorded on a GoPro; for more information on the interview protocols, please see Appendix 7. All data collection and research methods have received approval by the University of Kansas Human Subjects Committee (Project #2800).

The decision to focus on two countries arose from my interest in pursuing a transnational approach for this project. After beginning my research in Germany in summer 2015, I decided to conduct site visits to organizations in Senegal and Germany in a separate research trip in January and February 2016. I wanted the two countries, and the respective international organizations

they were part of, to be contrasting cases for engaging with my research questions. The racial dynamics and the treatment of women in both countries are vastly different. Choosing a transnational feminist approach, rather than a single case study approach, was an opportunity to view both locations in relation to the global economy of bodies and international public sphere of advocacy and policy work without re-producing a scholarly discussion on post-colonialism in Africa while incorporating intersectionality as an “analysis-in-progress” (Carbado, et al., 304) into transnational feminist work. I was encouraged at a conference to switch from Germany to France so I could focus more on post-colonial research questions and literature, but I do not believe that strategy is the best way to clearly address the questions I am trying discuss. Understanding the discursive practices of women’s rights advocates in these two countries will enrich the study by providing contrasting perspectives of how international policy discourse is applied in varying social contexts. This project is directly addressing the “top-down” or “West/non-West” dichotomy in policy discourse. By letting the women in this project speak to what they wanted from various standpoints, this study can reveal how their needs and goals are translated into policy – or not – and how policies address or erase the needs of women from various contexts.

This design of this project combines methodologies and perspectives from multiple disciplines. I believe utilizing transnational feminist methodologies as proposed by Sylvanna M. Falón (2016) – “negotiating imperial privilege, building a research community, incorporating multilingualism, and highlighting liberatory models” (189) – provides an avenue for research that decentralizes hierarchies of power and reflexively interrogates existing power structures as they operate in disparate environments. Combining theoretical approaches with practitioners’ perspectives on how to address problems in a community is similar to the activist ethnographic

research approach described by Ellen Cushman (1999). Juxtaposing transnational texts focused on women's empowerment and gender issues—including those from global organizations such as the United Nations, and international organizations such as the African Union—can demonstrate how the rhetorics in these policies construct women's identities across multiple contexts, specifically as they apply to countries in the African Union and the European Union. This approach can also illuminate whether these policies serve women's interests at all, or if they respond to particular sets of interests of a specific time period. Combining analyses of policies with the perspectives of women who are the target for the policies and who must implement those policies on a local level complicates the overarching goals with practical perspectives.

More particularly, this research project seeks to address the discrepancies between policies authored from similar organizational standpoints and advocates on the ground who work to address the needs of women in more localized contexts. Analyzing how policies discuss economic growth and development, especially as they relate to women and gender, is key in understanding the cross-sectional ways transnational policies shape political action and social change. The relationships between these policies form a data set that can provide tools for future policy creation and successful application of those policies.

Methodological Frameworks

Analyzing how international policies are taken up in various locations can tell us something meaningful about which uptakes secure which types of action on the part of the people the policies target. For example, I am interested in whether policies from the United Nations have a direct effect on the language used in policies from other governing bodies; I am interested in the discursive relationships between policies about women's rights. Some questions I will ask throughout the textual analysis are as follows: Is language in policies about women and

human rights from the United Nations mirrored in the policies of the European Union, Germany, the African Union, and Senegal? What are the similarities and differences between the language used to describe women and their rights in the policy documents? Are there elements included in some policies, but not others? How do the dates these policies were written or ratified explain which entities are influencing policy decisions and questions related to uptake and action? How do rhetorical or textual patterns reflect cultural patterns or patterns of behavior (or advocacy/action)?

One of the most useful concepts for understanding the relationships between international policies about women's rights as part of a transnational activity system stem from Rhetorical Genre Studies. As rhetorical practices are taken up in different ways and by multiple agents, rhetorical responses are generated in a recursive process of creating meaning and establishing boundaries. Rhetorical theory and genre theory, when applied to different types of public discourse, contextualize social action. Collections of scholarly essays have discussed the relationship between public modalities – metaphors for understanding public life¹⁰ – and citizenship (Brouwer & Asen, 2010, 3), and how scholars can go about the “public work of rhetoric” in local contexts (Ackerman & Coogan, 2010). The relationships between these three concepts – public modality, citizenship, and the public work of rhetoric – can be used as analytical tools to understand how public policies affect people and how those policies work together across contexts.

As an interdisciplinary analytic lens for rhetorical scholars, transnationalism engages publics, texts, and citizenship through “network methodology” (Hesford and Schell, 2008). For the purposes of this project, the avenues by which women's rights are written as documents,

¹⁰ i.e. sphere, network, web, etc.

revised or applied to national or local policies, and enacted on a daily basis by members of a particular society is what I call the “transnational activity system of women’s rights policies.” The reciprocal relationship between local, national, international, and global governance structures connects policies to influences and constituencies simultaneously. Viewing globalization as a system where individual citizens engage simultaneously with larger entities, and using policies (not necessarily laws, but constitutions and documents created and ratified by global organizations) as the genres people interact with or react against, is an interesting avenue for scholarship about the relationship between rhetoric and social action. It is in these contested spaces that there is room for transnational rhetorical research to contextualize and revise theories related to transnational policies and advocacy. In the section that follows, I will define the particular elements of the transnational activity system of women’s rights as the foundation for analysis in this project.

Establishing the Transnational Activity System of Women’s Rights

In many cases, genre is either a catalyst for or the centerpiece of social action. Anis Bawarshi points out, “Genres, in short, constitute the very exigencies to which their users in turn rhetorically respond, so that the genre function does not simply precede independently of us but is rather something we reproduce as we function within it” (355). Pushing beyond rules for engagement, genre theory and uptake provide an avenue to describe the ways in which policies are taken up by various policymaking entities and how those uptakes push back against or reinforce gendered and patriarchal ideology. While some scholars have used genre theory in relation to writing practices within the university (Wardle, 2009) or specific professions (Devitt, 2004), more recent scholarship has called for applications of genre theory that take into account not only the texts being examined but the social practices they enable, constrain, and otherwise

enact in particular systems. These conceptions of genre foreground it as a concept of social and symbolic action in which texts and people work together to co-create societal boundaries.

Part of how people get along is through the ways they take up each other's work and ideology for specific purposes. As practitioners involved with women's rights – on the global, international, national, and local levels –advocacy workers, and the policies they engage with, can illuminate how people and texts work together in generic activity systems to mediate social action. The perspectives of these individuals throughout the current project informed my perspectives about the spaces between rhetorical and social action. The theory of uptake describes rhetorical and social action as texts and people simultaneously interact to create meaning. Anne Freedman defines “uptake” in two key ways—a “bidirectional relation” between texts (2002) or “a discursive event intricated in unnumbered historical series” (2012). The first is more concerned with how texts are related to one another, claiming that genre is most usefully understood through the relationships between two or more texts rather than rules governing a single text. The second definition points to the reflexive ways texts relate to each other as part of social action (Miller, 1984). In my view, both definitions are appropriate for analyzing transnational publics engaging global discourse about women's rights.

A separate but related approach to assess the complex relationships between texts, contexts, and practitioners is the concept of intertextuality, defined by Charles Bazerman (2004) as “the explicit and implicit relations that a text or utterance has to prior, contemporary, and future texts” (86), as well as the relation each text has to the texts surrounding it. He goes on to discuss the multiple levels from which texts can draw information and be influenced by their surroundings or history: explicit social dramas, available resources of language (cultural references, etc.), and familiar beliefs, issues, ideas, and statements (87). The purpose of the

current project is to illuminate the relationships between policies, and highlight the multiple levels from which the policies draw information and incorporate that information into new mandates.

Coordinating analyses of the transnational impact of policies at multiple levels of governance and the relationship of policy to social action requires multiple methodological frameworks. Central to my analysis is Charles Bazerman's methodology for analyzing genres as part of systems (2004), which is useful for understanding how organizations and individuals negotiate rhetorical boundaries in transnational public spaces. Policies at every level (global, international, national) function with and for each other within what Bazerman calls a "genre system" which is "comprised of the several genre sets of people working together in an organized way, plus the pattern of relations in production, flow, and the use of these documents" (318). His methodological approach can be used for a variety of texts that affect daily life, and the current project is an attempt to account for the effectiveness and problems inherent in this type of analysis as well as to test it in a non-U.S.-centric context. The complete steps to Bazerman's methodological approach are as follows:

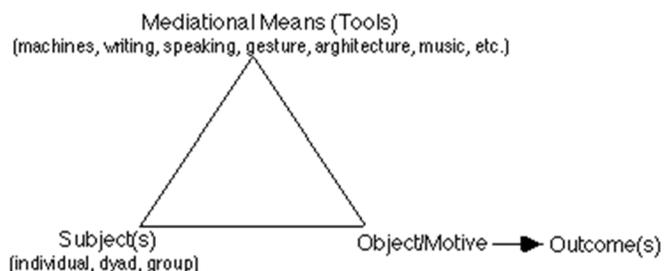
- (1) To go beyond the features we are already aware of, we can use a variety of less obvious linguistic, rhetorical, or organizational analytical concepts to examine a collection of texts in the same genre.
- (2) To consider variation in different situations and periods, we can extend this sample to include a larger number and a range of texts that still might be considered within the same genre.
- (3) To deal with the problem of characterizing genres that you may not be familiar with or that others may understand differently than you do, you need to gather information and not just about the texts, but about other people's understanding of them.
- (4) To see the full range of implicit practice

you can do ethnographic research in the workplace, classroom, or other site of text production, distribution, or use. (325)

For the policy analysis portion of this project, I looked for rhetorical and organizational analytical concepts throughout the documents that were not simply related to standard policy structures. I also purposefully selected texts from the creation of the United Nations, through the establishment of the African Union and European Union, including documents up until the year 2015 to “consider variation in different situations and periods” over the course of almost 70 years. I also included policies mentioned by the women I interviewed, such as the Gender Parity Law in Senegal. However, even Bazerman acknowledged that studying a genre system, using the first two steps of the above methodology, was not a sufficient analysis and claimed, “Considering the activity system in addition to the genre system puts a focus on what people are doing and how texts help people do it, rather than on texts as ends in themselves” (319). The last two parts of his methodology elaborate on how to account for activity systems, which encourages scholars to engage with both texts and people as a way to understand the relationship between rhetoric and social action.

Activity systems can only be fully understood if the texts within the system are analyzed in relation to each other as well as the people who actually use them. David Russell’s (1997) “systems version of Vygotskian activity theory” (507) demonstrates how to consider activity systems as part of Bazerman’s genre/activity system methodology. Russell claims, “written genres help mediate the actions of individuals with others in collectives to create stabilized-for-now structures of action and identity” (511). Russell’s illustration of an activity system and the components involved can be seen in the following diagram:

Figure 1: An Activity System (Fundamental Unit of Analysis of Social Practices)



As a bridge between theoretical and practical approaches to rhetorical criticism and transnational feminism, my project utilizes policies from global, international, and national entities as examples of how different governmental entities construct women's rights as a transnational issue. Some policies will focus primarily on economic development and others specifically on gender issues and women's empowerment, though both types of policy encompass a great deal of information regarding gender, rights, and economic development in their respective contexts. Policies about women's rights at global, international, and national levels are linked but also enact multiple frameworks, ideologies, and terminologies. In order to evaluate these linkages as they related to the construction of women's rights, I analyzed policies from multiple global and international organizations, as well as policies at the national level in Germany and Senegal to determine how they influenced each other, if at all. I also explored how these texts constrained and enabled action on the part of organizations and advocacy workers who focus on women's and gender issues, and how the work of women on the ground influenced policies over time across the system. Following Russell's model and the figure above, I have broken the elements of the transnational activity system of women's right into three categories: subjects, tools/mediational means, and object/motives → outcomes.

Subjects

In the cases of global and international policy, the actions of individuals at various meetings over the course of the past 40 years have culminated in the actions (creation and ratification of policy documents) of collective assemblies of several nations in the United Nations, European Union, and African Union. The ratification, or lack thereof in some cases (including the United States not ratifying CEDAW), has created a transnational structure for women's identity and rights that is stabilized-for-now as the policies are then taken up by nation-states across the globe in parliaments and other localized governing structures. For the purpose of this project, the subjects of the transnational activity system of women's rights are the entities defined in the global governance structure below.

United Nations¹¹ → Six main bodies and 193 member states; I will focus on policies from the General Assembly; the Security Council; and the Economic and Social Council, which encompasses the Commission on the Status of Women (www.un.org). The UN is what I conceptualize at a “global” entity.

African Union¹² → Eleven organs and 54 member states; The AU serves as a unifying governing body for the continent of Africa through which countries can create international policies while maintaining sovereignty over the nation-state. It was established after 32 African states achieved independence from colonial powers (<http://www.au.int/en/history/oau-and-au>). The AU is an “international” entity for the purposes of this study.

¹¹ For a complete chart of the United Nations System, see Appendix 3.

¹² Though there is no formal diagram of the African Union structure, see Appendix 5 for a brief description of the operating structure from the *African Union Handbook 2016* (<http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/auhb-2016-english-pdf-final-january-2016.pdf>).

European Union¹³ → Eight separate entities, 28 member states; The EU and the AU operate similarly, governing member states while they simultaneously maintain sovereignty. The EU is also considered an “international” governing body in this study (https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu_en).

There are some additional points to note about the organizations I am focusing on in this study. While the African Union and European Union are parallel governance structures on their respective continents, they are not directly controlled by the United Nations. Instead, member states of both the EU and AU are part of the UN – and those memberships are not inherently mutual (Morocco is a member of the UN but not the AU; Turkey is a member of the UN but not the EU; West Sahara is a member of the AU but not the UN). Senegal and Germany are both part of the UN, and the AU and EU, respectively. Including both of these countries in this study is an attempt to illuminate how international policies about women’s rights are taken up, revised, rewritten, co-opted, or ignored in different countries. Much of the literature on globalization and transnational feminism focuses on the dichotomy of the Global North and South – I am interested in how this divide does (or does not) show up in policies about women.

Including the voices of people actually engaging in women’s rights advocacy, is key for Bazerman’s goal to discover a full range of implicit practice for a genre (or genres within a system). In addition to the entities defined above, I have included individual subjects as part of the transnational activity system of women’s rights, in conjunction with Bazerman’s call for individual perspectives on how activity systems work on a personal level. The goal was to provide additional context through interviews I conducted with members of organizations

¹³ There is no official diagram of the European Union structure, but see Appendix 4 for a description of how the EU policy structure works.

working to promote women's rights in Senegal and Germany. The interviews were transcribed (and in one case translated from German to English) and then the data was coded using Atlas.ti software. I also coded my field notes from the interviews and the time I spent observing activities at the organization sites in Atlas.ti. The names of all study participants have been changed to protect anonymity. The people I interviewed worked for Tostan; CODESRIA; and the Association of Senegalese Women Jurists (AJS) in Senegal, and Deutscher Frauenrat; Die Feministische Partei; and Agisra in Germany. Information from seven participants is included in the study, and will be discussed in chapter four¹⁴. The participants had all been working in advocacy organizations for at least two years, and some as many as twenty years. Each of the participants also had the equivalent of a Master's degree in the U.S. education system, and some were working toward additional certifications or doctoral degrees. There were four participants from organizations in Senegal: three Black, Senegalese women, and one white, expatriate worker from Europe. In Germany, there were three participants: two of the participants were white German women, born and raised in the country; the third participant had migrated to Germany from West Asia decades prior, and considered herself to be German¹⁵.

Tools/Mediational Means

¹⁴ I am including information from my field notes from interviews and observations I conducted with Senegalese women working at advocacy organizations. The interviews to which those notes pertain have not been transcribed due to technical issues with the video files and the fact that two of the Senegalese participants would not allow me to record them; the other participants' video files were damaged to the point where no audio could be salvaged. I will discuss this issue in more detail as part of the conclusion chapter for the project.

¹⁵ This participant and I had an interesting exchange at the outset of our interview. When I asked where she was from, she explained that when Germans asked that question of migrants, it was because German people did not believe that migrants were truly German. So while she explained that she was from Cologne, she also pointed out that the better question to ask of migrant women in particular was "Where do you go back?" because it allowed women to identify as German but also explain where they would visit if they left the country – especially since she (and others) considered Germany to be home rather than the place they migrated from. For these reasons, though she was born and raised in the so-called Middle East, this participant is also identified as German.

For this study, I have chosen a corpus of approximately 20 documents from the United Nations, African Union, European Union, Germany, and Senegal¹⁶. The dates of the documents range from 1948 – 2016. Each institution’s foundational document is included (constitution, charter, etc.), as well as policies regarding citizen’s or human rights. Each level of governance – national, international, and global – has some sort of fundamental human rights document, which is a good source of comparison within and between levels of governance. For example, the United Nations enacted International Convention on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1966, which comprises the “International Bill of Rights.” Starting with the documents articulating fundamental human rights provides a starting place from which to assess how women are [not] included in rights policies. Instead of looking at documents regarding rights *and* development, I have limited the policies to those that focus on human and women’s rights. Including documents about development was too cumbersome for this project, but would definitely be an avenue for future research. Focusing only on human rights policies and women’s/gender policies provides a similar starting place for each of the entities in the study. The exception to this limitation is Germany. Not only is the entire site for women and family only in German, but most policies I found that mentioned women and rights were directly connected with the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. In addition, this particular ministry in the German government is particularly focused on development in Africa and Senegal – a relationship I hope to explore as part of my conclusions for this project.

The policies I examined differ in audience, scope, context, and goals. Establishing a diverse corpus of texts that discussed women, gender, and rights allowed me to address how

¹⁶ For a complete list of the documents I analyzed, see Appendix 6.

these texts interact with each other and established meanings that transcended boundaries of the nation-state, civil society, and the dichotomies of public/private and global North/South. By examining texts as part of a system, I moved beyond the basic generic conventions of policies, and instead focused on the myriad ways their framing and terminology were used as platforms for institutional action, transnational public discourse about women, and activism.

Object/Motive → Outcomes

As part of the textual analysis, I will discuss the object/motive of particular policies, and attempt to relate the motives of particular policies where appropriate. One type of analysis will be a genre analysis that focuses on the salient language choices in the documents (mentions of women, gender, rights, etc.) and rhetorical features of the policy genre. Using Atlas.ti software, I will code the documents using women and gender as the primary codes and then identify repeated concepts that are connected with women and gender. I pay special attention to mentions of rights or equality, while cross examining the policies for additional key words.

Key to the textual analysis are the relationships between particular policies in the transnational activity system of women's rights, and how the relationships between particular subjects in the system influence the motives of the policies. The analysis will also focus on intertextuality, how they influence each other, and how they all relate to, revise, or otherwise complicate the systems controlling women's rights. While each subject in the activity system has a particular set of objectives and motives, from the global level of the United Nations to the individual level of the advocacy workers in Senegal and Germany, the object of the policies and actions remains similar in that they are all attempting to address women's rights. Throughout the analysis, I also seek to address the language utilized to articulate the goals of particular policies, following the timeline of when the policies were written, the level of governance at which the

policy was written, and connecting emerging themes with perspectives from advocacy workers about those themes. More particularly, I look for ways in which the timing of particular policies and the levels of governance at which policies were ratified influenced the language choices and goals of the policies.

