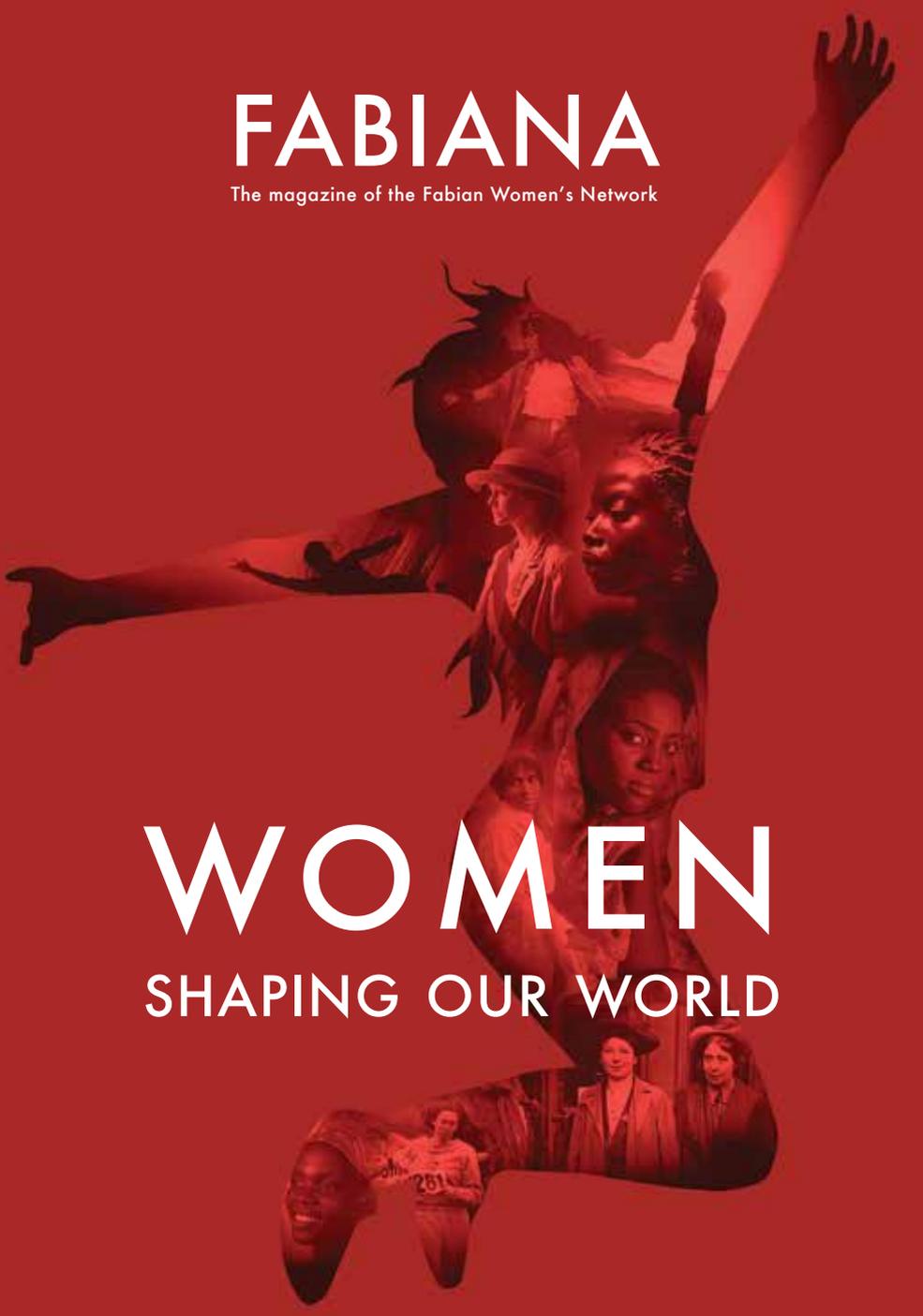


FABIANA

The magazine of the Fabian Women's Network



WOMEN
SHAPING OUR WORLD

FABIAN WOMEN

2018 Fabiana 15. Women Shaping Our World

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2018 has been both a year of commemoration and a year of political turmoil. This edition is the second in this centenary year, commemorating not just the anniversary of women voting in a General Election on December 14th 1918, but also the first when women could stand, as well as of course the Armistice Centenary.

