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**GUEST NAME: PROFESSOR ANTJE SCHUHMANN – DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL STUDIES – UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND**

<b>SPEAKER</b>	<b>TRANSCRIPTION</b>
DR. MALKA	Hello, I'm Dr. Amaleya Goneos-Malka, welcome to 'Womanity – Women in Unity'. The show that celebrates prominent and ordinary African Women's milestone achievements in their struggles for liberation, self-emancipation, human rights, democracy, racism, socio-economic class division and gender based violence.
DR. MALKA	Joining us in studio today in Johannesburg is Professor Antje Schuhmann who works in the Political Studies Department at the University of The Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. She is also a fellow at the Wits Centre for Diversity Studies. Welcome to the show!
<b>PROF SCHUHMANN</b>	<b>Thank you very much, lovely to be here.</b>
DR. MALKA	To kick off, your career has seen you live and work in several countries; you're with the American Institute at the Ludwig Maximilian's University in Munich (Germany); the American and Black Studies in English Speaking Cultures Department of the University of Bremen in Germany, at the University of Paris (France); University of Orleans (France); before moving to University of Witwatersrand in South Africa.
<b>PROF SCHUHMANN</b>	<b>...indeed.</b>
DR. MALKA	You also have a very broad scope of research interests some of which I'll list briefly; feminist theories and methodologies, gender based violence, critical diversity studies with a special focus on the intersection of race, gender, class and sexuality; body and identity politics, post-colonial theory, memory politics. Can you please share with us a few of the highlights of your research?
<b>PROF SCHUHMANN</b>	<b>Thank you. Yeah, you know, it looks like as if there's a very wide selection of topics and in one way it is, but in another one it is not because the interesting part is I think if we'd like to understand the conditions we're currently living in and why some people are included and others are excluded, how it is that some are privileged and others are facing discrimination and are underprivileged, then I think all these topics are coming together. They're intersecting with each other, they're reinforcing each other and they speak to each other and that is, I think, where my interest starts. So I think I am interested in wherever I live, in whatever context I am; what are the similarities and differences across countries around the issues of why do we have high levels of violence and discrimination against certain kinds of people and groupings, who's benefitting from this and what are the historic legacies which are feeding, still today, into certain unfair social conditions and that is where the topics around homophobia, violence against women, racism, abject poverty or other forms of socio-economic privilege and therefore a socio-economic exclusion of others where they come together. So race, gender, class and sexuality, plus of course, other forms of discrimination are speaking to each other, so in the end it's not that wide conceptually speaking as one might think and globally speaking where we are...we see that a lot of gains we seem to have made in many places are actually we're losing them again. So forms of exclusion are resurfacing, privilege...structures of privilege seem to be reinforced again by multiple groupings in different countries in</b>

	<p>different forms and styles and we see this partly in South Africa, we see this partly in the US, it doesn't matter where we look; to Germany as well and I think it is quite an interesting but also dangerous moment.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>Do you think it's a case of apathy, of when we feel as though movements have made ground, gained ground that we go we're here, we've made it and people become complacent and they don't keep on at the issues?</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Ja I think partly that is a...I mean it's difficult to kind of answer that question without context but I think there is...you can have different political strategies which address...which will address forms of exclusion and privilege which produces that exclusion and I think a lot of social movements have tried to address these forms of exclusion or violence. So trying to institutionalise, politically, certain mechanisms which address these exclusions and discriminations and as much as I would say in certain ways that's beneficiary, important, but we often then tend to think okay, now we've done it we can tick it off the list, we have established it and now it's fine; either we go home and we can have our own peace now or we move onto the next item on the shopping list which we want to achieve and I think what the current moment shows us that we constantly have to remain vigilant and we cannot lean back and assume once we've achieved something we are in a safe space now. I can give you many different experiences of different social movements and contexts, but I think one very much close to home is that we had national headlines in 2012/13 about a so-called sex pest at the University of The Witwatersrand where exclusively male professors have harassed students; because it made headlines, because people like you pick that up it was in the media, the university has felt it needs to respond to this proactively and has put suggestions in and implemented recommendations as made by gender activists, academics, lawyers inside the university. We thought now we're fine, we have an operational unit which is dealing with complaints, which is organising disciplinary hearings around the perpetrators, it's victim centred, with cutting-edge legalise speaking, we've done really well with support the administration; we leaned back, went back into our disciplines, did our work there and now we're seeing that these structures are undermined and these are people in positions of power mostly. They have access to resources to pushback and that's what we see in the United States as well in the aftermath of the Me Too movement; this is the context where certain things are achieved, in our case structural reforms, policy reforms, in other forms where media suddenly is paying attention and then we see a pushback, and that's what we have.