Conclusion

This project argues that there is a transnational activity system of women's rights policy discourse and engages in an analysis of different elements throughout that system. In this chapter, I have described the methodological framework for the upcoming chapters. I outlined Charles Bazerman's methodology for analyzing genre systems and activity systems, expanding on his work with David Russell's activity system triangle. After sketching out the different elements of the transnational activity system of women's rights, I explained the process of analysis for the project. While the document corpus is not exhaustive of the policies regarding women's and gender issues, and the interview transcriptions in this project are limited to a handful of participants, this study makes a meaningful contribution to literature about activity systems, transnational feminism, policy analysis, and Rhetorical Genre Studies. Considering that the primary goal for this project is not generalizability but rather sketching out multiple aspects of the transnational activity system of women's rights, the key issue is including participants that contextualize the policy analysis as part of the foundation of the project. In the Chapter 5, I discuss the limitations of my fieldwork and implications for future research or follow-up work with my participants. Chapter 3 focuses on RQ 1: *How does terminology and framing in policies at the local, national, and international level construct women's rights as a transnational issue?* As I begin the policy analysis in the next chapter, I stress the importance of the activity system that I am sketching. Triangulating the policy documents, my field notes, and the interview data

from the participants provides a rich description of the transnational activity system of women's rights and how people and policies mutually influence each other.

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Chapter 3 – The Transnational Activity System of Women’s Rights Policies

The purpose of this study is to explore the complicated interactions between policies – or lack thereof – across multiple levels of governance, how advocacy workers interpreted these policies for local purposes, and how the practices of advocacy workers at the local level pushed back against or influenced policy language and goals. I wanted to trace policies from the United Nations all the way through the system to women’s rights advocates in Dakar, Senegal and Berlin, Germany in order to demonstrate how terminologies and framing might be linked throughout the system from people to policy. To understand the transnational activity system of women’s rights, adopting Bazerman’s and Russell’s models of activity systems, I reviewed policies from the United Nations, African Union, European Union, Senegal, and Germany, and interviewed advocacy workers involved in women’s advocacy in Germany and Senegal in early 2016. The full list of policies in this analysis grouped by governing entity is in Appendix 6, and a chronological list of the policies follows in Appendix 8. The focus of this chapter is to analyze policies and answer RQ1: How does terminology and framing in policies at the local, national, and international level construct women’s rights as a transnational issue?

To understand women’s rights as a transnational issue, I consulted and analyzed approximately 25 policies (see Table 1) that discussed women, rights, gender, and equality as key principles from multiple levels of global governance. Analyzing policies from different entities and countries over the course of 70 years diversifies the textual corpus and provided opportunities for multilayered analyses of women’s rights in different locations and time periods. For the purposes of this project, organizations and countries are categorized in three different levels based on their target populations for policy initiatives and their relationship to the system of global governance based on the definitions of global, international, and national from Chapter

2. The United Nations is a global organization, the European Union and African Union are international organizations, and Senegal and Germany are national entities. The policies from each of these levels of governance share certain aspects, but they also come from different cultural backgrounds and time periods; the date range of the policies is from 1944 – 2015, so the analysis also demonstrates how policies regarding women and gender have evolved over time while simultaneously pointing out the underlying themes that have not changed at all.

Table 1: List of Policies	
Level of Governance	Name of Policy (in chronological order)
Global policies (United Nations)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); 1948 ❖ International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); 1966 ❖ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); 1966 ❖ Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); 1979 ❖ Security Council Resolution 1325; 2000 ❖ Sustainable Development Goal 5: Gender Equality (SDG 5); 2015
International policies (African Union and European Union)	<p><i>African Union</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ African Charter on Human and People’s Rights (Banjul Charter); 1981 ❖ Constitutive Act of the African Union; 2000 ❖ Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol); 2003 ❖ Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA); 2004 ❖ African Union Gender Policy (AUGP); 2009 ❖ Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want (Agenda 2063); 2015 <p><i>European Union</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union; 2000 ❖ Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (European Constitution); 2005

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015; 2015
National policies (Germany and Senegal)	<p><i>Germany</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Act Implementing European Directives Putting Into Effect the Principle of Equal Treatment, Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency; as of 2009 ❖ Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (German Constitution); as of 2010 ❖ Gender Equality in German Development Policy (German Development Policy); 2014 ❖ The Policy on Gender Equality in Germany, Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs; 2015 <p><i>Senegal</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Code de la famille Sénégalaise (Sengalese Family Code); 1989 ❖ Constitution of the Republic of Senegal (Senegalese Constitution); January 2001 ❖ Instituant la parité absolue Homme-Femme; République du Senegal (Gender Parity Law); 2010

For each of the policies, I searched for the following terms: *women, gender, rights, and equality* to begin the process of answering RQ1. I coded recurring themes as they emerged in relation to those four terms across the documents collectively, marking points of difference and conversion at different levels of the system. The current chapter is broken into sections according to the salient themes that emerged during my coding process: *equality; empowerment; discrimination; economics and violence; human rights; peace and security; and maternity and family values*. Discussing these themes throughout the chapter – comparing and tracing how different levels of governance (Senegal and the European Union; the United Nations and the African Union, etc.) address them – situates the framework of the transnational activity system of women's rights as a backdrop to the experiences of advocacy workers in Chapter 4. Before diving into the thematic analyses in the chapter, I want to foreground the terminology utilized in the policies within the

study. Specifically, I want to address explicit definitions of terms within the policies that inform how I discuss the salient themes throughout the rest of the chapter.

Terminology

Incorporating explicit definitions of women, gender, and sex was a strategy in policy documents at each level of the activity system. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003) – hereafter referred to as the Maputo Protocol – defined women as, “persons of female gender, including girls” (4), and the AU Gender Policy (2009) expanded the policy discourse related to women in by defining gender as “social and cultural differences between men and women, boys and girls...” (26) and sex as “the biological state of being male or female. Sex is not equal to gender” (30). Following these two documents, the Gender Equality in German Development Policy (2014) provided an additional definition of gender, claiming that it was a “social category” starting with “inequality between women and men, the hierarchical relationship...” and ending with “a distinction... between biological sex and social gender” (7). Though it was not clear whether Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development was intentionally mirroring the policy practices of the AU, the dates from these three documents show a clear trajectory of including explicit definitions as a foundational strategy for policies involving women's and gender issues. The distinctions between these three terms – women, gender, and sex – in AU policy, paired with the explanation in the German Development Policy, point to new understandings of women and their identities as constructed in policy documents over the course of approximately ten years. With more attention focused on gender, these policies are working together to expand the definition of “woman” beyond biological sex, which could open the possibility for trans+ individuals to be protected in the future.

The primary terminological difference between the Maputo Protocol and the AUGP are the different approaches to gender. In the former, women's identity is tied to their sex and gender simultaneously. Adopting the definitions from the AUGP, "female" being defined biologically and "women" being viewed as social/cultural difference, the contrast between the two documents is that the AUGP claims sex and gender are not equivalent, while the Maputo Protocol views them both as part of "woman." Both the AUGP and the German Development Policy were written after the Maputo Protocol, which suggests that policy makers in multiple regions facing different social, religious, and economic constraints became more concerned with differentiating between sex and gender in policy language. Describing women as related to gender, which is linked to social and cultural differences, expanded the scope of the policies beyond discussing or legislating "women's issues." Using gender in development, government, and economic policy as a framework connected women and their needs to the fabric of the society the policies sought to address. Terminological differences between policies – whether women, gender, or sex was used as the guiding frame for the physical bodies the policy sought to address – is only one aspect of the much larger themes that emerged from the policy analysis in this project.

Equality, Empowerment, and Gender Mainstreaming

Global Policies

Establishing equality between men and women was a foundational value during the creation of the United Nations, and the language used in policies from the UN during the creation of the International Bill of Rights in the 1960s has been adopted and extended by multiple actors in the transnational activity system of women's rights. The International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966) mandated "fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women, being

guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work” (3). Though women are not explicitly mentioned throughout the rest of the document, the creation of equal working and pay standards between men and women became a cornerstone in global norms for women’s equality. It soon became clear that establishing equality between women and men in policies at the global level did not provide substantial mechanisms for women to be equal on practical terms with men at the international and national levels. Building on the foundations of the International Bill of Rights, the Convention for Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) established two key provisions regarding women’s equality: “the principle of equality between men and women in their national constitutions” (Article 2), and that “State Parties shall accord women equality with men before the law” (Article 3). Other language throughout CEDAW mirrored provisions from other UN rights policies, including equal pay and employment rights for women (Article 11), and explicitly established women’s rights to political participation (Article 7). With few exceptions¹⁷ CEDAW was ratified, becoming part of the UN models for policy language regarding women’s equality at international and national levels and establishing a precedent for women’s rights being rhetorically constructed in reference to equality with men.

International Policies

Women’s equality was mentioned in the two key documents which form the framework for governance in the European Union, the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe (EU Treaty, 2005) and the European Charter of Fundamental Rights (ECFR, 2000). After the first article of the EU Treaty, Article I-2 established “The Union’s Values,” including “equality

¹⁷ The United States and Palau signed but never ratified CEDAW, and Holy See, Iran, Somalia, Sudan, and Togo never signed the document (<http://indicators.ohchr.org/>). Several countries also expressed reservations, including how the UN would enforce violations of the policy (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reservations.htm>).

between women and men” (17), and Part III – “The Policies and Functioning of the Union” stated, “the Union shall aim to eliminate inequalities, and to promote equality, between women and men” (61). At the outset, the EU Treaty promoted equality between women and men as a core value of the EU, and as integral to the overarching functions of the EU and the ways in which the Union would “support and complement the activities of the Member States” (99). Interestingly, throughout the rest of the treaty, the equality to be established between women and men was mostly described in terms of labor and employment. Article II-83 claimed that “equality between women and men must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay” (52); Article III described “equality between women and men with regard to labor opportunities and treatment at work” (99) and promoted “full equality in practice between women and men in working life” (102). The EU Treaty also mandated, “European laws or framework laws shall establish measure to ensure the application of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of women and men in matters of employment and occupation, including the principle of equal pay for equal value” (102). For the European Union, the key element in establishing equality between women and men was to mandate that equality in the workplace through legal protections and requiring equal pay. However, even with equality provisions in the EU Treaty specifically targeted toward issues in the workforce, as of 2014 the average pay gap between women and men was 16.1%¹⁸. The focus on establishing equality in the workforce is also documented in the ECFR, where the only mention of women and equality was in Article 23, “equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay” (13), language mirroring the equality principles outlined in the EU Treaty. Not only were there no overt references to global norms for rights or connections to

¹⁸ Eurostat available at: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Gender_pay_gap_statistics

previous policies in either document, valuing women's work equally is a perspective unique to EU policy, as there were no other specific provisions or mandates for how women's rights and equality should be framed by EU Member States until 2010.

Toward the end of the Millennium Development Goals framework, the European Commission (the executive branch of the EU) created the EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development (EUGAP) to address systemic inequalities between women and men. Contrasted with the openings of both foundational EU documents, the introduction begins, "The goal of equality between women and men and the promotion of women's rights are enshrined in the international conventions and commitments" including CEDAW, the Millennium Development Goals, and "the fundamental value and principle for the European Union" (3). Instead of setting up the EU's values as the key component or focus of the document, the EUGAP began by connecting global goals and policies on women's rights and equality with EU founding principles, an element that was missing in the initial documents. Conceding that "with only five years left to the MDG deadline of 2015, we are still not on track to meet our targets set out in the Millennium Declarations of 2015" (3), the EUGAP discussed how "women and men need to be equally involved in setting goals and elaborating strategies and plan so development objectives are gender-sensitive" (9). This perspective was a recognition that policies up until almost the end of the MDGs were largely informed or disproportionately informed by male perspectives and unresponsive at to gender sensitive needs and solutions in policy creation. Conversely, the AUGP pointed out, "gender perspective is considered as a transversal theme at the level of AU Mission statements" (7). At a time when the EU recognized the need for more responsive gender policies through shifting perspectives across governance

structures, which would involve including more women in decision-making roles, the AU centered itself at the heart of aggressive responses to gender inequality in governing bodies.

In recognition of the inequalities women faced on the African continent, the African Union expanded the African Charter on Human and People's Rights from 1981 to explicitly mandate best practices for State Parties with regards to women's equality through the Maputo Protocol (2003). After establishing key terminology for the document, Article 2: Elimination of Discrimination Against Women requires State Parties to "include in their national constitutions and other legislative instruments... the principle of equality between women and men and ensure its effective application" (4), which went beyond the in-name-only requirements from other policies. Instead of merely asking for equality to be written into national policy, the Maputo Protocol pushed for "application" of the policy and set the responsibility for effectiveness of national policy on the State Parties. Requiring language in national law is important, but this article ensured that State Parties in the African Union could not add language into national constitutions with the caveat that the language was required by the AU, which would give State Parties with qualms about women's equality a way to appease both the AU and national constituencies. The Maputo Protocol in Article 2 explicitly stated that equality in policy was not enough and that action was required for multiple reasons, including but not limited to the inability of governance structures from the Global North to effectively implement the equality principles established in 1948 by the United Nations. The Protocol also enacted specific political and economic provisions such as requiring State Parties to ensure that "women are represented equally at all levels with men in all electoral processes" (11), "enforce and adopt legislative and other measure to guarantee women equal opportunities in work and career advancement" (13), and "promote the right to equal remuneration for jobs of equal value for women and men" (14).

These policy mandates demonstrated the necessity for the African Union to establish both political and work place equality for women as fundamental to the structure and function of State Parties and the Union as a whole.

Connecting African values with global norms regarding women's equality was a substantial component of the African Union Gender Policy (AUGP, 2009). The policy opens with the acknowledgement that the African Union's approach "has been informed by UN frameworks and specific needs of the African Continent" (2) in the "international globalized context" (8) where "new concepts and development approaches have materialized to ensure increased equality between men and women." Opening the AUGP with this framework reconnects the African Union's policies on equality with the United Nations, connects global norms with African values, and alludes to the connections between international and global approaches to creating and maintaining women's equality. Good governance was also connected with "the aspiration for equality between men and women" (12) in Africa, further demonstrating that African values were closely aligned with global norms and distancing the African Union from charges of falling far behind counterparts in the Global North like the European Union. Reciprocity between African values and global policies regarding women's equality had the dual effect of normalizing women's equality for AU State Parties that would otherwise challenge it as a "Western value" and removing pressure from global entities such as the World Bank and IMF that make financial decisions on the African continent based on the existence of good governance – the AUGP was both a social, political, and financial move for the AU. The commitments point out that the African Union Commission was the only international body that had equal representation between men and women—"the most advanced global commitment to equal representation between men and women in decision making"—and that an "enabling

environment exists for AU Organs, RECs [Regional Economic Communities] and Member States to achieve MDG3 [Millennium Development Goal] Gender Equality by 2015” (14). In addition, the AUGP was created in 2009, a full year before the European Union Gender Action Plan. Not only did the AUGP bring equal representation between women and men in governing bodies to the forefront of mandates for the African Union, the AUGP set the African Union apart from and ahead of global norms for women’s equality. By applying the AU Parity Principle – that is, requiring equal numbers of men and women in governing bodies – to the highest level of governance on the African continent, the African Union firmly established itself as a leader in women’s equality and modeled best practices for how African countries could increase women’s representation in politics.

Gender and Equality

International Policies

As the United Nations shifted from the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, women’s issues were still at the center of many global goals. Multiple goals mentioned women specifically, and SDG5: Gender Equality, promoted the idea that “gender equality is a fundamental human right” (2). Reactions to the Millennium Development Goals – particularly MDG 3: Promote gender equality and empower women – by international entities resulted in the incorporation of gender perspectives into policy frameworks as crucial elements. Most of the policies focused specifically on gender equality or that utilized the concept as a primary framework were drafted after 2000. The African Union Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA, 2004) opened with a connection to Article 4(l) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2001), and then points to “other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental,

and international instruments” (1) regarding human and women’s rights. After demonstrating a commitment to African and international norms regarding women, the Declaration went on to explain, “noting with satisfaction that our decision on gender parity is a historic achievement that does not yet exist in any other continent or regional organizations...” the goals of the AU were to “expand and promote the gender parity principle” throughout the AU (2). The “gender parity principle” was the decision by the AU to have equal numbers of men and women on the African Union Commission, and the AU wanted State Parties to follow suit. The Maputo Protocol (2003) required Member States of the AU to “integrate a gender perspective in their policy decisions, legislation, development plans...” (5) and to “introduce the gender perspective in the national development planning procedures” (18), which demonstrated a shift away from the idea that development was a gender-blind or neutral concept that benefited all genders equally.

Revised perspectives about gender and women’s involvement in policy stemmed from “growing recognition of the leadership role of women in all spheres... including their participation in decision-making at the international regional and national level...” (8). Without the African women’s movement and the overt engagement of civil society actors, much more progress would be left in the realm of policies reflecting the need to incorporate women’s voices and gender perspectives more effectively across governance structures. As the AUGP discussed, “policy environments that enable civil society organisations, women organisations, and interest groupings to dialogue and build bridges for addressing gender equality” (16) were essential for strategic thinking on the African continent. Incorporating gender perspectives into AU policy frameworks and requiring the integration of those perspectives for Member States foregrounded the African continent as a key leader in gender policy and perspectives. The AU was the first

international government entity to achieve gender parity, setting the AU ahead of the EU and the United Nations as an example for gender equity in governance.

The AUGP also gave significant attention in the appendices to differentiating between gender equality and gender equity, but these concepts are not explicitly defined in the other policy documents. The appendices in the AUGP are the Key Concepts – ideological framework for the policy (26) – and then an alphabetical Glossary of Terms used to define “technical terms” related to the process of gender mainstreaming (27). Of the five Key Concepts, the second and third are gender equality and gender equity, respectively. Gender equality as a Key Concept is, “the absence of discrimination based on gender in the allocation of resources, benefits, and access to services” (27). Gender equity is then defined as, “the just and fair distribution of benefits, rewards and other opportunities between men, women, girls and boys” (26). These two appendices – the Key Concepts and Glossary of Terms – appear to serve different functions.

The Key Concepts are the framework for the AUGP document, while the Glossary of Terms is the comprehensive breakdown of all terms related to the process of implementing the guidelines laid out in the AUGP. For both explanations of gender equality in the Key Concepts and the Glossary of Terms, the focus is on the “absence of discrimination,” but a key difference is whether the discrimination is on the basis of sex or gender. Using both gender and sex in a discussion of eliminating discrimination reinforces the overarching idea that sex is not the same as gender and discrimination on the basis of either violates the policy. In both definitions of gender equity, “fairness and justice” are core values. No other policy document in the study explicitly acknowledged the importance of equity in contrast with equality. To demonstrate the difference between equality and equity for this particular project, I have included the following illustration:

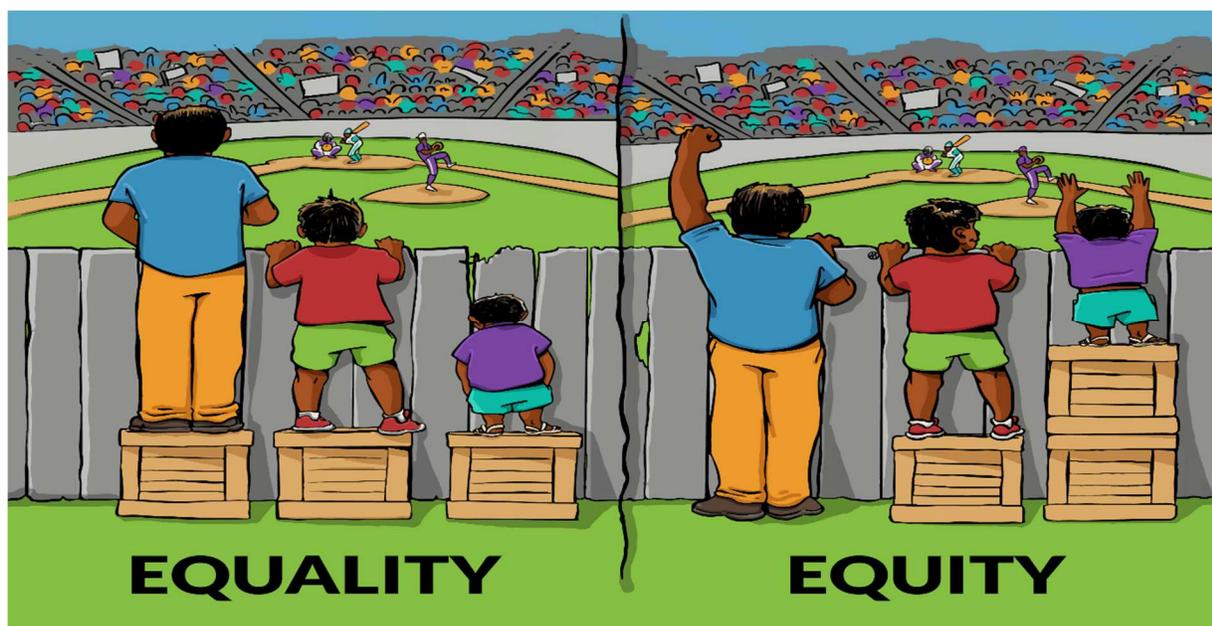


Figure 2: Illustration of Equality and Equity

The illustration indicates that equity is about each person having the number of boxes to give them a fair view. In the case of the AUGP, “fairness and justice” were foregrounded as integral to the framework of the policy and its implementation. Incorporating these ideologies into the policy laid the foundation for additional opportunities and benefits to be granted women with the goal of providing women equitable opportunities to men. While the definitions of gender equity operate within the gender binary, it was an important step in how policies advocated for and outlined additional opportunities for women and girls. Fairness relates to benefits, rewards, and social services, whereas justice relates more closely to the idea of responsibility and the legal system as it relates gender-based violence and land access.