Commemoration is the human way to keep in touch with history, and a society which ignores the lessons of history is surely a society overrun by ignorance. By asking our mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers what their mothers did we can record their stories and ensure that their contributions and their history live on. Film offers a tangible way to recreate history and our guest interview with Sarah Gavron, Director of Suffrage and Brick Lane explores how the cause of suffrage cut across the classes, bringing past women's lives to life.

Hetty Bower is the closest I've ever been to the suffragettes – her long life covered probably the most transformative era in history. Ros Wynne-Jones, who knew her well, writes of her humour and her determination. We're also delighted that Rushanara Ali MP and Sarah Jackson of the newly opened East End Women's Museum join us to recall the community enterprise of the East End Suffragettes.

In April this year, Gillian Wearing's stunning bronze *Courage Calls* sculpture of Millicent Fawcett was unveiled in Westminster Square, celebrating not just the legacy of the suffragists, but also of suffragettes whose images are included on the plinth. Among them, Henrietta Franklin, a social reformer who served as president of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies from 1916-17. Emma Whysall tells us of the remarkable legacy of her extended family.

Debbie Abrahams MP describes the energy which Oldham has put into achieving a statue to Annie Kenney and Deeba Syed of the Young Fabians recalls the words of Vera Brittain as she reminds us of the bravery of WW2 heroine Noor Inayat Khan – who has an elegant statue in Bloomsbury.

World War One memorials to women are few. We think immediately of Edith Cavell. Last month, the WW Centenary Arts Commission project, *Pages of the Sea*, produced beautiful transient sand sculptures of less well known but no less worthy women who gave their lives in war: **Elsie Maud Inglis** recalled in *Fife*, **Dorothy Mary Watson** in *Swansea* and **Rachel Ferguson** in *Londonderry*. The sand sculptures have become preserved images on the 14-18 NOW website, which would never have been possible without the algorithmic genius of Ada Lovelace, remembered here by fellow UCL neuroscientist Dr Aysha Raza.

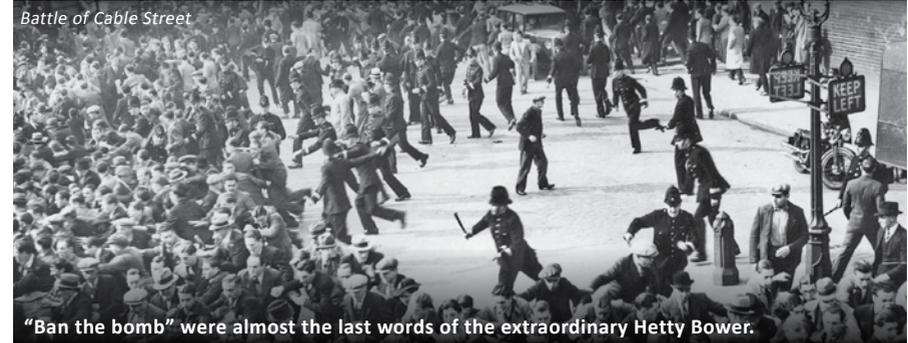
The First World War proved to be a social denouement. For most women, life would never be the same again. Whilst too many women were left bereaved, many gained their first semblance of equality, with life experiences they could never have imagined in 1914. These radical changes were reflected in women's clothing. Out with corsets and cumbersome skirts and in with enfranchisement and trousers. Tamara Cincik reminds us that as women became more engaged in politics, fashion has adapted into a new political code, while Fulbright award winner Jennifer Hall Lee puts the slogan tee shirt at the heart of US political feminism.