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>And this speaks to the issue, I think, of having independent structures because if you've got perpetrators or let's say people who are involved within the institution that are part of the power component, because that's what politics is, it's about these power relationships and power dimensions which is why you need to have the independent body that can look at things objectively.</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Absolutely, I agree with you and in a way that's what should happen, but then the mechanism must be put safe so that not old boy's networks can re-emerge where somebody calls people on the echelons and say hey, I'm not happy with the process I'm getting here, can you please help me. These kinds of things are problematic and this is what always can happen, because we are humans and so if the kind of developed structures which are parallel states within an institution, then that's a problem. So it's, I think, in a wider context outside of the university I'm working in and I think these problems...my university faces a problem that all universities in South Africa face, right....</p>

DR. MALKA	I think not just universities, I think all institutions...
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...all institutions....</b>
DR. MALKA	...because it's part of a...
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...yeah....</b>
DR. MALKA	...culture that has come up.
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>And this is I think, we are very clear that we also want to have men, for instance, who champion this; it's actually incredibly important that in the context of discrimination against women, particularly gender based violence, particularly sexual harassment at the work place that men stand in solidarity with women and come forward because men can talk to men sometimes in different ways, they're listened to in different ways and strategically this might be in certain moments something a movement or a network can employ very tactically.</b>
DR. MALKA	Looking at the gender based violence aspect, I've just pulled some statistics here on..and I'm always shocked when I look at these figures and in fact horrified; over 90% of sexual offenses are committed against women and it's estimated that almost 30% of those crimes go unreported and in the last ten years, according to the South African Police Service Statistics, so between 2008 to 2018, there were 584,497 (five hundred and eighty-four thousand, four hundred and ninety-seven) sexual offences reported. The numbers are not going down, so if anything the numbers are increasing year-on-year. What is it that we're doing wrong? Are we taking on too much of a victim support mentality and not trying to stop new victims from occurring? So given the work that you've done within the gender based violence section, what have been some of your findings?
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>Well for the first question are the numbers increasing or not is a difficult one to answer because what I think what we can see, at least also in the time span of a decade in South Africa what we see is the public awareness in a way is shifting. We currently at the university have a vice chancellor who thinks it's good for him to present himself as proactively combating these things. So it seems to be that in the public realm you can earn plus points; the discourse is shifting, people are more aware of these things and people utilise also talking about these things, right. On the other hand I feel also that amongst young women there is a stronger sense of; this is not right and I have to do something about it and that might then also lead to more reporting's; that's one way to look at it. On another lens, which is differently if we look at it, then I think we are in a condition in South Africa where we have an increase in socio-economic inequality, we have an increase a general kind of like sense of violence generally spread in South Africa on multiple levels and I think that is something which automatically also leads to an increase in gender based violence and then we need to break it down into the different kind of like...there are different framings of how different people try to make sense of this phenomenon and some would say it's a part of a backlash, so the more women generally have gained visibility in society in a way of some form of legal kind of protection, the more men feel sidelined, the more they retaliate in these direct forms. Others argue it has to do also in South Africa with a kind of endemic, forms of gang culture and forms of violence even perpetuated of men amongst men and very high large numbers of people who are prison population, either just during the investigation or convicted already and that these are spaces where a lot of violence takes place which then filters back into society and where gender based violence becomes rather a weapon in a</b>