National

Leaders in Senegal included specific language about women’s equality in multiple national policies, aligning with mandates at international and global levels. The Preamble to the Constitution of the Republic of Senegal (2001) claimed the adherence of the Senegalese people to Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), Convention to End All Forms of

Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), and African Charter on Human and People's Rights (Banjul Charter, 1981). Article 7 included the clause, "Men and women shall be equal in law" and guaranteed women and men legal access to positions and functions (section 5), which implemented the mandate from the Maputo Protocol to include the principle of equality between men and women in national constitutions. The Senegalese government also passed the Gender Parity Law in 2010, which required that political parties slate equal numbers of women and men candidates in elections and institutions in Senegal which were fully or partially elected to have equal numbers of women and men. "Gender Parity Law" is an approximate translation, since the French version of the law only discussed parity between women and men (*la parité absolue homme-femme*) and mandated representation of both "sexes" in candidate lists for elections (*Les listes de candidatures sont alternativement composées de personnes des deux sexes*). The specific phrase in the "Article premier" or first article was "la parité absolue," meaning absolute parity. The "motifs" section of the law connects the Gender Parity Law with Article 7, section 5 of the national constitution, the Maputo Protocol (2003), and CEDAW (1979), establishing the necessity and place of the law within the transnational activity system of women's rights. As of November 2016, women make up 42.7% of the national parliament, making Senegal the sixth highest ranked country for women's representation in national parliaments¹⁹. Connecting the Gender Parity Law with global norms, recent policy mandates from the African Union, and the Senegalese Constitution situated the law as appropriate and necessary to uphold the values in those documents for the Senegalese people.

National policy in Germany included basic equality provisions for women, but lacked additional specific measures responding to recent concerns about women's equality in practice.

¹⁹ Interparliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>; confirmed by World Bank Data: <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?end=2016&locations=SN&start=1990&view=chart>;

German law reflects equality between women and men as a founding principle of government; the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany (1949), stated in Article 3, “Men and women shall have equal rights. The state shall promote the actual implementation of equal rights for women and men and take steps to eliminate disadvantages that now exist” (15). Since then, Germany created new policies regarding women’s equality in response to international mandates and changing global norms. In 2006, the German government passed the “Act Implementing European Directives Putting into Effect the Principle of Equal Treatment,” which transposed multiple directives from the European Union into German law, two of which required equal treatment for women and men in employment, goods, and services. While the language in the German law did not mirror the language from the EU Policy – “women” were not mentioned in the anti-discrimination or equal access provisions – the Act created an Advisory Council for the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency. The Advisory Council was required to have 10 members, and “equal numbers of men and women” (18), and was the only governmental entity required to have parity between women and men (there is no current policy requiring equal representation of elected entities in Germany). Considering that Senegal required full parity across slated party candidates, as well as in the national parliament and government offices, Germany’s provision for parity on an advisory council with no legislative capacity seems significantly lacking. As of November 2016, women make up just 37% of the nationally elected federal body (*Bundestag*), a percentage that has stayed steadily in the 30s since 1999²⁰. Germany is ranked 24th in women’s representation in national decision making bodies, far behind Senegal and several other Member States of both the African Union and European Union²¹.

²⁰ Data from the World Bank:

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?end=2016&locations=DE&start=1990&view=chart>

²¹ Interparliamentary Union: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>

Deficiencies in women's equality in Germany stem from policy gaps, particularly from the international to the national level. Several inequalities were the focus of "The Policy on Gender Equality in Germany" (2015), an analysis of policies and progress in Germany regarding women's equality conducted for the EU. The analysis noted that "equality between men and women is proclaimed by Article 3" (8), but the abstract of the analysis pointed out that European legislation was the main cause of legal improvements for women, not German national policy. Some of the key findings focused on employment, likely because women's equality in the workforce were the primary policy mandates at the international and national level. Remarking that "equality between men and women in the labor market is guaranteed by law; however de facto equality between women and men in gainful occupation has not yet been realised in Germany" (15), the analysis also chastised Germany for having the "highest and most persistent" pay gap between women and men in the EU at 22 percent. Clearly, the EU felt that Germany had a long way to go in achieving equality between women and men. The analysis also pointed out that even though several policies existed in Germany establishing women's equality in the workforce, the effects of those policies were not fully realized and women were still largely underrepresented in governing institutions.

Just before the analysis from the EU was released, more concentrated and strategic approaches to women's equality in German policy were in the works. In 2014, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) released "Gender Equality in German Development Policy," a strategy paper for revising Germany's approach to development. Stating the strategy's connection with CEDAW (1979), the summary claimed, "equal responsibilities and an equal say for women and men are a goal and a guiding principle" (3) and continued, "an equitable say for women and men in decision relevant to them is a

fundamental human right” (10). Using the term “equitable” in the BMZ strategy was different than other policy approaches in the past because former policies established “equality” for women in governing bodies or in employment statutes instead of equity. Another key moment for the framework was the statement that “the inequality between women and men is discriminatory and undemocratic. It is part and parcel of the patriarchal power structures which shape it in the first place” (6). At the outset, the BMZ strategy mentioned “patriarchal power structures” as a fundamental issue for women’s empowerment, equality, and equity with men in policy and practice. Mentioning patriarchy as part of societal norms and connecting it with the term “undemocratic” is a new approach to discussing women’s equality in connection with policy and politics, and the BMZ modeled the language to demonstrate that oppression of women, even if connected with societal norms, was undemocratic and did not uphold German ideals or global norms for fundamental equality and rights.

Instead of following global policy norms, the BMZ included language reflective of policies from the African Union, pushed beyond equality as a guiding principle, and pointed out that an “equitable say,” - in which women’s opinions on women’s issues could carry more weight in arenas where both parties had equal representation or men’s opinions did not receive more weight in policy generally speaking – was the ideal structure for decision making. Surprisingly, the BMZ strategy paper recognized the value of the work on gender equality in the African Union, but claimed that policy documents only demonstrated “progressive attitudes” as opposed to being “binding in international law” (12). This perspective of AU documents on gender equality as merely informative for policy dialogues on development is borderline hypocritical, considering that “Germany’s performance in achieving gender equality is mediocre (“Policy on Gender Equality in Germany,” 5) and “the main driver for progress in gender

equality in Germany has been the EU's binding legislation on equality" (6). Even within the EU, an international governance structure in the Global North with misplaced hierarchical views about its leadership role in global gender equality norms, Germany was viewed as lagging behind other Member States because national policies promoting gender equality stemmed from specific mandates from the EU regarding women's equality in employment.

Gender Mainstreaming

International Policies

Throughout the analysis, it appeared that the goals of the AU, EU, and Germany shifted away from strictly equality or rights to an integrative approach known as "gender mainstreaming." The African Union Gender Policy (AUGP) defined gender mainstreaming as, "the process for assessing the implication for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes, in all areas and at all levels" (28) and the German Development Policy (2014) claimed that gender mainstreaming was, "applying a gender perspective in all development policy strategies and projects" (3). Each policy reflected the importance of a gender perspective in policy creation and implementation, in contrast with the historical practices of focusing on poverty or development projects with no recognition of the disproportionate effects of those programs on women. A primary goal for the AUGP was to promote gender mainstreaming based on "African values and experiences" (18) as the AU pursued "a multi-sectoral approach" (19) "to institutionalise gender mainstreaming and establish a Gender Management System (GMS)" (4). The GMS was described through particular frameworks "gender analysis, gender training, monitoring, and evaluation" (22). For the AU, engaging in gender mainstreaming was not primarily a response to sociocultural needs of Member States or coercion from civil society actors. Commitment 1 from the AUGP referred to

establishing stable political environments, and called on Member States to “understand the implications of non-compliance in monetary and programmatic terms to gender mainstreaming policies and programmes as evidenced in international/UN socioeconomic indicators, standards and targets” (14). Not only was the engagement of the AU and Member States at the policy level critical to investment and cooperation from the UN, promoting gender mainstreaming on more practical terms than at the policy level was a way for the AU to gain political leverage at the global level. The EUGAP followed suit, and recognized that “gender mainstreaming constitutes the backbone for professing on the gender equality agenda” (8) and “gender analysis provides the basis for gender mainstreaming” (9). In this particular case, the AU and EU both agreed that gender analysis was a key component of gender mainstreaming because both regions lacked information about the differences in opportunities between the genders.

National Policies

While Senegal does not have documents specifically geared toward gender mainstreaming, Germany’s engagement with the concept has not resulted in substantial progress. Whereas the BMZ strategy paper claimed that “gender mainstreaming is embedded in the political and institutional frameworks and the structures of all organisations of German development cooperation” (21) and “the government regards equality policy as a cross-sectional task bound to gender mainstreaming” (“Policy on Gender Equality in Germany,” 2015), there were several deficits in Germany regarding gender mainstreaming. There were no explicit mandates about particular rights for women under the law, and “women are underrepresented in decision-making, both at the political and economic area” (5). Even with the quota law in December 2014 requiring specific percentages of women on boards for private companies²²,

²² 30% by 2016 and 50% in 2018; from the Library of Congress: <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/germany-gender-quotas-for-large-companies-and-for-federal-bodies/>

women still lacked substantive representation across the public and private sector: “the proportion of elected women at the German Bundestag and at federal and state level... remained about one third for over ten years” (10). In a country at the center of the EU, an international entity that views itself at the forefront of gender equality and mainstreaming, there are still significant gaps between pronounced initiatives and women’s engagement in the public and private sectors.

Empowerment

International Policies

Gender equality was connected to women’s empowerment in policy documents from the African Union and European Union. The AUGP (2009) aimed to “ensure that all political declarations and decisions are geared towards the elimination of persisting barriers that militate against gender equality and women’s empowerment” (15), and the European Union Gender Action Plan (EUGAP, 2010) stated, “gender equality and women’s empowerment (GEWE) are essential to the attainment of international development goals, and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)” (3). Both documents, released within a year of each other, recognized the reciprocal character of these two concepts and used them as the fundamental framework for establishing international goals beyond the end of the MDGs. Part of reason behind utilizing reframed terminology was the cooperation of civil society and the African women’s movement, and pressure from women’s organizations on the African continent to move beyond specific UN policy mandates. The primary goal of the AUGP was to “promote a gender responsive environment and practices and undertake commitments linked to the realisation of gender equality and women’s empowerment in Member States, and at the international, continental, regional, and national levels” (10). Recognizing the multiple levels in the transnational activity

system of women's rights, the AUGP demonstrated an awareness of the complexity involved in streamlining policies regarding gender equality and empowerment while advocating for those concepts across multiple levels of governance. It also mandated, "all AU Organs will address gender equality in their policy and programme" (5). Alternatively, the EUGAP did not share the same recognition of its role in the activity system, instead focusing on the EU's role as separate or above other entities. Not only did the EUGAP discuss "deepening the EU-UN-wide cooperation... at the field level" (6), it also pointed out the EU would reinforce its role as a leader in gender equality "in development cooperation with partner countries," and remarked that gender equality was required to "achieve overall economic growth in developing countries and reduce poverty" (3). Throughout the document, the EU is constructed as an entity to monitor gender equality in areas outside the EU, and at no point are actionable items within the EU mentioned or mandated. While both the AUGP and the EUGAP appeared to have similar goals at the outset, the AUGP was much more prescriptive in its mandates while the EUGAP reaffirmed the EU as a leader in gender equality. The EUGAP established Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE) as the primary terminology for addressing the MDGs regarding women, and established an Operational Framework for evaluating objectives described in the Plan. The primary goal of the Action Plan was to "strengthen the lead role of the EU in promoting GEWE in development" (12), a goal that was complicated by policy frameworks already in existence in the African Union. Policy examples from this study point to the AU as a global leader in gender equality and women's empowerment in policy.

At the national level, language regarding women's empowerment was integral to the German Development Policy (GDP, 2014). In the GDP, "empowerment – i.e. target measures against gender-based discrimination and disadvantages, and specific activities to strengthen

women's rights" (3), was the second part of a new three-pronged approach to development. The AUGP defined empowerment as:

The range of options that create opportunities and reinforce individual and collective capacities to exercise control over the life of individuals and offers them more choices. Empowerment of women is linked to having awareness of themselves, of knowledge, of their skills, their attitude and aptitude to have a voice. (26)

In both policies, there was an acknowledgement of the need for individual and collective action to support policies initiatives, but also to advocate for and implement women's rights at local levels. Empowerment was linked to women's agency, individual choices and the ability to push back against discrimination through a strengthening of women's voices in the community. The key difference between gender mainstreaming and empowerment is the level at which activities were carried out, and the actors involved. More particularly, "unlike gender mainstreaming, empowerment is a sociopolitical process initiated 'from the bottom up' – i.e. originating from within socially disadvantaged groups – and supported by social movements" (GDP, 8). Though these two policies operated at different levels, one at the international and the other at a national level, they were responding to each other within the transnational activity system of women's rights. The United Nations foundational documents on women's rights were a historical marker for both the AUGP and the GDP, but considering that the GDP was written after the AUGP, it is reasonable to note that policies from the Global South regarding women's and gender rights may be shifting the construction of those rights and focus of policies in the Global North, even at the national level.

Discrimination

Global Policies

During my analysis of the policies, the recurring theme of eliminating or prohibiting discrimination against women emerged. The disconnect between policies from the UN and the limitations women faced at national and local levels brought about the need for more prescriptive action from the UN in the form of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. CEDAW was the first global policy from the United Nations directly related to women or women's issues. Before this policy, the International Bill of Human Rights formed the basis for establishing equality – broadly conceived – after World War II. At the outset, CEDAW connected with the founding document of the UN, “Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women...” (1). The policy then cited the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as precedents for CEDAW before pointing out that despite previous global policy measures, the United Nations was concerned that “extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,” while “recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity... and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity” (1). The connection back to the foundational ideals of equality between men and women in the International Bill of Human Rights established discrimination against women and women's issues as a key component in policy frameworks and actions taken by the United Nations and member states. After defining discrimination against women, Article 2 stated, “States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women” (2). Additional details

were provided throughout the rest of the document as to particular actions that could be taken by State Parties, especially legislative measures.

Definitions of discrimination were featured in policies at each level of the activity system, including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979); the African Gender Policy from the African Union (2009); the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (also known as the Maputo Protocol, drafted in 1995, signed in 2003, and implemented in 2005); and the Gender Equality in German Development Policy: Cross-Sectoral Strategy from 2014. Article I in CEDAW – a global policy from the United Nations written during the Decade for Women – established the definition of discrimination against women as, “distinction, exclusion, or restriction made on the basis of sex... irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality between men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms...” (2). The rest of the document went on to delineate the responsibilities of member states who signed, including establishing equality for women in legislation, government participation, employment, and education. Key to this definition of discrimination is women's relationship to men, and their marital status as a boundary to equality. Both of these relationships are mentioned before women being related to human rights and fundamental freedoms, which points to the overarching tone of the document as geared toward mitigating fundamental differences between the sexes. Many countries, as well as the African Union and European Union, have since created policy initiatives and amended laws in response to ratifying CEDAW that go beyond establishing baseline definitions of discrimination.

International Policies

Eliminating discrimination was a featured element in many of the policies in this study, and some policies did not specifically mention women as the target group for protection. The Banjul Charter (ACHPR; 1981) stated, “Every individual shall be entitled to the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms recognized and guaranteed in the present Charter without distinction of any kind such as race, ethnic group, color, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion...” (2), which established the baseline for human rights on the African continent that included women. When the Maputo Protocol was drafted, the introductory clauses pointed out that Article 2 of the Banjul Charter founded the principle of non-discrimination based on sex, building on the foundational document of the AU to establish specific rights for women and protection against discrimination. Though the EU specifically mentions discrimination against women specifically in policy, the Equal Treatment Act in Germany (2006) focused on preventing discrimination based on “sex” and “sexual orientation” and did not use “women” or “gender” as key terminology. In 2001 the first article in the Constitution for Senegal “[ensured] equality before the law for all citizens, without distinction as to origin, race, sex, or religion” (2) and granted “all Senegalese nationals of either sex who have attained the age of 18 years to enjoy civil and political rights” (3). The difference in terminology pointed to different interpretations of best practices for preventing discrimination toward women in policy language. Including “sex” instead of “gender” or “women” removed the sociological implications of those terms and cast the issue as one based on biology, not choice or lifestyle. However, the documents included language prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation and “other status” which expanded the protections of the policies beyond biological considerations and opened the possibility for protections for LGBTQIA+ individuals.

Policy language regarding elimination and prevention of discrimination is currently a key feature in women, gender, and rights policies at multiple levels of governance in the transnational activity system of women's rights. The rhetorical move to include measures preventing or responding to discrimination against women was present in both international and national policy documents in this study, suggesting that there is still a great deal of work to do in eliminating discrimination against women in practice. Drafted in response to a meeting in 1979 and ratified just two years after CEDAW, the Banjul Charter (1981) was formulated as a foundational human rights document by member states of the African Union (then called the Organization of African Unity), including the provision, "The state shall ensure the elimination of every discrimination against women... as stipulated in international declarations and conventions" (6). Establishing a political body such as the African Union required both an adherence to policies from the United Nations and a recognition that the newly established OAU could be a leader for human and women's rights as a way to combat colonial control on the African continent (Banjul Charter, Preamble). The African Union, after establishing policy ties with the United Nations, also included additional measures in the Maputo Protocol (2003) to respond to the needs of women on the African continent.