So we hope you enjoy our look at *Women Shaping our World* – from the days when women had to peer through chinks in the ceiling above the House of Commons to catch snippets of all-male debate, onto the brilliance of STEM pioneers, through the battling suffrage years and World War heroines onto NHS Windrush facing the current hostile environment, with Mary Honeyball taking us up to the present day brink of truly alarming Brexit realities for women.

This is all echoed in narrative from the Patrician Press, which has contributions from Baroness Helena Kennedy and our chair Ivana Bartoletti, showing the breadth of feminist concern.



Battle of Cable Street



"Ban the bomb" were almost the last words of the extraordinary Hetty Bower.

It was one of the protest songs she sang with her daughter in her final hours. Born in the Edwardian era, at 108, Hetty was still a passionate campaigner for peace, workers' rights and the NHS until her dying breath.

I first came across her when campaigners told me about this astonishing woman over 100 years old, who had been out marching to save London's Whittington Hospital in the wind and rain in a yellow waterproof cape.



"Why wouldn't I march?" she asked. "I've got good legs." Her hip had been replaced by the surgeons inside the building. But she complained other marchers went too slowly.

Hetty had taken part in the general strike of 1926 and was a founding member of CND. She was also veteran of the 1936 Battle of Cable Street, although she told me not to write that she was on the frontline. "I was in the second line," she said, a woman never above five feet tall, facing down Oswald Mosley's Blackshirts.

Born in Hackney, East London, the seventh of ten children, Hetty spent her working life in schools, fashion, cinema and business, and helped found the first ever union for women, the Association of Women Clerks and Secretaries. She joined the Labour Party in 1923 – where she met her beloved husband Reg – and went on to campaign to get the very first Labour MPs into parliament. During WW2 she ran a Czech Refugee Hostel in North London.

Hetty had been inspired to get involved in campaigning as a child, by her sister, Cissie, who was a suffragette. Hetty used to secretly go to meetings, and seeing the suffragettes win women the vote showed her campaigning could literally change the world.

"We may not win by protesting," Hetty always said. "But if we don't protest we will lose. If we stand up to them there's always a chance that we will win."

Ros Wynne-Jones is an award-winning journalist and author who writes about global and UK poverty and has reported from conflict zones across the world. She writes a weekly column Real Britain in the Daily Mirror.



"As we mark the 100 years since the Representation of the People Act, I am delighted that Fabiana is recognising the East London suffragette movement. Bethnal Green and Bow has a proud history of women being pioneers and fighting for women's rights and workers' rights, going back to the matchwomen's strike of 1888 and to the establishment of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes. To those women, who risked imprisonment, violence, and even death, we owe so much. I hope you will find their story as inspiring as I do."



Rushanara Ali
MP, Bethnal Green and Bow



Sylvia Pankhurst at HQ Bow Rd

EAST END SUFFRAGETTES

In 1912 Sylvia Pankhurst arrived in Bow, East London, determined to recruit local working-class women into the WSPU. After a shaky start (they were pelted with fish heads at least once), by 1914 the new East London WSPU branches had become a powerful, democratic campaigning force with thousands of members and strong local support from men as well as women.

Like the radical suffragists in the North of England – such as Selina Cooper, Sarah Reddish and many others – the East London Federation of the WSPU saw the importance of linking the struggle for the vote with the struggle for better working and living conditions. By expanding the fight for equality beyond the vote, they relieved the pressure on many politically active working-class women to choose between their gender and their class.

As well as using militant tactics to fight for all women to have the vote, the East London Federation adopted a broad campaigning programme and formed alliances with other groups. They lobbied and protested for a living wage, decent housing, equal pay, old age pensions, home rule for Ireland and many other issues. This helped them build a large support base and show that if women won the vote it would bring more power to the whole community. They even recruited a small 'People's Army' of supporters to defend them from police brutality.

In 1914, however, the East London Federation was expelled from the WSPU by Christabel Pankhurst, who claimed that they were too independent and 'mixed up' with other causes.