	<p>different kind of sense. You have a very, very long history of slavery and colonialism and then apartheid where human life, particularly black human lives, were you know, not considered to be worth anything. There's a long culture of impunity which goes back centuries, particularly impunity around white male perpetrators of all kinds of violence. So I think these 20 years into democracy...20 plus years into democracy are really, really a short period of time to rectify a long culture of generally of violence, which under particular conditions is also showing itself in its gendered nature as well as in its sexualised nature. So we have a high level in South Africa also of violence against male performing women, against women who have same sex desires, so they are particularly singled out, so there are multiple aspects to it which we know little about, still.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>It's a very complex topic and it carries a lot of baggage as well and I think that's one of the factors which you've spoken about on yours is memory politics and I think this is also part of the memory that you bring from generational memory that you live out. Some of your work incorporates feminist theory, social movements and memory politics as I mentioned earlier and given that South Africa's about to go, next week in fact, to our sixth democratic election, it's unfortunate we don't have any female presidential nominees, but the area that I'm looking at here is the world over, there are not many female politicians as leaders; Angela Merkel (Germany); Theresa May (Great Britain); Irma Solberg (Norway); Jacinda Arden (New Zealand), are a few that come to mind. From an African point of view we had Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, we had Joyce Banda and now the only sitting female president in the continent is Shale-Work Zewde of Ethiopia. In your opinion, why do you think we have so few female leaders?</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Ohh, I think the question's why and where, so I mean these are kind of like female leaders...</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>...country context as the where?</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Yeah, I think I mean female...look, politics happen on a classic representational level where you normally have a party or multiple parties which have internal dynamics which then nominate candidates in a particular democratic context, which is more or less patriarchal or more or less open to female leadership, right, so that's the one thing. There is another form of politics which happens outside of party structures which are social movements, civil society, etc., and these contexts are vastly different from country to country. So the question is difficult to answer why do we have not less on the continent, globally, in Germany, I mean Germany it's the first one and I don't think a female candidate will follow suite but another question that I think then comes to mind; what do we gain through female leaders, right? I don't think that Theresa May is currently doing a very good job if we watch it and I have a lot of critique to certain politics around Angela Merkel's kind of tenure in that position, right. So, personally, I'd say of course for equality reasons, in principle, we must have more female leadership on all levels of society, from the corporate sector, the CEO's, the boardrooms, into...straight into government structures, right. On the other hand I also want to caution to assume that simply because a woman is leading that this automatically will lead to more women friendly politics, to stay in the context of politics, right.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>...and it doesn't...</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>...it doesn't...</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>...which has always been another surprising factor for me?</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Yeah, yeah. No but I think Simone de Beauvoir has written about this already beautifully in the 1940's where she would say "class trumps</p>

	<p>gender” that was in the context of France at the time, right. I think in South Africa very often we have “race trumps gender” or “race and class trumps gender” right, so where white women would rather be in solidarity with white men than actually be in solidarity with black people, men and women, where class status is more a kind of like aligning with other people’s class stated rather. So I think this is complicated, personally I think it’s not really about how...I would almost go for a progressive male candidate who is truly implementing progressive politics, which automatically then will also include issues around gender equality and how to achieve gender equality, rather than a conservative female candidate, which probably, let’s say has conservative political economic kind of policies in her handbag then, but those will disadvantage women because let’s say we are going for further privatisation, we are going for further neoliberal structures in economic policies and as a logic consequence women fall...are the first ones, .....groupings are the first ones who fall under...who are thrown under the bus within a particular kind of economic context and so I think we need to be very careful with putting all our efforts into <i>we need to have more female leadership in principle</i>. We need to be selective.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>So despite seeing low numbers at the top of the leadership board, one of the things that I’ve found intriguing is when we look at the Inter-parliamentary Union when they have got representation of women in parliament worldwide, it always surprises me that first world countries like the USA are ranked 78<sup>th</sup>; the United Kingdom 39<sup>th</sup>; Germany 47<sup>th</sup>; Denmark was 25<sup>th</sup>, but then, countries in Africa; Rwanda sits at number 1; Namibia 7; South Africa 10<sup>th</sup>; Senegal 11<sup>th</sup> and I think that this always come to a point of questioning why women in first world countries, which let’s say they’ve got everything going for them, there seems to be a lack of interest within the political space; whereas in third world countries you’ve got a much stronger presence and interest and acceptance within the parliamentary structures?</p>