Authors and signatories of the African Union's Maputo Protocol (2003) established a historical tie-in with CEDAW as a way to legitimize the policies and prescriptions laid out in the rest of the document. The definition of discrimination from CEDAW was copied almost word for word in Article I(f), where "discrimination against women" was described as "any distinction exclusion, or restriction or any differential treatment based on sex and whose objectives... destroy the recognition, enjoyment, or the exercise of women, regardless of their marital status, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in all spheres of life" (3). The commonality between

these two definitions of discrimination is the connection of women's rights with "marital status." This connection to the United Nations policy on discrimination against women worked relationally in the transnational activity system of women's rights; copying the definition of discrimination associated the African Union as a partner with the United Nations in promoting women's rights. Pointing out that over 30 years after the foundation of the African Union, the Protocol stated "women in Africa still continue to be victims of discrimination and harmful practices" (3) which demonstrated a need for an addendum to the original human rights protocols established in the Banjul Charter. Article 2 of the Maputo Protocol, "Elimination of Discrimination Against Women" stated, "State parties shall combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative, institutional and other measures... [and] support the local, national, regional and continental initiatives directed at eradicating all forms of discrimination against women" (4). The provisions laid out in the Maputo Protocol, though mirroring the language of CEDAW regarding legislation and the responsibilities of member states, explicitly referred to efforts on the African continent to eliminate and prevent discrimination against women, but did not connect those efforts with global initiatives or policies. Two possibilities for the absence of a global connection in this document are: the African Union was relying on the Preamble from the Banjul Charter – to which the Maputo Protocol was an addition – to connect the policy with global norms established by the United Nations, or the African Union was establishing a more focused view of discrimination against women framed within an African context that was not recognized in previous global policies or initiatives.

Human Rights

Global Policies

Another emerging theme in the policy analysis portion of this project was the connections between human rights and women's rights, and how this connection points to ways women's rights were constructed in policies across the transnational activity system of women's rights. Women's rights were initially set up within the initial global commitments to human rights. In the aftermath of the World War II, the United Nations drafted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948. The Preamble stated, "The peoples of the United Nations have in their Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women" (1), clearly binding women's rights with the rights of the human as a fundamental principle in the newly founded federation for global governance. Less than twenty years later, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) were ratified as what is now called the International Bill of Human Rights. Both documents establish the "equal right of men and women" to the provisions in the respective documents in Article 3. CEDAW went on to "establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men" (3), which mandated that State Parties in the UN include women in national policy. Establishing CEDAW as partner to and a continuation of former policies from the UN demonstrated that a policy specifically geared toward women's rights was a logical extension of the historical global precedents regarding human rights. Once CEDAW was connected with policies State Parties had already signed on to, the pressure to ratify the document intensified because State Parties would struggle to justify to women in their constituencies why they had signed on for universal human rights and equality for women, but not specific measures targeted toward national policies to follow through on those promises and

ideas. These four documents founded the global norms regarding women's rights that the AU, EU, and national governments used as frameworks in recent decades.

International Policies

The connection between women's rights and human rights, though not explicitly stated in policies from the Global North from 1944 - 1966, was featured in international policy from the African Union beginning in the 1980s. After the creation of human rights policies at the global level, the Council of Europe (which eventually reformulated into the European Union) created the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), outlining human rights in Europe as reflective of newly established global norms. The policy opened with, "considering the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations..." (5), and claimed European countries would "take the first steps for the collective enforcement of certain of the rights stated in the Universal Declaration." The concept of women's rights as equal to those of men was not present in the document, nor when the Council of Europe was reformed into the European Union were women's rights codified in international policy as human rights. However, in the Preamble of the Constitutive Act of the African Union (2000) was the clause, "Guided by our common vision of a united and strong Africa and by the need to build a partnership between governments and all segments of civil society, in particular women..." (3), which promotes women as a key component in the establishment of a "strong Africa" and appeals to African values. After laying out definitions for the document, Article 3 describes the objectives of the African Union in connection with the Charter of the United Nations and the UDHR, including promoting "good governance" through protecting "human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter, 1981) and other relevant human rights

instruments” (6). Associating the objectives of the African Union with the United Nation, especially as they related to established norms for human rights, and aligning the Banjul Charter with UN policies established the AU as part of the global framework for good governance and the promotion of human rights. Revising the original charter for the OAU, and referring to specific policies with historical connections to UN rights policies pushed back against perceptions of an African continent that was lagging behind on human rights issues and moved the AU ahead of the EU in terms of promoting women’s rights as human rights.

The African Union continued to enshrine women’s rights in multiple documents, including the Maputo Protocol (2003), the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SGDEA; 2004), and the African Union Gender Policy (2009). After citing multiple “international human rights instruments” (2) including UDHR, the International Bill of Rights, and CEDAW, Article 3 of the Maputo Protocol, “Right to Dignity” described women’s rights in the African Union, “every woman shall have the right to dignity inherent in a human being and to the recognition and protection of her human and legal rights” (5). Promoting women’s rights as human rights while also recognizing legal rights bridged the gaps that existed under State Parties’ legal systems; in the event that a State Party contested women’s legal rights under national law, the Maputo Protocol connected women’s human rights with legal protection under international and global policy. Other mandates of the protocol included, “State Parties shall prohibit and condemn all forms of harmful practices which negatively affect the human rights of women and which are contrary to international standards” (7) and required State Parties to address these practices through legislation and other measures at the national and local levels. Connecting the Protocol to international standards, and setting up harmful practices as separate from those standards made the AU appear to the UN as a partner in protecting women’s rights,

and did not call out specific violations of human rights according to the UN (i.e. female genital mutilation, child marriage, etc.) on the part of State Parties, opting instead for more neutral language that would promote dialogue among the nations in the AU. Using “harmful practices” instead of “customary” or “traditional” moved away from language used by the UN to describe rights violations in the Global South and on the African continent. Additional rights guaranteed in the Protocol are women’s right “to retain her nationality or to acquire the nationality of her husband” (9) and most importantly, reproductive rights. Article 14 in the Maputo Protocol, “Health and Reproductive Rights” mandated “State Parties shall ensure that the right to health of women, including sexual and reproductive health is respected and promoted. This includes: the right to control their fertility” (15) and required State Parties to “protect the reproductive rights of women by authorising medical abortion” (16). Including these statutes in an international women’s rights document was a monumental step forward for the rights of women in the African Union, and set the AU apart from other international entities and global policies by explicitly recognizing women’s reproductive rights, a feat unmatched by the EU or the UN.

After the ratification of the Maputo Protocol, the SDGEA and the AUGP clarified the practical issues facing the African Union and State Parties in establishing and maintaining women’s rights. Two key issues were, “low levels of women’s representation in social, economic, and political decision-making structures...[limiting] women’s ability to derive full benefit from the economies of their countries and the democratization process” (SDGEA, 2) and “dual legal systems create contradictions on the rights of women by according women some rights through general law and withholding others on the basis of traditional, customary, and some religious beliefs and practices, denying women their fundamental rights” (AGUP, 15). Both documents recognized limitations inherent in State Party mechanisms, and localized

practices that interfered with the effectiveness and implementation of statutes in the Maputo Protocol. The AUGP defined additional elements influencing the Policy including, “power-relations in private and public spheres,” patriarchy’s role in shaping relationships between women and men, and “value systems and structures in different countries” (12) throughout the African Union. Including patriarchy in a policy rationale for the African Union regarding women’s rights demonstrated new ways in which the “African societal context” could be “contextualised in the regional and universal human rights and women’s rights instruments.” Instead of merely adopting terminology from global policies, the AUGP created a new role for the AU at the forefront of policy concepts for women’s rights by aligning women’s rights with human rights.

Global pressures surrounding the achievement of Millennium Development Goal 3: Gender Equality culminated in the creation of the European Union Human Rights Strategic Plan (2012) and the European Union Gender Action Plan (2010-2015). At the outset, the EUGAP determined, “the EU should discuss with partner countries or regional organisations how they are implementing legal obligations on women’s rights” (7), which led to analysis documents such as “The Policy on Gender Equality in Germany” to assess progress on practical women’s rights matters in Member States. The Human Rights Strategic Plan claimed, “the EU will continue to campaign for the rights and empowerment of women in all contexts through fighting discriminatory legislation, gender-based violence, and marginalisation” (6) as an indication of the commitment to implement women’s human rights, but the document focused more on policy dialogue than actionable requirements for Member States. Alongside the clear mandates of the AUGP, the EUGAP pales in the overarching commitment to establishing explicit rights for women in international policy.

National Policies

At the national level, both Germany and Senegal had different approaches to women's rights. The Constitution of Senegal establishes women's rights to property and to manage their own assets, but no other specific provisions are given outside of those that establish equality. The Basic Law guarantees equal rights between women and men, but does not elaborate on additional rights provisions for women. A primary goal for the BMZ strategy was "the implementation of international, regional, and national agreements, laws, and policies to strengthen and enforce women's rights" (5), in response to the fact that "massive violations of fundamental women's rights show that in many countries, equitable, unobstructed access to rights and opportunities and to a voice and participation in social transformation is still more of a promise than an exercised right" (9). Though the strategy did not name specific countries, the tone of this section of the strategy suggested that in countries where Germany was part of establishing sustainable development mechanisms, policy and practice continued to fail. Of course, Germany had issues of its own regarding women's rights, specifically related to the workforce. According to the "Policy on Gender Equality" analysis for the EU, "it was only in 1977 that women in the Western part of Germany were entitled to gainful employment without the authorisation of their husbands" (7). Even in a country in which women and men were guaranteed equality under global policy and national law, and "women's rights as universal human rights" as established by international treaties was "the foundation and reference framework of the BMZ's political action" in 2014, German women's rights lagged behind other countries in the EU, both international and national policy did not explicitly state specific rights for women, and the deficiencies in policy complicated the role of the EU as a global leader on women's rights issues.

Economics and Violence

Global Policies

The conflicting themes of protecting women and women as economic investment complicated the construction of women's rights in policy frameworks across the transnational activity system of women's rights. Both the AU Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa (2004) and the Policy on Gender Equality in Germany (2015) reinforced in the opening sections the importance of the legal protection of women. While these policies were clear that women must be protected under the law, there were also clear indications that women lacked participation in key sectors in politics, policy, and the private sector. Following the recognition of women's limited participation in politics and the economy in the African Union and Germany, the United Nations released the Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 which included very different perspectives and goals related to women and gender equality. The "Why it Matters" fact sheet for Sustainable Development Goal 5: Gender Equality touted the importance of education and women's impact on economic investments. For example, the fact sheet claims "investing in education programs for girls and increasing the age at which they marry can return \$5 for every dollar spent" and "investing in programs improving income-generating activities for women can return \$7 for every dollar spent" (2). These responses were to the question: "But why should gender equality matter to me?" which paints a bleak picture for how a global entity such as the United Nations views the importance of gender equality and women's rights. With a view toward economics, the SDG5 fact sheet demonstrates that women and girls are important in terms of return on investment, but not much else. The UN SDG5 also discussed the number of girls and women who have experienced female genital mutilation (FGM, also known as female genital circumcision/cutting (FGC), furthering the idea that one of the biggest concerns for women and girls is a physical issue. Of course, the primary goal for SDG5 was "to achieve

gender equality and empower all women and girls” (1) but the most direct guidance on the fact sheet is telling girls to stay in school and women to change their implicit biases. Within the transnational activity system of women’s rights, there appears to be a disconnect between what constitutes value in relation to women, rights, and investment in women’s rights. In order to understand the disparate frameworks of protecting women and women as return on investment, analyzing spaces in policy where women are mentioned at multiple policy levels is key.

International Policies

Other policy frameworks addressed violence against women and the economics of gender not only as global issues, but as influential to international and national economies. The introduction to the European Union Gender Action Plan (2010-2015) claimed, “Gender-based violence also remains a widespread global phenomenon that has serious negative effects on the lives and health of women and girls, as well as significant socioeconomic consequences” (3). At the outset, the EUGAP addressed gender-based violence not as an individual issue, but a “widespread, global” problem that included economic effects. The EUGAP aligned more closely with SDG5 in this case, connecting violence against women’s bodies with some type of monetary discussion. Essentially, these two documents point out that hurting women and not promoting their rights and engagement in society was a poor economic move in the global marketplace; women had economic value, which is why their rights should be realized and protected; any other solution was bad business. An extension of these views was present in the German Development Policy paper (2014), where the “rights of women and girls are put centre-stage and... established in a new global, post-2015 framework for sustainable development” (4). Further on in the policy, under the thematic field “Violence Against Women and Girls,” the policy claimed, “Violence against women and girls is a violation of human rights and a global

problem that is associated with high costs – both social and economic – for society” (10).

Essentially, the policy argued that eliminating violence against women and girls was “smart economics” (11). The transnational connection in the German Development Policy was present in multiple ways. Not only did the policy model language from the EUGAP about the connection between violence against women and economic impact, the policy cited a study from Peru during the previous year that mapped the cost for companies when female employees were subjected to violence (footnote 6). In addition, both the EUGAP and the German Development Policy recognized that the connection between gender based violence and economic impacts was a global problem in need of attention.

The connection between economics and violence was not a focus of policies from the African Union or Senegal, which indicates that the connection is largely a concern of entities in the so-called Global North. While the African Union and Senegal promote gender parity as a way to address inequality, the UN, EU, and Germany demonstrate in their policies that empowering women and protecting women from violence is important because of economics. Instead of promoting an overarching investment to end violence against women simply because women are human and should have basic rights, these entities treat it as worthwhile due to the possible monetary or economic returns on that investment. In the so-called Global South, the focus is on ending violence to promote strength on the African continent, and economics is not mentioned as a key motivating factor.

Maternity and Family Values

In almost every policy analyzed for this study, women were connected in some way with either girls, families, or children with respect to their rights and organizational goals for improving women’s rights in particular areas. From the earlier drafts of the Maputo Protocol

(1995 – 2003) for the African Union, to the recent Sustainable Development Goal 5: Gender Equality from the United Nations, there is a common thread of relating women to girls, youth, children, and motherhood in policy language at international and global levels. Neither the Senegalese Constitution, nor the German Constitution mention women in relation to children or girls in the same way the other policy documents do so, but there are special cases involving motherhood and maternity rights.

Several policies in this study mentioned women in relation to marriage and family, which suggested contention between women's rights as fundamental human rights and how policies largely written and controlled by men viewed women's roles in society. The ICCPR stated, "the right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family" (13); in Article 16 of the UNDHR the only other mention of women ensured, "men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution" (5). International policies contain similar language, including the EUCHR, Article 9, "Right to marry and right to found a family," which did not discuss gender, sex, or women; and the Maputo Protocol which required, "State Parties shall ensure that women and men... are regarded as equal partners in marriage" (8). Senegal's Family Code, drafted in 1989 discussed in almost 900 articles the complexities of the family framework and extensively defined women's rights before, during, and after marriage. Even as recently as the early 2000s, policies contained explicit rights for women in marriage, and only in relation to men. Not only is there no recognition from the global level of marriage rights outside of heterosexual relationships, equality between men and women in marriage has not been achieved on several levels which required additional policies explaining women's rights connected to and outside of marriage.

From the establishment of the UN until the present, the transnational activity system of women's rights has not effectively established or implemented universal human rights for married or pregnant women.

Other mentions of women in policy included maternity and the rights of women as mothers. At the global level, the ICCPR stated, "sentence of death shall not be... carried out on pregnant women" (5); and CEDAW aimed, "to ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function" (3) and pointed out the "social significance of maternity... that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination" (2). EUCHR, Article 33 provided, "the right to protection from dismissal for a reason connected with maternity and the right to paid maternity leave" (16); the Constitutive Act of the AU called for "the formulation of mother and child care policies" (11); the German Constitution claimed, "every mother shall be entitled to the protection and care of the community" (16); and the German ETA prohibited discrimination based on maternity or pregnancy" (5). In the early days of global governance, key issues surrounding maternity rights were the right to life for the unborn. As time progressed, international and national entities recognized that discrimination on the basis of maternity created significant barriers to women's participation in the public and private sectors. Limitations for women in the workforce based on maternity stood in direct contrast to global, European, and German values regarding the importance of founding nuclear families, which required policy responses to eliminate discrimination and provide more favorable environments for women and men to have families. The AU also recognized the need for more extensive policies regarding women and children as changing needs on the continent and more stringent requirements at the global level created pressure for better opportunities for disenfranchised populations.

After the implementation of the Maputo Protocol which condemned “any practice that hinders or endangers the normal growth and affects the physical and psychological development of women and girls” (3), the AU Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGE, 2004) provided more details about the concerns of African heads of state as they related to women, children, and girls. The key issues raised in the AUSDGE were “the high incidence of HIV/AIDS among girls and women” (1) and “women and children bear the brunt of conflicts and internal displacement, including rapes and killings...” (2). While each of these documents had a central focus on the rights of women and establishing gender equality, women were described in terms of the violence enacted against them and in relation to children as a helpless population that needed saving. The Declaration goes on to claim that countries in the AU will “ensure the active promotion and protection of all human rights for women and girls... by raising awareness or by legislation” (3) and sign and ratify the Maputo Protocol by 2004. The focus in these two documents points to women, girls, and children as individuals with illnesses, vulnerabilities, susceptibility to violence that needed to be recognized in policy, and eliminated in practice.

Another key area in which women are paired in a rights discussion with children and girls was in reference to equality across societies. Agenda 2063 (2015), an African Union policy that promoted the continent as a “dynamic force in the international arena” (1), laid out goals for the African Union and member states to meet by 2063, much in the same way the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals were written by the United Nations. The sixth aspiration for Agenda 2063 was, “An Africa whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth, and caring for children” (2). This aspiration marks a recognition on the part of the African Union that women

and children had been previously neglected in policy decisions, but throughout the document, women were mentioned almost exclusively in relation to youth or girls.

Codifying the needs of women in policy documents such as Agenda 2063 - which will shape policies of the member states of the African Union for the next 50 years – as related to children and not unique within larger societal frameworks could prove problematic as women attempt to engage in the transnational activity system of women’s rights. Instead of working to address the specific needs of women, this policy constrains the conception of women and equates goals for their rights with the needs of youth and girls. Unfortunately, it appears that Agenda 2063 did not carry forward the terminology and descriptions of equality from the AU Gender Policy in 2009. The AUGP explicitly stated multiple times throughout the document the importance of “gender equality between men and women, boys and girls” (5, 7, 9). While this document is clearly promoting a gender binary, there was at least a separation in the text between women and girls through which their unique needs could be address in the AUGP or localized policies related to frameworks established in the AUGP. However, it was unclear whether creating more policies about women as mothers, wives, and the center of families would remain a primary focus in the transnational activity system of women’s rights due to educational, political, and economic factors at several levels within the system.

Peace and Security: A New Role for Women

In the wake of the turn of the century, women’s roles in peace and security received new focus in the transnational activity system of women’s rights. Multiple actors in the system recognized that the importance of women’s rights would never be effectively established if they were the group most disproportionately affected by conflict. Language in CEDAW emphasized, “the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women”

(1). In the year 2000, the UN passed Resolution 1325, recognizing “the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building” (1) and established guidelines for how women could be incorporated more effectively into frameworks of peace and security across the globe. Every single document in this study written after the year 2000 mentions UN 1325, or refers in some way to the provisions of the document regarding women’s integral role in maintaining peace. The AU promised women “the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace” (Maputo Protocol, 11) as part of the “efforts aimed at reconciliation in post conflict reconstruction and development” (AUGP, 12); the EUGAP recognized “the close links between issues of peace, security, development, and gender equality” (4); and the BMZ strategy paper mentioned UN 1325 as a guiding policy for the new approaches to gender responsive development in Germany. Though UN Resolution 1325 passed over 15 years ago, there are still significant strides necessary for conflict resolution and peacekeeping to be gender responsive. While many entities struggle to fully implement women’s rights and as women take on new roles throughout the transnational activity system of women’s rights, potential for better policies and implementation shifts in response to needs at different levels of governance.

Conclusion

Since the establishment of the United Nations in the aftermath of WWII, women and the spaces their rights occupy in global, international, and national policy have been mired in difficulty. Not only have policies failed to establish women’s rights in such a way that women experience societal benefits on equitable terms with men, women’s engagement with rights across multiple levels of policy in global governance is significantly lacking. Women are not equitably represented in governance structures, and though equal pay is mentioned in many

international and global policies, women are still not paid equally with men. However, international policy measures have formed important “middle rungs” on the presumed ladder of top-down policy measures regarding women, gender, equality, and rights.