According to Sylvia, she added that 'a working women's movement was of no value: working women were the weakest portion of the sex... Their lives were too hard, their education too meagre to equip them for the contest.'

After everything that working-class women had done to advance the suffrage cause, both in the WSPU and before it, it seems hard to believe that Christabel could think their contribution had no value. But class prejudice was widespread at the time, and she was certainly not alone in her views.

Yet the new, independent East London Federation of the Suffragettes (ELFS) flourished. While a few upper- and middle-class women occupied leadership positions, local working-class activists like Julia Scurr, Melvina Walker, Minnie Lansbury, Daisy Parsons, Jessie Payne and Nellie Cressall took up key roles and shaped the new organisation, free from the WSPU's rules.

Changing strategies, the ELFS moved away from violent acts, imprisonment and hunger strikes, adopting new tactics which offered greater safety and strength in numbers for their members as well as opportunities to involve and support the wider community. They marched through East London, published their own weekly newspaper, The Woman's Dreadnought, took delegations of working women to Westminster to lobby politicians, held huge public meetings and opened a social centre called the Women's Hall.



Each year they held concerts, festivals and parties, including a public Christmas party with games, entertainment and even a 'Santa' who gave out small presents for children. Like the radical suffragists providing tea and cake at their meetings, the ELFS tried to find ways to address the material needs of their supporters as they built their movement. They grounded their campaign in the everyday reality of working women's lives.

This approach was put to the test when the First World War broke out in August 1914. Factories across East London closed and food prices spiralled, pushing many poor families to the brink of starvation. The ELFS organised 'milk depots' where families with very young children could get free milk and a series of volunteer-run canteens serving nutritious food at 'cost price', twice a day. They also opened their own cooperative toy factory, which paid a living wage to its women workers and included a crèche, which became so popular that the following year they opened a nursery in a former pub over the road.

Sylvia and the rest of the Federation were always clear that their work in the East End was not about charity – it was about building a strong, mass movement of working women who could and would demand their rights. As well as lobbying politicians for food price controls and equal pay during the War, the ELFS continued campaigning for the vote too – unlike the WSPU and NUWSS, who suspended their campaigns.

The East London suffragettes continually connected individual hardship to the bigger picture of structural inequality. Their remarkable organisation existed until 1924, and in that time it was entirely transformed, eventually becoming the Workers Socialist Federation and advocating revolution over parliamentary democracy as the best path to equality.

Visit 'East End Suffragettes: the photographs of Norah Smyth', a free exhibition at Four Corners Gallery, 2 November – 9 February 2019, 11am – 6pm Tues-Sat

Sarah Jackson is a trustee of the East End Women's Museum.

OLDHAM HONOURS ANNIE

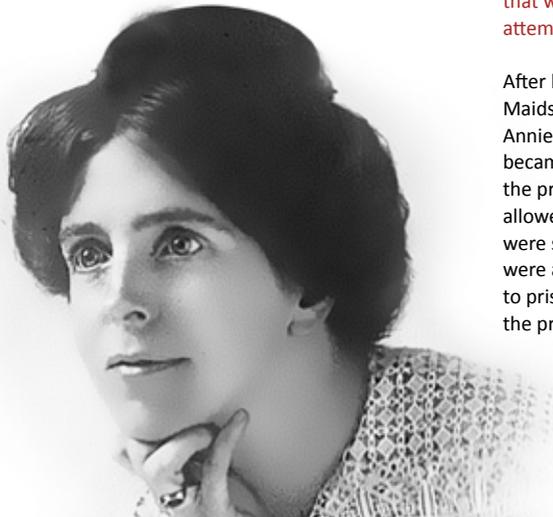
Debbie Abrahams



As we mark the centenary of the first phase of women's suffrage in the UK it is right to focus on some of the lesser known women that fought for the rights we enjoy today. Without doubt one of them was Annie Kenney, born in 1879 in Springhead in my Oldham East and Saddleworth constituency, into a working class, mill working family who went on to become a leading figurehead in the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU).