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Well I think there’re different reasons and again even in the so-called first world, if you look at different countries. Germany comes from a fascist past which has put forward incredibly conservative gender relations, even into the democratic era thereafter, so ‘til today we have a lot of policy frameworks which are encouraging women to work part-time, be stay-at-home mums, etc., which is of course then reflected on the job market, including the also the political sphere, right. It has to do with healthcare and childcare facilities; in Germany we have a very different schooling system and caring system let’s say than France for instance, right. School ends at lunchtime, we still don’t have enough kindergartens and so forth, so these things are really, really difficult. We have a lot of families where women actually cannot go to work because they just don’t find adequate childcare for their children and Germany is not yet having the same structures as South Africa where there is a lot of historically produced cheap labour which does these kind of privatised childcare services, which then are not presented through the state structures. So you have middleclass women who have of emerging black middleclass women and white middleclass women who have access to certain opportunities and then you’ve of course working class women who don’t have access to these services but somehow make do, maybe on behalf of how their family works the education of their children, etc. So there are different contexts, but I think in the global south you had the colonial movements in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century when South Africa...the anti-apartheid movement which led to highly politicised contexts. The political framework was renegotiated in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century and that made way to accommodate,</p>

	<b>structurally, gender issues in different ways.</b>
DR. MALKA	Thinking about that point now, as I look at the countries, the nations I mentioned earlier as first world nations, they're old, they're established, they have these infrastructures, these frameworks whereas....
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...but these are also long-established patriarchal infrastructures.....,</b>
DR. MALKA	...exactly....
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...right, so something that has been established for a long time sometimes is much more difficult to change, as if you are in the remaking right now. I mean the South African Constitution, I think, is a really fantastic example which has been done six years before the turn of the century and it's one of the still most radical and kind of progressive constitutions you find globally. You have the whole Chapter Seven Institutions...the gender machineries here, which in principle I think, are thought through in ways that were encouraging and they were able at the time to accommodate these institutionalisations in ways that other countries were not; like Germany got its new constitution in '48, after the second world war. So the social relations which are reflected in this constitution are very different, right, but then we come back to the point we started it with; you have these institutionalised forms of trying to gain equality, these mechanisms, but then how are they implemented, how are they monitored and how do they filter down into the way how society works on an everyday level, down there in the streets, in the offices, etc., and there we have a disjuncture and that's a problem.</b>
DR. MALKA	It's so interesting in looking at the frameworks; looking at the policies but also looking at the time zones of when they were established and, as you say, if Germany's constitution was in '48; South Africa in say what '94....
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...exactly....</b>
DR. MALKA	...it's a completely different....
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...different context....</b>
DR. MALKA	...world and context....
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...and who's been influential in drafting them? So in the German case it was a lot of people who were under fascist and prosecuted, went to exile and came back with a socialist, communist or a social democratic at least kind of like agenda in mind. But yet, as much as they were, in certain aspects, maybe progressive for what it meant at the time, they were still majority men, right, so to speak about issues around gender, right, so I think I know that South Africa had a strong, back then, forming itself a women's movement which formed itself around the kind of lobbying to get certain things into the constitution. So these are the contexts but we always have to be vigilant around legal representation of certain issues in representative structures and political mechanisms and remain vigilant of them being erased or undone. I mean we see this at the moment in European countries very well and in the US, so in the US there's an onslaught happening on at the moment on the possibility for women to terminate the abortion and I think it's a matter of time if they will actually succeed to recriminalize it. In Europe we are seeing that in a country such as Hungary, gender studies have been taken out of the books, there are no more gender studies in Hungarian universities anymore.</b>
DR. MALKA	Why?