The creation of the AUGP (2009) and the explicit definition of equality and equity put the African Union at the forefront of policy discourse as it related to women. While this is a recent development, and there is little data on the effects of this particular policy, the African Union has made women’s rights a priority. Modeling how policies can be reinvented or amended to reflect the specific needs of women on a particular continent is a unique strength for the African Union as an international governing body. After creating the Maputo Protocol in 2003 as a revision to the original Banjul Charter for Human and People’s Rights, the AU heads of state collaborated on the SDGEA in 2004, and most recently the AUGP explicitly outlined best practices for Member States to promote and ensure gender equality. The AU not only provided a guiding framework for how women’s rights and gender policies should be written for member nations, it extended global foundational frameworks about women and gender, and increased the AU’s profile as a leader for women’s rights.

Both Senegal and Germany in the past fifteen years shifted national policy language, not strictly due to influence from global policies, but international policy frameworks. Rather than using policies to affirm its roles as a leader for women’s issues at the outset, the AU created substantial policies that filled gaps across the transnational activity system of women’s rights. National policy in Senegal, including the Gender Parity Law, responded directly to mandates from the African Union, which pushed Senegal to the forefront of women’s equality and representation in national decision making bodies. This significant leap in progress put pressure on the European Union and countries like Germany to more effectively address inequality

between women and men that had remained steady for almost twenty years. Germany's revised approach to development through the Gender Equality in German Development Policy in 2014 included language similar to policies from the African Union, demonstrating that international policies from the so-called Global South might contain more effective frameworks due to language choices (equity vs. equality) and the capacity to prescribe specific actions for Member States. The management of gender knowledge in both countries faced significant challenges, but Germany's adoption of gender as a key perspective appeared to be in response to shifting needs in development for partner countries in the EU and abroad. For Senegal, key issues were following the guidelines of the AU and UN, while also incorporating gender perspectives as a way to address economic and development issues domestically.

From the analysis in this chapter, it is clear that women's rights have been constructed as a transnational issue through thematic adaptation and the cooptation of terminology, research, and initiatives across multiple spaces in the system. While the themes of equity and empowerment have circulated throughout the system through policies at the national and international levels – the Development Policy from the BMZ (Germany), and the AUGP – Sustainable Development Goal 5 from the UN does not reflect these themes. Germany is looking to the Global South and the African Union for policy language and thematic engagement with gender equality and women's empowerment, and the European Union is slowly addressing the complexities of gender in international policy while still underestimating and not accounting for migration and race in policies such as the EUGAP. United Nations SDG5 and the EUGAP focus more on the connections between violence against women and economics, particularly how investing in women on the African continent and protecting women across the globe from violence could yield monetary returns. At the global level, it is clear from SDG5 that the United

Nations is looking to the Global South as a case study for how women's lack of empowerment causes economic fallout, but there is no recognition of how globalization and race factor into the disenfranchisement of women in places like Senegal. Outlawing FGM/FGC and encouraging girls to stay in school will do nothing to empower women in the so-called Global South if there are no intersectional policy measures in place to address the systematic ways women face oppression across the transnational activity system of women's rights. The International Women's Movement was one step of many that will require intersectional approaches to advocacy in order to address policy gaps and implementation deficiencies for policies regarding women, gender, equality, and rights.

The next chapter will focus on the time I spent in Senegal and Germany interviewing women involved in advocacy work centered on the implementation of women's rights initiatives. Amplifying the voices of these women, while attempting to account for race and place within the transnational activity system of women's rights, will demonstrate not only how policies constrain the actions of women's advocacy workers, but also the potential for advocacy work to push back against policy initiatives that do not address the localized needs of women. In addition, I will look for ways in which women's advocacy work challenges, mediates, or influences policies at multiple levels of the activity system.

Chapter 4: Intersections and Diversions in Advocacy Workers' Perspectives on Women, Gender, Equality, and Rights

Positioning women's voices in direct conversation with policies regarding rights, equality, and power in global, international, national, and local contexts is a key component of this project. Instead of relying on policies at multiple levels in systems of global governance for this research project, I wanted to complicate understandings of how policies influence people – and how people influence policies through advocacy work – and extend the work of Rhetorical Studies by integrating interviews with advocates in transnational spaces with texts that pertain to their work at multiple levels. My project brings rhetorical research into conversation with the transnational turn occurring at the intersections of transnational feminism and critical cultural and race studies.

Throughout the fieldwork and interview process for this project, I was faced with the implications of my research that stemmed from power, race, and gender dynamics, my age, and the scope of my research. Being a U.S. citizen carried a certain level of privilege, allowing me to travel freely to and in Senegal once I received research funding. Another example of my privilege in Senegal stemmed from performing my gender in normative ways. During my first interview, and several times after as I met with Senegalese women, I was asked whether I liked being in Senegal and whether I was married. Since I was not, the women I interviewed offered to find me a Senegalese husband so I could stay in the country and continue my work. Performing my gender in a normative way opened the possibility for congeniality and openness as I began interviews with participants and served as a helpful ice breaker that might not have been present if I occupied a different gender identity or performed my gender differently. A key limitation in my role as a researcher was my lack of language skills in Wolof and French. I had to work

through a male, Senegalese translator in my interviews, and since I was not able to record some interviews I had to rely on the translations he provided. As I made my way back through my fieldnotes for the project, I noted concerns about authenticity and gender dynamics – whether the translations were accurate representations of what the women said. This was not nearly as much of an issue when I was in Germany, a place where I spoke the language, was able to record my participants, and had a colleague available to check over my translations. I will discuss these limitations in more detail in Chapter 5.

As I contacted and visited organizations in Dakar and Berlin, I was searching for narratives that could push back against policy prescriptions from multiple governance structures of what women needed or wanted. I also wanted to promote hybridized research methods in Rhetorical Studies to open avenues for inquiry about intersectional approaches to advocacy work. To connect policies to the ways in which they enable/constrain action, interview data for this project was collected in January and February 2016, and the questions from the interview are included in Appendix 8. Participants worked in organizations with both local, national, international, and global frameworks and influences. I chose these two sites because of my experience conducting previous research about Senegal and my familiarity with German language and culture.

By including the opinions of people who interact on a daily basis with the policies I analyzed in Chapter 3, I will address the third and fourth elements of Charles Bazerman's methodology for evaluating activity systems which are as follows:

To deal with the problem of characterizing genres that you may not be familiar with or that others may understand differently than you do, you need to gather information and not just about the texts, but about other people's understanding of them. To see the

full range of implicit practice you can do ethnographic research in the workplace, classroom, or other site of text production, distribution, or use. (325)

This chapter will explore the interviews I conducted with advocacy workers in both Senegal and Germany in order to answer RQ 2: *How do these policies enable and constrain the actions of advocacy workers?* My goal is to draw out common themes in these narratives and to examine how these themes might align with those that emerged in the policy analysis. I also want to draw attention to places of diversion to illuminate how race, place, and cultural structures are worked through to accomplish goals for women's rights and equality.

The women I interviewed for this project, and the excerpts included in this chapter, point to ways in which policies can address the needs of women, as well as the ways in which issues inherent in broad policy measures do not account for differences in race, culture, or implications of the implementation of the mandates in local contexts. These women, and the work they do, demonstrate the need for more integrative work on policy initiatives regarding women, and the problems facing advocates from multiple angles. Throughout this chapter, I will connect the information I gathered from the participants with the policy analysis from the previous chapter to move toward an intertextual analysis of the relationships between policies and advocacy workers. This chapter is broken into two sections, each addressing the interviews I conducted at individual organizations in Senegal and Germany.

Senegal

While conducting field work in Dakar, Senegal, I had the opportunity to visit and observe three different organizations involved in women's rights advocacy: Tostan (which means "breakthrough" in Wolof), the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), and the Association of Senegalese Women Jurists (AJS). Each of these

organizations had different missions: Tostan focused on community empowerment and families, CODESRIA's central focus was research and incorporating Africa-centric research into global discourses about rights, and AJS worked to promote women's rights in the Senegalese justice system. I interviewed two individuals from AJS, two from Tostan, and one from CODESRIA, and was able to conduct participant observations throughout the process. The information in this section was taken from a combination of field notes and interview data; the participants from AJS did not consent to a recording of their interview, and the video files from one Tostan participant and the CODESRIA participant were corrupted during the video transfer and coding processes. Even though the files were mostly unusable, the Tostan participant agreed to re-submit her answers over email, and I used my notes and salvageable sections from the video file of the CODESRIA participant to round out my interview data from Senegal. All of the participants I interviewed in Dakar had a Master's degree or higher, which I believe contributed to their overarching perspectives about the work on women's issues in Dakar in relation to national, international, and global norms.

All three of the organizations I worked with had a similar framework, addressing human rights from a Senegalese perspective. Two key elements of the mission of CODESRIA are, "Encourage and support the development of African comparative research with a continental perspective and a sensitivity to the specificity of the development process in Africa" and "Promote contacts and dialogue between African researchers and researchers on Africa elsewhere in the world²³." She explained that "we must have a loud African voice" (interview, January 22nd, 2016) on issues such as African sexualities, gender, land, and security to influence

²³ I found there are several objectives included in CODESRIA's mission on their website; the two cited here were specifically mentioned by Diane. The other objectives can be found in English at <http://www.codesria.org/spip.php?rubrique193>.

policy and implementation. Diane²⁴ discussed how many researchers over the past few years working with CODESRIA recognized the importance of African voices being central to research utilized to make policy decisions regarding the African continent, particularly by global entities. In particular, she spoke of partnerships with both the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and United Nations Women (UN Women) on women's social movements and gender based violence. These partnerships built on CODESRIA's more localized work to address women and gender within the organization.

A primary issue for CODESRIA was the inclusion of women in research. Not long before I visited Dakar, CODESRIA and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) hosted the third World Social Science Forum in Durban, South Africa, with the theme, "Transforming Global Relations for a Just World²⁵." Social scientists from across the globe and African continent presented their work, but according to the participant I was interviewing, Diane²⁶, the scholarly conversation was largely dominated by men. The push to incorporate work from more African women researchers and projects focused on African women was a key point of dialogue for Diane and her colleagues, "We were asking, 'Where are the women in this?' 'How do we make their voices heard?' We need more research from women if anything meaningful is going to happen" (interview, January 22nd, 2016). Diane also pointed out a shift in terminology happening for people involved in CODESRIA's work: "We are changing a bit from a focus on women to a focus on gender and how that influences work on the continent" (interview, January 22nd, 2016). This change in terminology is something I noticed throughout my analysis of policies from the African Union – women's issues were being reconceptualized as gender issues – particularly in

²⁴ Names changed to protect the privacy of the participants

²⁵ <http://www.wssf2015.org/>

the creation of the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004) and the African Union Gender Policy (2009). In addition, while Senegal continued to move toward gender parity in the national parliament, women's representation in research institutions was still lagging behind according to Diane's recent experiences at research conferences. She was confident that things were changing for the better, but lack of representation for women was just one of the issues participants discussed during my time in Dakar.

During my visit to Tostan, I learned about the importance of community-based projects centered on women's rights, and how global, international, and national policy directly interfered with progress made by this particular NGO. The atmosphere of Tostan had a community feel, which ties directly into the mission of the organization, "We empower African communities to bring about sustainable development and positive social transformation based on respect for human rights²⁷." The people who worked there were a combination of Senegalese people and expatriates from a variety of backgrounds. Everyone ate lunch together in the traditional Senegalese style every day at noon, walking to the roof of the building and sitting around a large bowl of rice, veggies and protein and sharing the meal communally while they all relaxed and caught up on recent news. For Katharine, another participant in my study, the ability to work with a "majority Senegalese staff, as opposed to working for a typical western organization" was what drew her to work at Tostan in the first place (personal communication, June 7th, 2016). She explained that while Tostan partnered with donors and organizations at the national and global levels, the communities were the most important partner in Tostan's work.

Katharine pointed out that a significant challenge to advocacy work was the lack of women's representation at multiple levels of governance: "there is sadly a long way to go in this

²⁷ <http://www.tostan.org/about-us/mission-history>

discourse all over the world. I think women’s voices themselves should be heard more – the women from the communities” (personal communication, January 21st, 2016). Connecting her work with global norms she explained, “In terms of human rights and gender equality Tostan’s work complements international efforts, the only difference is perhaps Tostan’s approach towards female genital cutting (FGC; also referred to as female genital mutilation (FGM) or female circumcision²⁸), not demonizing it but trying to see if from the perspective of the communities that practice it.” Since 1997, Tostan’s Community Empowerment Programme had resulted in over 2,200 villages in Senegal abandoning FGC altogether, but the Senegalese government officially outlawed the practice in 1999. When the legislation was proposed, Katharine explained, Tostan strenuously objected to the law and requested that the government choose not to ban the practice. The fear from Molly Melching, founder of Tostan, was that the ban would complicate the work of the organization by setting up an ideological battle between the Senegalese government and local communities who saw the law as violating religious freedom. After the law passed, hundreds of women across Senegal in rural areas had themselves cut in protest, despite the progress Tostan had made in neighboring communities. The Senegalese parliament and governing institutions saw the law as a way to comply with international and global pressures regarding FGC, particularly from the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)²⁹.

Though the legislative attempt was misguided because localized efforts were much more effective in dismantling the practice, the law criminalizing FGC in Senegal came almost 20 years

²⁸ <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/>

²⁹ The WHO, UNICEF, and UNFPA made a joint statement in 1997 condemning the practice of FGM, launching international research efforts and an overarching international movement to eliminate the practice globally. <http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs241/en/>

before the practice was recognized in global policy as a key issue. The United Nations Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5: “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls” (2015) provided multiple facts about FGM and violence against women and girls. The third target of SDG 5 was, “eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early, and forced marriage and female genital mutilation,” but the policy focus from the UN far behind not only the legislative progress regarding FGM in Senegal, the work of Tostan has moved much more quickly and effectively than either policy initiative to eliminate the practice entirely. This situation demonstrates that women’s representation in governance structures is important, but it must be accompanied with local women’s perspectives so that global norms regarding women’s and gender rights do not interfere with successful projects that reframe human rights violations in African contexts. Alongside issues of representation in the national parliament and attempts to craft effective national policies for women in Senegal, women’s ability to engage with specific legal protections was incredibly difficult, even if those protections were explicitly connected with global and international norms regarding women’s human rights.

After visiting with the Association of Senegalese Women Jurists (AJS), I recognized several obstacles for women to engage directly with their rights under national and international policy. Even in a country like Senegal, where there are several policies in place at the international and national level recognizing specific rights for women, there were multiple barriers which prevented women from experiencing those privileges. My time with AJS was spent in a field office in Dakar where a staff of three to four women fielded inquiries from women regarding everything from domestic violence to land rights. I spoke with two of the staff members during what they considered to be a typical workday: one woman waited by the phone to answer calls from women needing legal advice, taking down their information and creating a

file if the woman planned to visit the office for a consultation, and the head of the office worked on a proposal for the Senegalese parliament regarding land rights in rural areas. Throughout the interview, women came in and out of the room we were using, asking for consultations and following up on previous appointments. My experience in this office demonstrated that there are tensions between global discursive constructions of transnational women's rights and the more localized interactions around women's issues.

An issue I discussed in chapter three, the relationship between gender-based violence and economics, came up during my interview with Eliza and Penny. They claimed that the two biggest issues they dealt with in the office were gender-based violence and land rights. For many women in rural areas, access to legal advice was incredibly scarce, which is why AJS had a hotline phone set up in the office. Eliza explained that in many cases, if a woman experienced violence in her home and reported to the police, she would be told to go home to her husband and to stop making him angry. In the cases where the police would allow a report to be filed, other complications could arise. Some women would not want to interfere with money coming into the household by the husband being jailed, so they would request that the police just speak to him and release him back to work. Others feared being kicked out of their houses for making a private matter public, and still others would go to court with AJS representatives to ask for compensation in the form of a jail sentence, money, or both.

There were no explicit mentions of the relationships between violence and economics in policies from the African Union or Senegal, but the situations of Senegalese women seeking services from AJS indicated factors of what the EUGAP and UN SDG 5 explained were detrimental to global economic development. While there are transnational connections between the experiences of Senegalese women and the policy goals of the UN SDG 5, the policies do not

explicitly address the nuances of race, culture, and class that influenced those situations as I was learning about the work of AJS. Policies in the African Union, such as the AUGP, and the attitudes of the advocates I interviewed regarding women and violence were more focused on empowering women than adopting positions from the EU and UN – i.e. ending gender-based violence as a wise economic decision. The economic considerations for reporting gender-based violence in Senegal stemmed from women’s lack of access to economic resources, primarily land ownership, as well as their inability to find work in rural areas if they were divorced by their husband or their husband was in jail. Instead of explicitly making violence against women a strictly economic issue, the advocacy workers were more concerned with empowering women through knowledge of their rights under the law and ensuring that local law enforcement and judicial bodies enforced laws that were already in place, particularly the provisions in the Family Code.

Conducting advocacy work in a positive policy environment – the AU and Senegal have significantly stronger policy stances on women’s issues than other governance structures in this study – was limited by people’s engagement with the policies across the system. According to Penny, many women they spoke with called the hotline just so someone would listen to their story and believe them; both Eliza and Penny had law degrees and a degree in counseling. When I asked what was hampering their work, both women explained, “the law does not matter if no one will enforce it. In so many cases the husband knows the police, and nothing gets done” (interview, January 3rd, 2016). Both the African Union Gender Policy (2009), and the Senegalese Family Code (1989) are clear about women’s rights under AU and Senegalese law, particularly the provisions outlawing gender-based violence and granting women the right to land and reproductive decisions. Having these policies in place, however, is only the first step in ensuring

gender parity and women's enjoyment of their rights under the law. The Senegalese national government does not have the resources to enforce national policies in rural areas, so the authorities, according to Eliza and Penny, are religious leaders and men who might not agree with the government's opinions on women's rights. There is still much work to be done in the courts not only prosecuting men who commit violence against women, but also upholding women's rights to land when religious or village leaders, or even their husbands and families try to take it away from them.

Advocacy organizations in Senegal and the AU have the ability to push for the fulfillment of the policy mandates because many of the mandates outlined in the Constitutive Act of the AU (2000) and the AUGP (2009) are connected with African values. Framing women's rights and gender equality and equity in national and international policy is a key first step, but involvement from advocacy workers is inherently necessary to carry out the provisions in the policies. In the case of AJS, the policy frameworks provide positive avenues for women to advocate for the application of their rights in rural areas – including being able to maintain land ownership regardless of marital status – which parallels global norms from entities such as the United Nations focused on women's empowerment. However, creating policies in reaction to pressures from the UN and other global entities is not necessarily the best way to go about creating sustainable changes in the AU or Senegal. As the FGC law came into effect, several years of work by Tostan was undone because the national government was more focused on complying with global entities than supporting the reframing of the practice that had already been effectively applied by advocacy workers on the ground in rural communities. Across Senegal, there are opportunities and limitations for advocacy workers that are continually renegotiated in response to policy mandates and the immediate needs of the communities in which they work. It

is in those spaces that there is room for more research about how the work of advocacy workers pushes back against and influences the transnational activity system of women's rights policies. For AJS and Tostan, working directly with women and challenging the structures that limit women's abilities to fully engage with their rights on a daily basis (community norms and legal systems), are key ways to influence the system from the ground up as well as across the system to other levels.

Germany

During my time in Germany I spoke with women from organizations in Berlin, Frankfurt, and Cologne. Due to time and budget constraints, I was unable to physically travel to Frankfurt or Cologne, so the interviews with those participants were conducted over Skype while I was in Berlin. The women I spoke with worked at three different organizations: Deutscher Frauenrat, an umbrella organization for over 50 women's organizations in Germany; Feministische Partei die Frau, a women's political party; and Agisra, an advocacy organization for migrant women. Each of these organizations worked in different areas of the transnational activity system of women's rights, and had influence at multiple levels in the system.