Annie was the fifth of twelve children and at the age of ten began to work in a local cotton mill. Soon afterwards a whirling bobbin tore off one of her fingers, but this didn't stop her working full time 12-hour shifts by the time she was 13. After being inspired by an article she read in The Clarion Annie joined the local branch of the Independent Labour Party and at one of their meetings in 1905 she and her sister Jessie heard Christabel Pankhurst speak on women's rights.

Annie joined the Women's Social and Political Union and quickly rose through the ranks, eventually becoming its Deputy in 1912, something which was extremely rare for someone from the working classes.



Many of the union's other leaders were criticised for being 'elite bourgeois', existing only to serve the middle and upper classes, but Annie bucked this trend and helped publicise the suffragette cause to other female workers. When the WSPU decided to open a branch in the East End, Annie was asked to leave the mill and become a full-time worker for the organisation, working to persuade working class women to join them.

By 1912 when Emmeline Pankhurst had been imprisoned for militant activism and Christabel had fled to Paris, Annie was effectively leading the organisation, right up to the 1918 Representation of the People Act. Annie was imprisoned several times throughout the campaign for women's suffrage – and her recently discovered letter reveals the extent of the brutality she endured.

In 1905 she attended a meeting, with Christabel Pankhurst, to hear Sir Edward Grey, a Government Minister. When they constantly shouted about votes for women, they were arrested, found guilty of assault and when they refused to pay the five shilling fine each, they were imprisoned. The case was shocking at a national level, as it was the first time in Britain that women had used militant means in an attempt to win the vote.

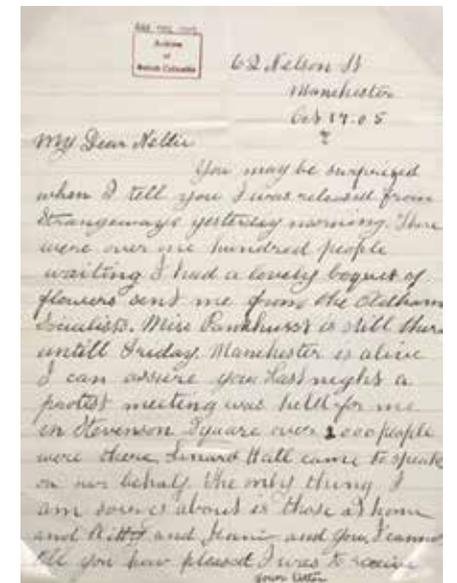
After being sentenced to 18 months in Maidstone Prison for 'incitement to riot' in 1913, Annie immediately went on hunger strike and became the first suffragette to be released under the provisions of the Cat and Mouse Act, which allowed for the early release of prisoners who were so weakened by hunger striking that they were at risk of death. They were to be recalled to prison once their health was recovered, where the process would begin again.

Her husband James Taylor, who Annie Kenney married in 1920, said Annie never really recovered from the impact of these hunger strikes and after a long and steady decline, Annie died at Lister Hospital in Hitchin in 1953.

It's therefore disappointing that in spite of her dedication to the cause, she is less remembered than other key suffragette colleagues, like the Pankhursts. To rectify this, alongside my colleague Jim McMahon MP for Oldham West and Royton and local campaigners, including actress Maxine Peake, we have been working to crowdfund a statue of Annie, which will be unveiled outside Oldham's Old Town Hall on 14th December, the centenary of the first time some women were able to vote in a General Election, with 8.5 million women eligible.

Throughout our work for the Annie Kenney Project to raise funds, we have seen increased local and regional awareness of Annie's role in the suffragette movement, her vital importance in encouraging other working class women to join the cause and the importance of the North in the campaign for women's suffrage.

But there's still much more to do to ensure true equality. Currently, 51% of the population are women yet there are twice the numbers of men than women elected to Parliament.



At the current rate of progress it will take 50 years to achieve gender equality in Parliament – although 45% of current Labour MPs are women. Local government is similar, with the last councillor census in 2013 finding that just 32 per cent of local authority councillors in England are women.