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>They have been established; they have been taken out. Well, this is something that our research currently finds that neo-authoritarian and</b>

	<p>neo-fundamentalist movements and governments are having a few topic points they put forward very strongly because they feel that is something that helps them easily to mobilise. One is the whole notion around immigration and casting refugees and immigrants as responsible for all social ills, which then means that politicians don't have to take responsibility for internally produced conditions for these social ills. The second one is gender; homosexuality and gender are two other aspects which are incredibly hotspots for right wing mobilisation and gender is considered to be well, people are either men, people are either men or women so why do we need to study this; this is nonsense. The way how Caster Semenya has been framed and has been treated in South Africa and for instance how the news are reporting about this is quite an outstanding exception to the general emerging norm right now that we either have men and women and that's it and that there's a spectrum of identities and performances out there and different bodies, which all have the right to exist equally, is not something that's embraced anymore and that's another part of the pushback that we find is taking place. So gender is more and more framed as an ideology, which doesn't remain and require any form of expertise and then we find women themselves who are re-appropriating feminist discourses and say I am a true feminist here because I make sure that German women are not raped or abused by all these immigrants and foreigners. So you are even seeing how rightwing xenophobic or homophobic narratives are fed into the hijacking of certain feminist narratives and that's what we see also here in South Africa, for instance, well at my university where we have somebody who says I'm championing these kind of procedures and transparency but then is perpetuating what, in slang, we would say "old boy's networks" right. So these things happen from left and right wing kind of like people who want to be in positions of power or want to come or maintain in positions of power and do this in a unilateral and non-consultative style and the best way to do this is to discredit expertise.</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>It's a complex world that we live in and when I listen and playback the dialogue that we're having in my head, I almost feel that as a human race we often end up repeating scenarios over history which I find the most unfortunate thing that we don't seem to be learning from our mistakes, to be progressive and to move ahead and to not repeat horrific human rights violations of the past, like you've said if gender studies have been taken off of a curriculum, that's a regression for me....</p>
PROF SCHUHMANN	<p>...absolutely....</p>
DR. MALKA	<p>...that's not a progression.</p>
PROF SCHUHMANN	<p>Yeah. Well the interesting thing is people do learn, so this is done...in Hungary this is done clearly through an openly rightwing and neo-authoritarian kind of government. In the context of my university these things are done within a lefty liberal narrative that say no, no, no I'm completely for these instruments to be there, as long as they don't put our university at risk. So suddenly you can play both narratives at the same time and that's where an interesting learning curve takes place. So, how can I get rid about things and undermine things that are politically, well, not helping me or my friends and that are politically uncomfortable for the group of people I belong to, in this case these are heterosexual men and yet at the same time how can I present myself as championing the very same structures I am undermining, right? So I think there are learning curves and that means those who try to stabilise and institutionalise these</p>

	structures and then keep them .....and safe need to also learn how do we respond to these kind of pushback's which comes from, as I said, come from different directions.
DR. MALKA	It's a community....
PROF SCHUHMAN	...yeah...
DR. MALKA	...and it's a democratic community. One of the questions that I wanted to ask you given your...let's say your experiences in South Africa, your experiences in studying the field of political studies is coming up to our election, after having had a young democracy of being in place for 25 years, do you think that South Africa is in the right place in terms of its life-cycle?