An important issue that came up during my interviews was that of "alignment," how to synthesize priorities for substantive action among competing ideologies. For Viola from Deutscher Frauenrat, the power of the organization to represent women's interests was limited by the multiple perspectives of member organizations. Viola explained, "for example, many of our organizations want to make a stand about abortion and reproductive rights to the Bundestag [national parliament in Germany], but we cannot because some organizations are Catholic. This is the same for the United Nations. We have special consultant status to the UN but cannot take strong stances because the organizations under our umbrella struggle to agree" (interview,

February 4th, 2016). While Deutscher Frauenrat has significant influence at the national, international, and global levels – the Bundestag in Germany, the European Women’s Lobby, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations – the actions of the organization are somewhat limited by internal issues regarding what stances to take on policy. Viola went on to say that the primary goal of the organization was to “work for gender equality as stated in Article 3 of the Germany Constitution, and remain committed to gender mainstreaming as part of the Treaty of Amsterdam and the EU Constitution.” In this case, the policies at the national and international level provided the opportunity for organizations to work toward gender equality, but implementing the policies and turning them into “social realities” was still a difficult goal to achieve. Ceilia from the Feministische Partei in Frankfurt recognized similar difficulties in her political work, particularly with Deutscher Frauenrat: “nationally, it is difficult. We are member of the National Council of German Women's Organizations [Deutscher Frauenrat], but we have already noticed that we had little influence on the content. An example of this would be prostitution” (interview, February 8th, 2016). The Feministische Partei had been lobbying for over two years to implement the Swedish model for prostitution,³⁰ but the initiative did not make much progress during that time due to dissent from other organizations that were part of Deutscher Frauenrat. Outside of the national women’s lobby in Germany, there were other significant limitations on women’s advocacy work.

Women’s lack of representation in political parties in Germany contributes to stagnating progress on implementing gender equality through gender mainstreaming measures because they

³⁰ To criminalize the buying of sexual services, but not the selling. None of the policies I analyzed for the study mentioned prostitution or sex work, specifically. The European Union and Germany have not even codified specific reproductive rights for women outside of the universal right to marry and found a family. A sinister reading of that policy measure is women may choose to have a family, but they are not explicitly, legally protected from being forced to have a family if they do not want to. The difference between establishing the right to have a family and establishing women’s reproductive rights in national, international, and global policy is key here.

must realign priorities to satisfy men in power. While the Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (GEWE) was a central focus for the EUGAP, and the German Development Policy promoted women's empowerment through social movements that would influence the sociopolitical process from the bottom up, women face significant obstacles to participating in government structures at the local and national level. With over 100 political parties in Germany, and no single party in the Bundestag having more than 40% women, Ceilia pointed out:

This means that the women who are in these parties are never able to orient their work towards women. In turn, they always have to orient their objectives towards men. Even if they have the support of all of the women behind them, it still doesn't benefit them because they will still only have 40%. When they get the support of the men, then they will have a 60% or more. This means that they only bring up decisions or candidates who will be accepted by the men. And this is why we believe that there must be a political party where that looks different; a political party where the women can formulate their own interests without the necessity of having majority support from men. (interview, February 8th, 2016)

At the national level in Germany, women's political representation is still not equal with men, and there are no laws or policies mandating that the ratio of political candidates or members of the Bundestag be changed to include more women. According to Ceilia, even the two women's parties, Grünen and Linken, must orient their work toward men because of the limited number of women represented in the Bundestag. The German Constitution guarantees gender equality in Article 3, but other national laws such as the GDP have not gone far enough to ensuring that equality is a reality because the policy focused more on establishing ideological frameworks than mandating specific electoral practices or quotas.

Organizing women at the local level to promote changes in policy, and sustaining that engagement over long periods of time, is important to maintaining political momentum for women's rights in Germany. Ceilia claimed, "So there's an idea within women that tells them that they should only engage with politics in times of crisis. And that is not normal... I think that the most important part is to motivate women to participate in the political process and also to politically organize them. The women in Germany are very, very unhappy." Motivating women to become involved in political parties, and to step forward for candidate slates once they are involved, has proved incredibly difficult, but Ceilia saw progress stemming from the founding of the Feministische Partei in the 1990s. As quotas in political parties were introduced and more women received leadership positions, there was hope that things would change quickly. Unfortunately, that was not the case. Women's representation in the Bundestag has stagnated, requiring additional pressure from women's advocacy groups, "And this has shown itself historically in regards to women's rights, in the impulse to better the situation of women, that none of our progress has come from political parties. It has always come from the women's rights movement" (Ceilia, interview, February 8th, 2016). The relationship between women and the state in Germany is complicated by competing ideologies from advocacy organizations, women's limited representation in political parties and the Bundestag, and difficulty of maintaining active engagement from women over long periods of time. The policy measures necessary to implement gender equality and gender mainstreaming measures – such as those outlined in the GEWE framework of the EUGAP and the empowerment focus of the GDP – will require action from both political parties and grassroots women's groups working together toward common initiatives. The necessity of these connections extends beyond national and

international policy in Germany and Europe to transnational relationships across the activity system.

Conducting advocacy work with women in transnational settings demonstrates the necessity for more inclusive perspectives in policies related to women and gender and more of a reciprocal relationship between the policies and their implementations in local contexts. The work of women in the Agisra organization in Cologne pairs global advocacy work with daily advocacy work for local women. According to Jane:

“We go to international conferences... [in New York and Beijing] I participated in the panel into talking about domestic workers’ situations in Germany and this is what we do in the meantime saying we are networking, lobbying, and advocacy is for us very important, but we cannot do it if we don’t talk to the people to the women and support them individually... organization of migrant women and refugees is very important so we have initiated with other, with some other women's organizations and network of umbrella organizations and women organizations in Germany.” (personal communication, February 16th, 2016)

Jane’s work consisted of speaking on panels at global meetings organized by the United Nations, “but it doesn't mean that I don't go with the women to sit two hours at the foreign office to get her visa.” Each member of the organization, she explained, conducted her work in this way

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attending meetings but also counseling refugee and migrant women in order to support and advocate for their needs. Pairing both strategies was an important part of Agisra’s work from the foundation of the organization in the early 1990s. Jane stated that the overall mission of the organization from the outset was simple: “...we say human rights is women rights are human

rights and are for migrant and migrant and refugee rights,” which reflects language from the Universal Declaration for Human Rights (1948) and the International Bill of Rights (1966) that connected women’s rights with human rights regardless of statehood, ethnicity, culture, or citizenship. She also claimed that sharing migrant and refugee women’s stories on a larger, and many times political, scale was just as important as supporting immediate needs. Pointing out that, “I mean if we do counseling and we have contact to the women, then we know their problems and we support them and empower them, but in the meantime it's very important to talk about their situation to the public with media and this is both work we do at the same time; all of us,” Jane connected her experience with being a refugee from Iran to the developing refugee crisis in Germany and the rest of the European Union. She described the biggest advantage of Agisra as an organization was that only one staff person was from Germany – the rest were migrants or refugees – and that while their German had mistakes, the advocates and the women they supported on a daily basis were part of Germany’s society.

The advocates working for Agisra occupy a unique position because they work in the grey areas surrounding citizenship and rights for migrant and refugee women in Germany and the EU. Women who cannot fully engage with the rights laid out at multiple levels of policy utilize the expertise of advocates at Agisra, demonstrating the practical limitations for implementing global policies from the UN such as the International Bill of Human Rights. In many cases, Jane works with multiple organizations to help women understand and push back against legal barriers:

“...if the answer was very difficult or the law was against this situation, we haven't said, ‘I'm sorry. You go home.’ We have said ‘OK. We struggle together.’ I have called the lawyer, I have called to the other women's organizations, [and] I have called to the

authorities so I have informed myself to say, ‘OK this is the problem what can we do?’

And after one week I have told her, ‘OK we can do this or that, but this is the law against this situation but we can struggle together.’ (interview, February 16th, 2016)

The daily work of the organization against government structures and laws that limit women’s mobility and rights as migrants and refugees in Germany directly informs how advocates from Agisra frame women’s rights as a transnational issue and how they negotiate these rights and their advocacy actions when they discuss the needs of migrant and refugee women in the German and EU context. Beyond the work of Agisra specifically, political groups such as the Feministische Partei are looking beyond Europe for different ways to frame women’s and gender issues.

A surprising response from my interview with Ceilia came when she explained how the Feministische Partei has attempted to reframe how women view power and patriarchy as they relate to rights and equality, looking to the Global South, specifically Senegal, as an example. Connecting provisions in the AUGP and cultural practices in Senegal, Ceilia hoped to use women’s experiences in Senegal to inform grassroots efforts to advocate for explicit policies for women that go beyond broadly conceived, descriptive frameworks for equality and rights such as the German Constitution and Equal Treatment Act (2009). Ceilia believed that incorporating viewpoints from places outside of Europe would expand women’s ability to advocate for equality:

I believe this is important for the women, or I notice time and time again that it’s important that there are millions of people on this earth who currently live in matriarchies. So, you know, in Dakar it’s 3 million people. And I think it gives women the courage, because they are always told that this is not something that exists, has

existed, and it cannot be. And we cannot directly transfer the way they live in their society to ours, but I think it's important that women just discover that this exists; that there's another form of society without supreme rule within which women are dominant.

While I was unable to confirm the numbers Ceilia was citing as we spoke, she referenced a German documentary about matriarchies, and how she wanted to bring that message to other places in the Global North such as the United States. Members of the Feministische Partei are aware of the differences between their patriarchal structures and how matriarchy works in Senegal and the ways those cultural structures have influenced the Family Code (1989) and the Gender Parity Law (2010). They want to bring awareness to the differences and advantages of how women engage with family/societal structure in the Global South. Ceilia believed that German women and national German policy makers could learn from how women exist in Senegal, even if matriarchy was not the overarching structure of women's lifestyles throughout the European Union. Connecting the goals of the Feministische Partei to matriarchal, cultural practices in Senegal is a unique, transnational approach to women's and gender issues from the Global North that has been largely absent in the United Nations, European Union, and German national government.

Conclusion

Policies at multiple levels of the transnational activity system of women's rights constrain the abilities of advocacy workers in Germany and Senegal to conduct work effectively. Referring to RQ2: "How do these policies enable and constrain the actions of advocacy workers?", I am reminded of Ceilia explaining that "Women are half of the world's population, but their interests do not capture half of the political discussions. Men's interests subsume them. We have far too little means to appropriately work against this" (personal communication, February 8th, 2016).

As more women are incorporated into governance structures via gender parity laws, gender quotas, and other policies, there are possibilities for additional means to be granted to women's advocacy organizations to conduct their work. Currently, policies in Germany and the European Union do not go far enough to support the work of progressive women's advocacy organizations like Agisra, and the structures for recognizing political parties limit the Feministische Partei's ability to push more aggressively for policy changes that would benefit German women who are dissatisfied with the progress being made on gender equality through gender mainstreaming practices in the country. In the African Union and Senegal, more prescriptive mandates about women's involvement in government has led to a steady increase in women's representation in national parliaments, but more time must pass before the effects of women's presence in governing bodies can be determined.

When I was in Dakar, I felt a certain degree of the invisibility of global power structures to the women there. This was especially true on my first day conducting interviews at AJS; the power in the building was out for the entire day, which limited the ability of the advocates to communicate with women in rural areas (I will return to the experiences of this particular day and my personal perspectives in the next chapter). Alignment with global perspectives and policies regarding women was not a top priority for any of the advocacy workers I interviewed. The women in Dakar were much more concerned with the local, community aspects of their work and sought ways to leverage their work into meaningful policies at the national level, as well as ways to bring their narratives, accomplishments, and research to the forefront of global conversations about Africa, women, and how to approach their needs and goals. These women were not merely advocates on behalf of Senegalese women because the key goals of the organizations were to empower women and communities to advocate on behalf of themselves

within social movements and governance structures. The experiences of the women in Dakar also point to how policies can limit advocacy work or even undo it if communities are not consulted about the viability and approach of the policy.

The policies in the AU and Senegal currently provide a more solid foundation for advocacy organizations to conduct their work, particularly for organizations similar to AJS, but other constraints on advocacy work in Senegal are present. Even though the policy environment is a positive one, there are community and cultural issues that must be addressed on the local level in order for international and national policies to be effective. And in some cases, policies may not be the solution for the needs of women in Senegal, as was demonstrated by the issues surrounding the outlawing of FGC in 1999. Tostan's work on FGC clearly demonstrated that grassroots efforts to eliminate the practice were much more effective than top-down global policies condemning or encouraging the criminalization of the practice. From what the participants in this study explained, it appears that as policy constraints are removed or addressed at different levels of the activity system, advocacy organizations must continue to promote community activism and other grassroots efforts which push for changes to oppressive policies.

Most importantly, the work of the women I interviewed demonstrated the necessity for transnational, intersectional approaches to policy advocacy that are largely absent from global policy machineries such as the United Nations. While Deutscher Frauenrat has consultancy status with the UN on behalf of Germany, members of Agisra are better suited to discuss the implications of the migrant and refugee crisis on women because the organization has led that particular advocacy effort for over twenty years. The work of the Feministische Partei to incorporate cultural perspectives from Senegal into the organization's work will lack effectiveness if women's participation in sociopolitical processes in Germany continues on a

stagnant trajectory. The women's advocates in Germany had greater proximity to global and international governance structures than the women in Senegal, but that has not necessarily resulted in greater gains for women, gender, equality, or rights in Germany. The European Union may want to laud its efforts as a leader in women's rights and gender equality, but through the transition from the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals it has become clear that Member States in the African Union are significantly more on track to achieving the original MDGs. In addition, the AUGP and the Gender Parity Law in Senegal demonstrate that advocates in the EU and Germany like Ceilia can learn from advocacy practices in the Global South. Considering the current policy environments in the EU and AU, as well as the timeline for changes as related to policy measures (i.e. gender parity in national governments), the narratives of the participants suggest that advocates in Senegal have more opportunity to affect change on the ground and in policy than their counterparts in Germany. Perhaps the disconnect is the idea that the Global North, the EU, and Germany in particular are in a post-feminist framework that does not recognize that equality and equity were never achieved and global policies regarding women from the UN still largely target the African continent and the Global South as the regions needing to increase and promote women's and gender initiatives.

The next chapter will discuss the implications of this study, as well as my thoughts on transnational rhetorical research and will offer a call for additional research on the topic of the transnational activity system of women's rights. My goal is to provide an impression of the limitations of the study, while recognizing the value of the study as a foundation for future inquiry.

Chapter 5 – The Middle Rungs of the Ladder: Rhetorical Implications of Connecting the Global and the Local

In 2014, I attended the Watson Conference on Rhetoric and Composition; the theme of the conference was Responsivity: Defining, Cultivating, Enacting. One of the keynote speakers that day was Jeff Grabill, and his talk focused on “devices for rhetors.” His framework was that straightforward, rhetorical methodology must enable the making of things and must go beyond critique; as scholars we must ground theory in experience. He went on to say that “when we enter scene, we alter it indefinitely.” Later in this chapter I will address how his talk – and Paula Mathieu’s – informed my cultural positioning as a researcher and my frameworks for conducting participant-observer research. Another key concept from Grabill’s talk that stuck with me as I worked on the current project was his claim that, “the things which are most invisible are where power resides.” Even though I did not immediately apply the words of the keynote speeches to my research in 2014, as I moved through the process of this research project, I recognized how I connected the concepts from the conference to my own scholarly work.

Spending time with advocates in both Dakar and Berlin demonstrated to me the invisibility of the United Nations as it related to the transnational activity system of women’s rights. The UN carries responsibility for policies about overarching rights for women across the globe, as enshrined in CEDAW, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and other policy documents that hold the weight of Member States’ support. Unfortunately, all of the political power in the UN was invisible for the women I saw coming in and out of the AJS offices in Dakar over the course of several days. Their concerns were not to have additional policies ratified at the global level; they had immediate legal needs that could only be addressed at the local or national level. The UN was also invisible for the women at Agisra in Cologne and the

migrant and refugee populations the organization served. The UN has a great deal of perceived power across the globe due to widespread membership and the scope of its policies. However, for women seeking housing or citizenship in Cologne, or women claiming land rights in rural Senegal, the global policies are invisible because they do not address localized concerns. Even if the global policies did recognize the nuances involved in establishing equality for women in these disparate situations, the implementation would still fall to national governments, local authorities, and women like those I interviewed for this project. For the women I spent time with, the entity that held global policy power was invisible because that power did not translate to changing their immediate circumstances. These particular circumstances were what I wanted to trace as part of the transnational activity system of women's rights.

This study has examined the relationships between policies and people, particularly how global policies trickle down to advocacy practitioners and how the work of advocates pushes back against or provokes changes in policy. The preceding chapters outlined the framework of a transnational activity system of women's rights utilizing policy analysis and interviews in Berlin, Germany, and Dakar, Senegal. I adopted Charles Bazerman's methodology for studying genre systems and activity systems and included David Russell's theory of activity systems to specify the elements of the system I studied. Pairing policies regarding women's and gender issues with ethnographic research involving those who engaged with populations targeted by policy goals and metrics on a daily basis, this project demonstrated the reflexive capabilities of policies and advocacy workers. Instead of viewing rights-based work as a strictly top-down endeavor, I attempted to sketch out the spaces in which advocacy work interrupts, revises, disregards, and dismantles structures and policies that are problematic for women. Drawing from my fieldnotes

and interviews, I contextualized my analysis of policies focused on women by interacting with women in practical settings and observing how the advocates adapted those policies.

The policies influenced each other and advocacy work in ways that resist a top-down characterization. Germany created a development policy that included concepts such as equity and patriarchy in the framework – five years after the AUGP introduced equity as a Key Concept – and organizations such as Feministische Partei die Frau looked to Senegal as a possible model for more inclusive approaches to societal gender expectations in Germany and the EU.

Advocates at CODESRIA, instead of pushing for additional policy measures at the national and international level, focused on including more intersectional research and women researchers in conferences and publications about the African continent. Through decades of social movements and advocacy, as well as new centralizing structures on multiple continents, women promoted local needs and pushed back against global norms that complicated their engagement with rights across the activity system.

Exploring policies as part of a system rather than discrete engagements with economic development and rights, I discussed how the timing of policies, the level of governance from which they were authored, and the geographic location of the governance structure influenced how policies were revised in response to global and local norms. The findings of this study illuminate that global norms do not inherently dictate language choices in policies about women, but are situated as a starting point for international governing entities to promote women's and gender rights. Within the national and local contexts, Germany and Senegal recognized the importance of reducing pressure from international entities such as the AU and EU when developing policy frameworks for the future. Advocacy workers – like those at Tostan – continued in the civil society tradition of opposing policies that interfered with progress on

women's rights, refashioning global norms in such a way that local constituents accepted and engaged with social changes for women.

This final chapter examines the findings as well as the practical and theoretical implications that resulted from this study. While acknowledging the limitations of this study, I will set forth the implications of this type of research, which is key to completing a study with ethnographic methods and reflexively engaging with theory and practice. Finally, because I view my role in this project as a transnational activist researcher (building on the work of Ellen Cushman), I will conclude with possibilities for future transnational activist researchers and projects.

Discussion of Findings

Studying policies from 1948 – 2015 that mention women, gender, equality, and rights presents an interesting description of the transnational activity system of women's rights. This study contextualizes the policies alongside the narratives and opinions of advocacy workers in different locations as part of a system that actively constructs the rights of women and their ability to engage with those rights across multiple boundaries. Analyzing these policies demonstrates the multitude of ways women appear in policy discourse over time, and how some descriptions of women in policy (particularly from the Global North) have not changed significantly. Entities such as the African Union have pushed women and gender to the forefront of policies in order to promote equality and rights as a fundamental framework in the region. For the AU, establishing women's rights and gender equality as key principles and presenting the AU as a leader for those concepts creates the perception of the African continent as a key player in gender equality and progressive policy. In doing so, the African Union is actively resisting

characterizations from the Global North – particularly the UN and EU – about which entities actively work to serve women’s interests.

Women are included in policies defining human rights from the aftermath of WWII to present, but many of those rights are defined in relation to men, marriage, or maternity and do not account for race and place. While including language about women’s and gender rights in policies is an important step, more practical measures are necessary to ensure women’s ability to engage with and enact their rights across the transnational activity system of women’s rights. The African Union Commission took an important first step by ensuring parity between men and women, and countries throughout the AU are trying to follow suit. Consequently, gender parity in governance structures throughout the AU is surging ahead faster than in the EU, Germany, and other industrialized parts of the Global North. Not only is the African continent the “third most advanced region in terms of women’s participation in national parliaments and national decision making organs” (AU Gender Scorecard, 2015), Senegal has now surpassed Germany in the percentage of women represented in the national parliament³¹. It appears that the Gender Parity Law is having a positive effect on the number of women in governing positions in Senegal, but much more work remains to understand how women’s rights will change in light of shifting representation in the national government. With strong policy commitments from the AU and women becoming more involved in political processes, the environment for implementing women’s and gender policies practically and effectively is distinctive from other movements in the past. Now the international women’s movement is centered on issues such as migrant rights (Agisra), equity (AUGP and German Development Policy), and culture (Tostan).

³¹ <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=DE>;
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SG.GEN.PARL.ZS?locations=SN>

The key findings of the policy analysis demonstrated that language patterns in policies regarding women and gender, particularly in institutions controlled by the Global North, lack the clarity, specificity, and prescriptiveness from similar policies and governance structures in the so-called Global South. A key example is the disconnect between the mandates of the African Union Gender Policy and United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 (SDG5). While UN SDG 5 told girls to stay in school and women that their unconscious biases were the barrier to equal opportunity, the AUGP mandated reproductive rights and gender parity for Member States – an action taken before the UN added them to the framework for SDG 5. Work must be done at all levels of global governance to include the intersectional interests of women across a wide range of geographic and economic disparity. One way policy entities addressed this issue was to reframe recent policies around the term “empowerment.” The German Development Policy (2014), African Union Gender Policy (2009), European Union Gender Action Plan (2015), and United Nations Millennium Development Goal 3 (MDG3; 2000) all included the term “empowerment,” relating it to increased choices and agency for individual women. The policies used empowerment to describe integral components of development and equality across geographic regions.

Monitoring the progress of women’s rights on the ground is a key indicator of whether or not having more women in decision-making positions is a boon for enacting women’s rights policies. Though Senegal has sprinted to the forefront of equal representation for women in national parliaments, my work with women at AJS and Tostan demonstrates that land rights issues and access to healthcare in rural areas remain major obstacles for women throughout the country. In the cases of countries like Germany, and entities like the EU, women’s participation has stagnated despite repeated attempts to center their needs in governance structures. As Ceilia

pointed out, women in Germany must reframe their goals at the national level to appeal to men because women do not have a controlling interest in the Bundestag (national legislative body). At the global level, there is already evidence that on-the-ground advocacy is shifting the ways in which the UN approaches women's rights as an overarching framework. Until 2008, UN Women was responsible for CEDAW, but that responsibility was transferred to the UN High Commission on Human Rights. This change demonstrates that the international women's movement push for reconceptualizing women's rights as human had a positive effect, and that more can be achieved through transnational recognition of the importance of women's advocacy in the so-called Global South. Engagement with civil society actors or women's policy machineries, while helpful in determining policy goals and outcomes, cannot be effective without the input of advocacy workers developing localized strategies to implement those goals. Recognition of the importance of pressure from within value systems, particularly as that pressure has been applied on the African continent, is a crucial step in crafting meaningful policies addressing women, place, and race.

As progress continues to be made on women's and gender issues on the African continent, more weight should be given to those women with the most experience in strategizing for change in difficult political environments, and those individuals no longer reside exclusively in the Global North. Evidence from chapter 3 demonstrates that policy progress on the African continent regarding women and gender is surpassing that of the Global North, both in the language changes – including women, gender, and reproductive rights – but also the willingness to revise policies and include mandates for national governments. These measures can encourage women from the EU, Germany, and elsewhere to adopt new language and strategies that are deemed effective in other regions. More particularly, policies from the so-called Global North

will need to address equity and race as they relate to women across the spectrum of citizenship and migration status. Women and policy makers from the Global North will also have to recognize that perspectives from the African continent must be incorporated into globalization discourse at multiple levels. From the discussion of these findings, I will now sketch out the theoretical and practical implications of the project.

Discussion of Implications

Theoretical

This project contributes to multiple areas of theory in Rhetoric and Composition. Primarily, it functions as a case study for the “transnational turn” in rhetorical scholarship as characterized by Wendy S. Hesford and Wendy Kozol (2005), Nancy Fraser (2007 & 2013), and Royster & Kirsch (2012), at the intersection of genre studies, critical race theory, and transnational feminism. Second, my study contributes to genre studies within the field by analyzing the genre of policy statements within the activity system of transnational women’s advocacy work. This study challenges the idea that global entities set the bar for policy norms to be followed by other governance structures. By examining a transnational activity system, the study emphasizes the potential for advocacy and policy to be viewed as more than static entities related only in subject matter. This project promotes a model for critically analyzing policy discourse as it rhetorically accounts for intersectional identities across the system, including the voices of those who occupy multiple aspects of those identities to address how gender, race, and place influence the implementation and effectiveness of policy measures.

Theoretical contributions for this study may be broad because I expanded the core framework, a well-established theory in Genre Studies, to include an interdisciplinary transnational feminist activity system. I believe that fully engaging with the genre system

framework as Bazerman outlined, and including the activity system analysis with objects, motives, and tools as presented by Russell, highlights the importance of the personal and/or narrative in rhetorical work. In a discipline that constantly seeks generalizability for research projects, I am glad to present a snapshot of a system that is constantly changing due to the work of activists, advocates, intellectuals, and policy makers. The transnational activity system of women's rights is not formulated with the U.N at the top making the most important decisions and expecting Member States to merely follow suit. Women's and gender issues factor in at all levels of policy creation and implementation, and as such must be remade in ways that enable accessibility and action.

Another theoretical implication for this study is the connection between transnational feminist rhetorics and intersectional research practices. As I explained in chapter 1, scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins, Marcia Alesan Dawkins, and Sarah Banet-Weiser are pushing rhetorical studies to be more accountable in how the discipline addresses race in our scholarship. While analyzing texts is a productive way to assess generic conventions and the roles of texts in a system, Bazerman made it clear that going beyond those features is how we can meaningfully assess the integration of rhetorical and social action. Using interviews and participant observation of women in two locations, with different racial backgrounds, and requiring the use of three different languages added to the complex narrative of how women's rights are implemented under globalization. Incorporating the voices of women from Senegal and Germany created space for women in different global arenas to contextualize the transnational feminist rhetorics of women's rights. This simply could not be accomplished through a strict policy analysis, though perhaps reading the transcripts of speeches of women's rights leaders or women leaders of government might provide additional perspectives if personal interviews could not be

conducted. My theoretical goal for this project was to build on and engage in intersectional research in rhetorical studies. To further inform the theories of genre/activity systems and transnational feminist rhetorics, I must also discuss avenues for practical implications of this study.

Practical Implications

Policy makers, advocacy workers, and transnational researchers can benefit from using an intersectional approach to women's and gender policy advocacy. Throughout this study, policies from different areas within the activity system adapted language and goals to demonstrate a commitment to women's rights. If policy makers create policies without considering the constraints of women in local contexts, the goals will not match the needs of the constituents, and the implementation would be ineffective at best. Incorporating the diverse needs of women into global policy provides a more open framework for policies at the international and national levels to create meaningful extensions for more localized concerns. Awareness of how other governance structures approach women's and gender issues also counteracts the potential for conflicting policy measures at multiple levels in the system. For advocacy workers, awareness of policies at the global, international, and national levels provides a starting point for daily work and organizational strategies. It also strengthens advocacy work by giving a foundation to their actions and providing authoritative structure to women's and gender work on the ground.

Focusing on the adjustments that must be made in policy language to enable more progressive advocacy work that can be supported by local communities is another key takeaway from the project. The advocacy workers I interviewed were concerned not only about the language used in policy to establish rights and equality for women, but also the absence of

attention to racial and cultural differences at all levels in the system. One of the participants voiced hesitation that, even with women incorporated equally into governance structures, policies would be more inclusive and women's issues would be addressed more meaningfully. From this perspective, an important practical element of the project is demonstrating the need to incorporate more women into positions of power, but also focusing on how to address geographic and cultural issues that influence policy decisions.

Policy makers in the Global North must recognize the value of work in the Global South. Rather than utilizing the United Nations as the conduit for communication about women's and gender issues and policy approaches, members of governance from the African Union and European Union, as well as representatives from countries such as Germany and Senegal should study the similarities and divergences in their respective approaches to women's and gender policies. This is particularly important considering the current migrant and refugee crisis on the European continent. Policies regarding women's and gender issues must be rewritten and revised with multiple, intersecting cultural contexts in mind and must be responsive to the diverse needs of women in localized contexts. Engaging in this type of work across the transnational activity system of women's rights has far reaching implications for understanding and dismantling the roles of the United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund as they attempt to exert control over countries in the so-called Global South.

Limitations

Though Chapter 2 addressed some of the limitations of this study, I will now take the opportunity to expand on the key limitations of this study as a precursor to my discussion of avenues for future inquiry. Engaging in transnational research as a white, American, cis female, first generation graduate student has multiple complications, from language barriers and access

to materials from non-U.S. locations to the expenses associated with contacting potential study participants. While self-funding research is a constraint across the spectrum of research projects, obtaining the funding and time to complete a transnational research project as a graduate student is a significant challenge. Not only did I apply for approximately twenty different grants to fund the multiple international trips associated with conducting the ethnographic portion of this project, I had to build the trips around my class and teaching schedule, while maintaining timely progress to degree. The total amount of time I spent traveling for this project was over three months between July of 2015 and February 2016, and I received funding from multiple entities to make the trips possible. Without applying for and receiving additional funding to conduct the site visits for the project, the activity system analysis of the policies would be incomplete because the ethnographic aspect of understanding how people actually use the texts would be missing.

While I am incredibly grateful to my institution for the funding opportunities and the faculty who pushed me to finish the project with the ethnographic portion, the overall environment of a graduate program is not conducive to research that involves travel to complete interviews, member checks, and participant observation. Completing this project as a graduate student made me question the ways in which we promote transnational research practices in graduate programs. One of the faculty involved with the project pointed out that doing transnational research in graduate school would be a great way to establish myself as a researcher, and also allow me to confront the issues involved with transnational research before becoming a faculty member. Establishing myself as a transnational researcher in a graduate program was met with mixed reviews, technological issues, and concerns about funding and

feasibility. Even with the difficulties I faced, I was much better positioned to complete this project than women from the African continent.

Limitations for this project included a limited sample of participants, mainly due to my lack of knowledge of French and Wolof in Senegal, and the availability of the translator and participants. As I briefly explained in Chapter 4, on during my initial interviews in Senegal I was concerned with the authenticity of the responses from my male translator, and how his presence impacted the dynamics of the interviews. When I returned to the U.S. to write about the limitations, I realized that even if I could record exactly what the women I interviewed were saying and translate it perfectly, that was not the issue I was fighting as a researcher. My goal was to include them in the narrative of this project to the best of my abilities, and as the project currently stands, I fulfilled that obligation. When I return to Senegal in summer 2017, I am interested to see how my language skills in Wolof and French will impact follow-ups and additional interviews. I was also limited in my ability to visit potential participants by transit schedules and budget constraints. Spending time primarily in Dakar, and urban center in Senegal, precluded my engagement with rural women and leaves the relationship between rural and urban attitudes about women and gender unexplored in the current project. The time of year I conducted this research also presented an issue in both locations, because many potential participants for the study were on holiday during the time I was on site. Having additional participants would allow for greater representation of the voices of participants and local perspectives, including increased representation within individual organizations. Improving my language skills would reduce the amount of information lost in translation during interviews. Additional research would include site visits with advocacy workers outside of their office

spaces (if permitted), follow-up interviews with participants, and observations over the course of a few months while I worked with different organizations.

Another key limitation of the study is the demographic of participants in Germany. Additional interviews with women of color engaged in advocacy work, and working with organizations engaged in advocacy for migrant women would have added a nuanced perspective about the rights of women who crossed international and global boundaries. Despite these limitations I have acknowledged, I think the current data set, as it focuses on establishing a framework for the transnational activity system of women's rights, provides an important starting point from which other researchers can illuminate other parts of the system. In the following section, I detail possibilities for future research.

Avenues for Future Inquiry

For advocacy workers, policy makers, and researchers, this study demonstrates multiple areas to explore for future inquiry. First, I recommend an analysis of the key documents of the organizations I visited alongside global, international, and national policies related to the goals of the organization. This would provide connections from the local, organizational level all the way to the global level of women's and gender issues. Particularly for the genre system analysis, I am interested if documents from local advocacy organizations use similar language to that of policies throughout the activity system, and whether organizations in Senegal and Germany use similar language and conceptual frameworks. I also think additional participant observations and interviews over a longer period of time would further contextualize the motives behind advocacy work and the connections with conversations I began in this project about implementing women's rights policies effectively in local contexts. Observations could also demonstrate the

ways in which advocacy work resists policy mandates or influences policies over a particular period of time.

Policy makers could also explore the ways in which advocacy workers implement key goals in global policy on a daily basis. Instead of relying on big picture civil society actors and data sets to inform whether or not policy mandates are effective, spending time on the ground with advocacy workers and their constituents can provide a richer understanding of the needs of the women policies target. As Ellen Cushman (1998) pointed out, “a focus on the outcomes diverts our attention away from the process of the struggle and the sophistication of the tools; in our push to see significant structural change, we trample over the texture of everyday political life” (x). This study demonstrates the importance of concurrent rhetorical and social practices regarding women’s rights. The actions of the advocacy workers, coupled with changing global, international, and national policy norms regarding women’s and gender issues, represent the complexities inherent in promoting and implementing women’s rights initiatives.

For researchers in Rhetoric and Composition, this project promotes future inquiry into the systematic ways policies and people interact around a particular issue. Transnational rhetorical research has significant potential to include more studies focused on the intersections of discursive policy, race, and activism. I also encourage engaging in multi-country studies from within the same international context, such as conducting an activity system analysis involving multiple countries in the African Union. Conducting an analysis of two countries within the AU can demonstrate the differences in how national governments address international mandates – particularly as they relate to cultural differences – and the similarities and differences in local advocacy practices. Additionally, researchers could conduct this type of analysis about a different global issue such a climate change or migration issues. Researching the implications of

migration from the African continent to the European continent and the policy responses to refugees and migration issues is an avenue to utilize the framework I have outlined here, particularly because the interview participants could be advocacy workers as well as migrants. These avenues of research would contribute to the body of transnational research in the field and expand the field's engagement with transnational rhetorical and social action.

The Stories I Tell Myself: My Identity as a Transnational Activist Researcher

When Paula Mathieu gave her keynote remarks at the Watson Conference in 2014, she began her talk with a “peace bell,” and went on to ask the question: What gets in the way of my presence? She also discussed the concept of “inner rhetoric,” which she defined as the “stories we tell ourselves about ourselves” and reminded the scholars in the room that “place matters,” that we should “come to the table as someone with more than a mind” in order to change the conversation. This project began from my desire to understand the multiple frameworks in policy discourse from a transnational, rhetorical standpoint. As the research developed, I recognized the importance of grounding my analysis in the experiences of the people affected by the policies I analyzed. An advantage of this study is my understanding of the privileges I have in engaging with this type of research and the ways I access particular spaces and groups as a transnational activity researcher. I also learned how to map out and manage a transnational research project with very little practical information on how to execute it successfully. My hope is that other scholars with aspirations to complete transnational research can look to this project as an example of how to set up a similar project and avoid some of the struggles or concerns I encountered along the way.

From the time I set foot in Dakar, I understood how international and global power structures could be invisible to the women I was interviewing, and the people they wanted to

serve. Policy documents focused on women's rights at the global and international levels were not part of the daily concerns for advocacy workers in Dakar. This was especially true during my first day of interviews at the Associate for Senegalese Women Jurists (AJS). When I arrived with the translator to the AJS offices, Eliza and Penny guided us to the conference room and explained that the power in the building was out – they did not know if the power would return that day or that week. Considering that one of the primary ways women contacted AJS was by phone, there were significantly more women in the office waiting to be counseled than normal. I also recognized that women in rural areas who might call AJS for counseling or legal advice would be unable to do so until power returned to the building. The power being out in the building made the work of counseling women difficult, but also interfered with the preparatory work for the land rights presentation to the Senegalese government later that week. For Eliza, Penny, and the women seeking services from AJS, policies from the United Nations and the African Union were not nearly as important as navigating around the immediate constraint of the field office having no electrical power.

Travelling from southern Germany, to Dakar six months later, and then back to Berlin, Germany made me aware of the degree to which place matters for rhetors, but also how it affected me as a researcher and my research project. What I recognized throughout the project, from the outset to the current manuscript, was that this research was a way for me to access and analyze parts of my own inner rhetoric. One way of accessing my inner rhetoric was to take personal notes as part of my field work, which is how I remembered that the power in the AJS building was out. Each day during my field work I wrote short journal entries or side notes about my experiences during the day. In both Dakar and Berlin, I wrote notes about places I went to collect my thoughts or reflect on my project, language barriers, and thoughts on what I would do

differently if I had the chance to return. Dakar was hot and I walked almost everywhere, except for the times I traveled with the translator from the West Africa Research Center; my limited French and Wolof vocabulary were barely enough for me to purchase food and travel throughout the city. Berlin was freezing (I saw my first snow all winter) and I traveled everywhere alone on public transit; I spent the majority of my time communicating in German and increasing my comfort with speaking a second language. For me, in each of these cities I wondered about how people saw me – whether I blended in with the crowds, why people spoke to me in certain ways, and how I felt about my identity in transnational settings.

At multiple times throughout this project I had to interrogate my subject position, whether through my interview questions or the scholars cited throughout my project or how I navigated institutional discourses and constraints for dissertation projects. Some of my initial interview notes describe concerns of misrepresenting the answers of participants whose interviews I could not record. In my field notebook, I wrote that I wanted to maintain “authenticity,” thinking that translating exactly what the women were describing to me was the highest priority. Revisiting my notes throughout the project, I recognized that the priority of engaging meaningfully with my research questions should not be compromised because I did not have exact translations from all of my interviews and participant observations. My position included limited language capabilities, but I still had the privilege of a translator and people at the West Africa Research Center to arrange my visits with organizations in Dakar³². These moments taught me to listen to the core of my goals as a rhetorical scholar and activist, but to also question my assumptions and incorporate diverse perspectives at multiple stages of the

³² I was told by the translator I worked with that people were nice to me in Dakar because I was white. This carried forward to a recent African Studies class in which a colleague repeated this exact sentiment – the colleague did not know about my dialogue with the translator in Dakar.

research process. As a researcher and an activist, I can bring the institution with me into the field, and I can take information from the field back to the institution, but the best work I can do is to bring those aspects of my scholarly identity into direct contention and conversation with each other – the work I tried to do here.