PROF SCHUHMAN	<p>Oh, this is difficult because it would assume that there are templates out there and I'm afraid there are not, but indeed I think there is something very interesting that from my very kind of personal biographic perspective, coming from the German context to have observed and that I found quite interesting and I wrote about it in a study about the Fees Must Fall Movement which took place in 2015/16 primarily and I think what we saw here is that we saw a repolitisation through the young generation in a fashion that reminded me of the '68 movement as it took place, particularly in Germany and that was...and the similarity I find striking in a sense of that both happened about 20/25 years into a young democracy. Young democracy's which carried on so much baggage from the past as they were presenting themselves as young democracies. So in Germany the 1968 movement of students was very much around what they call denazification of institutional structures and I think the Fees Must Fall Movement here has, in a similar fashion, with a different kind of radicalness than the previous generations, demanded a decolonisation of institutions and at least in the beginning, before this massive onslaught from state structures, police, etc., secret services, etc., were hitting back at the movement, but at the beginning when it was still running a little bit more on their own terms, it was a really fascinating movement to observe in terms of basic democratic structures being internally developed into a very inclusive and it was inclusive for queer people, it was inclusive for women and they tried to see how these different forms of exclusion and discrimination are intersecting and what are the colonial kind of repertoires that are re-inscribed again and again and again and they challenged that and I think this was a seminal moment in the South African democratic era. On other levels I think what is a big problem is the economic situation of South Africa which is disenfranchising so many, many people and which is so much still lending a helping hand, a supporting structure, to those people who already have a lot or too much, in that, if we discuss forms of redistribution I think again we see on the whole spectrum we have not a proper gender analysis. Even when you listen to the state of the nation address and we have all these infrastructure programmes, we don't have gender budgeting, we don't look where does the state money go to and to which extent is if I build more streets and bridges, then this will be money that will primarily be received by men. On the top echelons are those who are owning the building companies and at the bottom; those who are men working and implementing and kind of creating and constructing the streets. If I do infrastructure in more hospitals or schoolings...school systems then I have a different picture because these are primarily female dominated jobs, right. So we need to have a much wider cast analysis of how is, particularly gender inequality, but also forms of racism re-inscribed again and again; sometimes with intention and sometimes in unintended</p>



	<b>ways and that's why I think we need much more research and this is where I feel the social sciences and the humanities are not valued enough in the contribution they can make and do make if they are listened to.</b>
DR. MALKA	We are unfortunately running out of time in our conversation today; given that the theme of elections of politics, of not just about having women within the political infrastructure and systems but I would say about exercising responsibility of voting, because your vote does count; so given that context, could you please share a few words of wisdom or inspiration that you'd like to pass onto younger ladies that are listening to us today?
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>Well, I have to say I feel these days I'm learning myself a lot from the young generation actually, so I think it's a real kind of a...people need to listen to each other across generations and I feel in this context young people have a lot to say and a lot to give and they are quite alert and well-informed already when I receive them on first or second year level in many ways and I think this is incredibly encouraging. I think for young women, particularly those who are passionate about the issues that we spoke about today in this show is whatever they do they should find a field of engagement where they are passionate about it. I can see this by the students I supervise; those students who work on a topic they're most passionate about, that's where they excel because this is where their heart is and that is when they are then also much more willing to go the extra mile. So I think passion in what you do informs how you do it and that informs that you mostly then have more chance to do it well. So one has to face also that one might have to face negative consequences, but I'm pretty sure that these are the people who will fall on their feet and will learn from these kind of situations and will have new opportunities where they can bring expertise to, as long as you're passionate and what you do you do it well and I can see this amongst young women who I feel are much more outspoken about their experiences; very good in analysing their experiences, very often are not individual experiences but collective and systemic forms of discrimination and I feel also there is less and less of...how do you say that is English properly...bickering at each other. I feel women need to listen to each other and be kinder and less judgemental with each other in order to form these networks that you spoke about before and I think that's what we need and that's what young women are also doing, I think, in their microcosms.</b>
DR. MALKA	I think that's very valid advice; pursuing your passion with conviction and overriding any negativity that may arise and moving on and rising up from it. So thank you very much for sharing all of the information that you've imparted today, particularly looking at some of the theoretical aspects on politics, the underlying infrastructure and frameworks which I almost think it's almost construed as invisible, but it's there, it's got a lot of historical context which is now also coming to the front and manifesting itself and it provides explanations for the way the world is today.
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>Yeah, yeah. Thank you for having me here and for succeeding with this show for so long already; congratulations on that!</b>
DR. MALKA	Thank you very much and we wish you every success in the university and...
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>...thank you....</b>
DR. MALKA	...pursuit with your students and research.
<b>PROF SCHUHMAN</b>	<b>Thank you very much.</b>
DR. MALKA	<b>PROGRAMME END</b>