Throughout the project, I have written and revised the stories I tell myself about myself and my work. While there are myriad discussions of positionality, I believe that an engagement with inner rhetoric in a meaningful way to understand not only my position as a researcher, but how my presences alters the research space when I enter it, and how I am altered throughout the research process as a transnational activist researcher. Ellen Cushman wrote:

Because activist research demands reciprocity and a focus on political issues salient for those with whom we study, we are much more likely to foster mutually beneficial relations through our research methods... When we immerse ourselves in hidden symbolic systems, we begin to comprehend the limitations of our notions of politics at local levels and the analytical awareness present there. (238)

I could not have engaged as well with the participants in this study if I did not care about women's rights or how texts constrain the actions of people. When I was in Dakar, a participant offered to find me a Senegalese husband so I could stay there and continue my work. A participant in Germany asked how often I would be coming back, and if I would need a place to stay in Cologne. When I began this project, I did not know how global politics would play out in diverse, local settings. Becoming a part of those settings, even if for a limited time, allowed me to interrogate my own analytical awareness alongside that of the participants. If transnational activist researchers continue to seek out the narratives of those affected by policies at the global, international, and national levels, there is potential to craft more salient policies, but also the

possibility of increasing local awareness and engagement with specific rights under the law. In doing so, we may be part of the “tostan yo” or “breakthroughs” in transnational rhetorical research methods.

Appendix 1

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)	
Goals and Targets (from the Millennium Declaration)	Indicators for monitoring progress
Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger	
Target 1: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day	1. Proportion of population below \$1 (PPP) per day ^a 2. Poverty gap ratio [incidence x depth of poverty] 3. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption
Target 2: Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger	4. Prevalence of underweight children under-five years of age 5. Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption
Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education	
Target 3: Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling	6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education 7. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 8. Literacy rate of 15-24 year-olds
Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education preferably by 2005 and to all levels of education no later than 2015	9. Ratios of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education 10. Ratio of literate females to males of 15-24 year-olds 11. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector 12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament
Goal 4: Reduce child mortality	
Target 5: Reduce by two-thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate	13. Under-five mortality rate 14. Infant mortality rate 15. Proportion of 1 year-old children immunised against measles
Goal 5: Improve maternal health	
Target 6: Reduce by three-quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio	16. Maternal mortality ratio 17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel
Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases	
Target 7: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS	18. HIV prevalence among 15-24 year old pregnant women 19. Condom use rate of the contraceptive prevalence rate ^b 20. Number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS ^c
Target 8: Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases	21. Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria 22. Proportion of population in malaria risk areas using effective malaria prevention and treatment measures ^d 23. Prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis 24. Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under directly observed treatment short course (DOTS)
Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability	
Target 9: Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources	25. Proportion of land area covered by forest 26. Ratio of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area 27. Energy use (kg oil equivalent) per \$1 GDP (PPP) 28. Carbon dioxide emissions (per capita) and consumption of ozone-depleting CFCs (ODP tons) 29. Proportion of population using solid fuels
Target 10: Halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water	30. Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source, urban and rural
Target 11: By 2020, to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers	31. Proportion of urban population with access to improved sanitation 32. Proportion of households with access to secure tenure (owned or rented)

Appendix 1, con't.

Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development	
<p>Target 12: Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system</p> <p>Includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction – both nationally and internationally</p>	<p><i>Some of the indicators listed below are monitored separately for the least developed countries (LDCs), Africa, landlocked countries and small island developing States.</i></p> <p><u>Official development assistance</u></p> <p>33. Net ODA, total and to LDCs, as percentage of OECD/DAC donors' gross national income</p> <p>34. Proportion of total bilateral, sector-allocable ODA of OECD/DAC donors to basic social services (basic education, primary health care, nutrition, safe water and sanitation)</p> <p>35. Proportion of bilateral ODA of OECD/DAC donors that is untied</p> <p>36. ODA received in landlocked countries as proportion of their GNIs</p> <p>37. ODA received in small island developing States as proportion of their GNIs</p>
<p>Target 13: Address the special needs of the least developed countries</p> <p>Includes: tariff and quota free access for least developed countries' exports; enhanced programme of debt relief for HIPC and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction</p>	<p>38. Proportion of total developed country imports (by value and excluding arms) from developing countries and LDCs, admitted free of duties</p> <p>39. Average tariffs imposed by developed countries on agricultural products and textiles and clothing from developing countries</p> <p>40. Agricultural support estimate for OECD countries as percentage of their GDP</p> <p>41. Proportion of ODA provided to help build trade capacity^e</p>
<p>Target 14: Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing States</p> <p>(through the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly)</p>	<p><u>Market access</u></p> <p>42. Total number of countries that have reached their HIPC decision points and number that have reached their HIPC completion points (cumulative)</p> <p>43. Debt relief committed under HIPC initiative, US\$</p> <p>44. Debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services</p>
<p>Target 15: Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term</p>	<p>45. Unemployment rate of 15-24 year-olds, each sex and total^f</p>
<p>Target 16: In co-operation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth</p>	<p>46. Proportion of population with access to affordable essential drugs on a sustainable basis</p>
<p>Target 17: In co-operation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable, essential drugs in developing countries</p>	<p>47. Telephone lines and cellular subscribers per 100 population</p> <p>48. Personal computers in use per 100 population and Internet users per 100 population</p>
<p>Target 18: In co-operation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications</p>	

The Millennium Development Goals and targets come from the Millennium Declaration signed by 189 countries, including 147 Heads of State, in September 2000 (www.un.org/documents/ga/res/55/a55r002.pdf - A/RES/55/2). The goals and targets are inter-related and should be seen as a whole. They represent a partnership between the developed countries and the developing countries determined, as the Declaration states, "to create an environment – at the national and global levels alike – which is conducive to development and the elimination of poverty."

^a For monitoring country poverty trends, indicators based on national poverty lines should be used, where available.

^b Amongst contraceptive methods, only condoms are effective in preventing HIV transmission. The contraceptive prevalence rate is also useful in tracking progress in other health, gender and poverty goals. Because the condom use rate is only measured amongst women in union, it will be supplemented by an indicator on condom use in high risk situations. These indicators will be augmented with an indicator of knowledge and misconceptions regarding HIV/AIDS by 15-24 year-olds (UNICEF – WHO).

^c To be measured by the ratio of proportion of orphans to non-orphans aged 10-14 who are attending school.

^d Prevention to be measured by the % of under 5s sleeping under insecticide treated bednets; treatment to be measured by % of under 5s who are appropriately treated.

^e OECD and WTO are collecting data that will be available for 2001 onwards.

^f An improved measure of the target is under development by ILO for future years.

Appendix 2



Appendix 2, con't.

WHAT ARE THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT GOALS?

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), otherwise known as the Global Goals, are a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity.

These 17 Goals build on the successes of the Millennium Development Goals, while including new areas such as climate change, economic inequality, innovation, sustainable consumption, peace and justice, among other priorities. The goals are interconnected – often the key to success on one will involve tackling issues more commonly associated with another.

The SDGs work in the spirit of partnership and pragmatism to make the right choices now to improve life, in a sustainable way, for future generations. They provide clear guidelines and targets for all countries to adopt in accordance with their own priorities and the environmental challenges of the world at large. The SDGs are an inclusive agenda. They tackle the root causes of poverty and unite us together to make a positive change for both people and planet.

“Supporting the 2030 Agenda is a top priority for UNDP,” said UNDP Administrator Helen Clark. “The SDGs provide us with a common plan and agenda to tackle some of the pressing challenges facing our world such as poverty, climate change and conflict. UNDP has the experience and expertise to drive progress and help support countries on the path to sustainable development.”

WHAT IS UNDP'S ROLE?

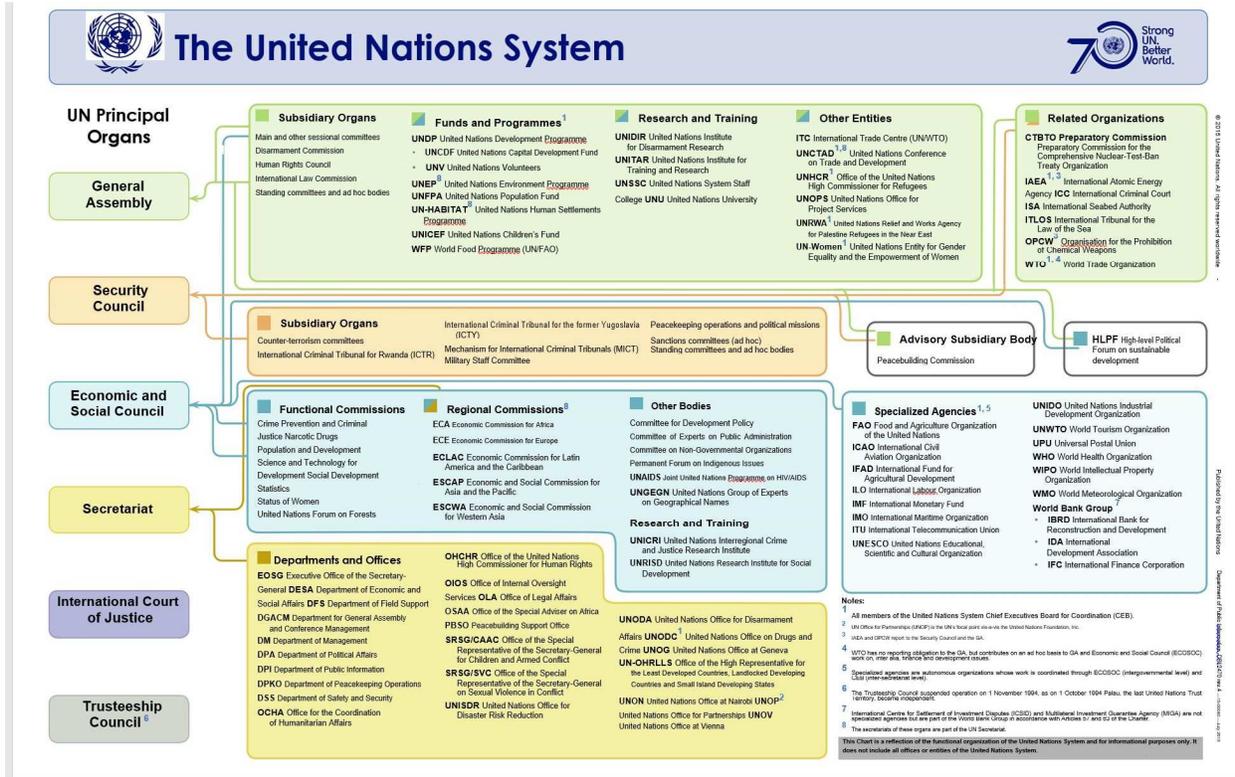
The SDGs came into effect in January 2016, and they will continue guide UNDP policy and funding for the next 15 years. As the lead UN development agency, UNDP is uniquely placed to help implement the Goals through our work in some 170 countries and territories.

Our strategic plan focuses on key areas including poverty alleviation, democratic governance and peacebuilding, climate change and disaster risk, and economic inequality. UNDP provides support to governments to integrate the SDGs into their national development plans and policies. This work is already underway, as we support many countries in accelerating progress already achieved under the Millennium Development Goals.

Our track record working across multiple goals provides us with a valuable experience and proven policy expertise to ensure we all reach the targets set out in the SDGs by 2030. But we cannot do this alone.

Achieving the SDGs requires the partnership of governments, private sector, civil society and citizens alike to make sure we leave a better planet for future generations.

Appendix 3



Appendix 4

YOUR GUIDE TO THE EU INSTITUTIONS

5

Who takes the decisions?

Decision-making at EU level involves various European institutions, in particular:

- ▶ the **European Parliament**, which represents the EU's citizens and is directly elected by them;
- ▶ the **European Council**, which consists of the Heads of State or Government of the EU Member States;
- ▶ the **Council**, which represents the governments of the EU Member States;
- ▶ the **European Commission**, which represents the interests of the EU as a whole.

The European Council defines the general political direction and priorities of the EU but it does not exercise legislative functions. Generally, it is the European Commission that proposes new laws and it is the European Parliament and Council that adopt them. The Member States and the Commission then implement them.

What types of legislation are there?

There are several types of legal acts which are applied in different ways.

- ▶ A **regulation** is a law that is applicable and binding in all Member States directly. It does not need to be passed into national law by the Member States although national laws may need to be changed to avoid conflicting with the regulation.

- ▶ A **directive** is a law that binds the Member States, or a group of Member States, to achieve a particular objective. Usually, directives must be transposed into national law to become effective. Significantly, a directive specifies the result to be achieved: it is up to the Member States individually to decide how this is done.

- ▶ A **decision** can be addressed to Member States, groups of people, or even individuals. It is binding in its entirety. Decisions are used, for example, to rule on proposed mergers between companies.

- ▶ **Recommendations** and **opinions** have no binding force.

How is legislation passed?

Every European law is based on a specific treaty article, referred to as the 'legal basis' of the legislation. This determines which legislative procedure must be followed. The treaty sets out the decision-making process, including Commission proposals, successive readings by the Council and Parliament, and the opinions of the advisory bodies. It also lays down when unanimity is required, and when a qualified majority is sufficient for the Council to adopt legislation.

The great majority of EU legislation is adopted using the **Ordinary Legislative Procedure**. In this procedure, the Parliament and the Council share legislative power.

Appendix 5

12

Operating structure

The AU's key decision and policy organs are the:

Assembly of Heads of State and Government. The Assembly is the AU's supreme policy and decision-making organ. It comprises all Member State Heads of State and Government.

Executive Council. The Executive Council coordinates and takes decisions on policies in areas of common interest to Member States. It is responsible to the Assembly. It considers issues referred to it and monitors the implementation of policies formulated by the Assembly. The Executive Council is composed of foreign ministers or such other ministers or authorities as are designated by the governments of Member States.

Permanent Representatives Committee (PRC). The Committee is charged with the responsibility of preparing the work of the Executive Council and acting on the Executive Council's instructions. It comprises Permanent Representatives to the Union and other plenipotentiaries of Member States.

Specialised Technical Committees (STCs). Thematic Committees are provided for under the AU Constitutive Act and are responsible to the Executive Council. They comprise Member State ministers or senior officials.

Peace and Security Council (PSC). The PSC is the AU's organ for the prevention, management and resolution of conflicts. It comprises 15 elected Member States.

African Union Commission (AUC). The Commission is the AU's secretariat. It is based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and composed of an elected chairperson, deputy chairperson and eight commissioners, and staff.

Regional groups

AU Member States are divided into the following five geographic regions. The groups were defined by the OAU in 1976 (CM/Res.464QCXVI).

Central Africa

Burundi	Chad	Equatorial Guinea
Cameroon	Congo	Gabon
Central African Republic	DR Congo	São Tomé and Príncipe

Eastern Africa

Comoros	Madagascar	South Sudan
Djibouti	Mauritius	Sudan
Eritrea	Rwanda	Uganda
Ethiopia	Seychelles	UR of Tanzania
Kenya	Somalia	

Northern Africa

Algeria	Libya	Sahrawi Republic
Egypt	Mauritania	Tunisia

Southern Africa

Angola	Mozambique	Zambia
Botswana	Namibia	Zimbabwe
Lesotho	South Africa	
Malawi	Swaziland	

Appendix 5, con't.

Western Africa

13

Benin	Ghana	Niger
Burkina Faso	Guinea	Nigeria
Cabo Verde	Guinea Bissau	Senegal
Côte d'Ivoire	Liberia	Sierra Leone
Gambia	Mali	Togo

Regional Economic Communities (RECs)

The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are regional groupings of African states and are the pillars of the AU. All were formed prior to the launch of the AU. The RECs have developed individually and have differing roles and structures. Generally, the purpose of the RECs is to facilitate regional economic integration between members of the individual regions and through the wider African Economic Community (AEC), which was established under the Abuja Treaty (1991). This Treaty, which has been in operation since 1994, ultimately seeks to create an African Common Market using the RECs as building blocks. See pages 122–134 for more information about the RECs.

The AU recognises eight RECs, the:

- Arab Maghreb Union (UMA)²
- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- Community of Sahel–Saharan States (CEN–SAD)
- East African Community (EAC)³
- Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Observers

Non-governmental organisations, non-African states, regional integration and international organisations can apply for observer status or accreditation to the AU. The Executive Council adopted the criteria for granting observer status and the system of accreditation in its decision 230(VII) of July 2005, as set out in document EX.CL/195(VII) Annex V. See the Partnerships chapter for a list of non-African states and organisations accredited to the AU.

The Assembly recognises representatives of the African Diaspora⁴ to attend Assembly sessions as observers (Assembly/AU/Res.1(XVIII), July 2012).

Budget

The AU is funded by contributions from Member States and donors. See the Budget and Scale of Assessment chapter for more information.

Notes

- 2 UMA is not a signatory to the Protocol on Relations between the RECs and the AU.
- 3 In October 2013, on the sidelines of an AU Extraordinary Summit, IGAD and EAC Foreign Ministers decided to explore the possibility of merging these two RECs.
- 4 In January 2008, the Executive Council suggested that the African Diaspora be treated as Africa's sixth region and its participation in the AU's organs and activities be strengthened (EX.CL/406(XII)). The Assembly has recognised the Diaspora as a substantive entity contributing to the economic and social development of the continent and has invited its representatives as observers to Assembly sessions (Assembly/AU/Res.1(XVIII)).

Appendix 6

United Nations

Gender Equality, United Nations Sustainable Development Goals; 2015

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, United Nations General Assembly; December 1979

International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, General Assembly, United Nations; December 1966

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Assembly, United Nations; December 1966

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, United Nations; 1948

Resolution 1325, Security Council, United Nations; October 2000

African Union

African (Banjul) Charter on Human and People's Rights; Organization of African Unity; 1981

Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights; July 2003

Constitutive Act of the African Union, Organization of African Unity; July 2000

African Union Gender Policy, The Assembly of the Union; 2009

Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, African Heads of State, The Assembly of the Union; July 2004

European Union

EU Plan of Action on Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Development 2010-2015; European Commission; 2010

Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, European Commission; 2000

Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe, European Communities, 2005

Germany

Gender Equality in German Development Policy, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development; February 2014

Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany; as of October 2010

Act Implementing European Directives Putting Into Effect the Principle of Equal Treatment, Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency; as of August 2009

The Policy on Gender Equality in Germany, Policy Department C: Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs, European Parliament; April 2015

Senegal

Code de la famille Sénégalaise; 1989

Constitution of the Republic of Senegal; January 2001

Instituant la parité absolue Homme-Femme; République du Senegal; 2010

Appendix 7

What is your name, how old are you, and where do you work?

Where are you from?

What is your educational background?

What is the mission of the organization, and what is your job title and/or description?

How are you involved? how long have you been working there?

What made you want to get involved?

What does your work day look like?

What is most important about this work to you?

What project is your current priority? Which project(s) is a priority for the organization?

Can you tell me about some other initiatives you worked on? Which ones stand out that worked really well? What about ones that didn't? What was the difference?

Who does your organization partner with?

How does the organization decide which projects or initiatives to pursue? What entities influence those decisions?

How does your organization communicate about which initiatives it's working on? (to organization members/workers, the community/public, the government, etc.)

How do you view the relationship between your organization, national advocacy/policy, and international advocacy/policy?

What do you think is missing from national and/or international discourse on women's rights and/or gender rights?

What are some of the limitations on your work, and/or the work of the organization? (time, number of people working, other agencies, national policy, etc.)

What are some unique advantages to your work, which might not be possible elsewhere?

What types of writing/texts do you use in your work?

What strategies do you use when creating texts for your work? What strategies do you (or the organization) use when creating texts (memos, flyers, etc.)?

Are there others involved with this work to whom you can refer me? (name and contact information)

Finally, is there any other information you would like to share with me that I did not ask about above? What else should I know as I move forward with this project?