As well as problems with equal representation, the Government's austerity policies have disproportionately affected women, with the House of Commons Library's gender audit of tax and spending policies showing that 86% of the burden of austerity between 2010-17 has fallen on women.

It is therefore incumbent upon us all to take inspiration from Annie Kenney's determination to achieve women's suffrage and work for a truly equal, representative society which removes barriers for many women who are particularly under-represented, including working class, BAME and disabled women.

Debbie Abrahams is the MP for Oldham East and Saddleworth and public health specialist.

NOOR BEHIND THE LINES — Deeba Syed



On the Centenary of the Armistice this year marking the end of the World War One, we remember all those who made the ultimate sacrifice for our country. Over the decades since, there have been tributes and memorials to many men, but few individual women. We must never forget the sacrifice and bravery of war heroines during times of conflicts, especially those women of a BAME background, who need to be far better remembered.

So I want to share the story of Noor Inayat Khan with you. She is particularly important in light of recent public debate as to whether the annual poppy appeal has racist overtones. Noor was a young Muslim woman of Indian origin, a British secret agent and the first female radio operator sent behind enemy lines.

Born in Moscow, Noor's family moved to France where she was brought up in Paris until it became occupied in 1940, when she was able to escape to London. Before the war, Noor had been a successful children's author but after war broke out she volunteered for the Women's Auxiliary Air Force. Since she was fluent in French she was recruited for the Special Operations Executive, a secret army started by the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill.

She was told in the interview if she got caught she would likely be shot, at the time life expectancy was only six-weeks in occupied enemy space. She went anyway. Amusingly, her interview assessment said she was "not overburdened with brains".

In 1943 she was flown undercover to Nazi-occupied France to become the radio operator for the 'Prosper' resistance network in Paris. She was given the code name 'Madeleine'. However, the resistance group she had been



sent to help had already been infiltrated, even the man who greeted from the plan worked for the Gestapo. Despite her team crumbling around her she ran a cell of agents single-handedly, changing her name and appearance as many times as she had to.

Eventually, she was betrayed by a French woman and arrested by the Gestapo. She was imprisoned in chains and tortured for 10 months, however she never gave up any information to her interrogators. She didn't even give up her name. To her captors she was Nora Baker. She was later executed by the Germans at Dachau concentration camp. Her last words to firing squad were "Liberte". She was only 30 years old.

Unfortunately the Gestapo found her radio codes in the back of her diary although she had been ordered to destroy them. As a result, they were able to send messages to London, pretending to be Noor and managed to delivering plans and agents straight into the Nazi hands for four months.

Noor wasn't the first in her family to show extraordinary bravery, she was descended from Tipu Sultan, the famous 18th-century ruler of the kingdom of Mysore in South India. He had refused to submit to British rule and died in

battle in 1799. She was brought up with a fierce nationalist pride, her father Hazrat Inayat Khan, a Sufi preacher and musician was a friend of Nehru and Ghandi.

Noor's story is even more remarkable given in context of the fact the war was in opposition to her Sufi religion, which teaches non-violence and peace. She fought anyway to oppose racism and fascism. But while other women in the Special Operations Executive stories have been celebrated with and even turn into movies, her inspirational story is not as well-known as it should be.

In 2014, the Royal Mail issued a stamp of Noor as part of their Remarkable Lives series. This year, after the Bank of England announced there would be an open process for the new face of the £50 note a campaign was launched earlier this year to have her story remembered in this way.

To recognise her heroism, she was posthumously awarded the George Cross, the highest civilian decoration by England and the Croix de Guerre by France. There is memorial bust of her in Gordon Square Gardens, near Euston Square in London where she spent part of childhood growing up. It was the first memorial statue ever dedicated to a Muslim woman.

World War weapons and bravery paid no heed to ethnicity or gender.

As Vera Brittain wrote in Testament of Youth: 'What you have striven for will not end in nothing, all that you have done and been will not be wasted, for it will be a part of me as long as I live, and I shall remember, always.'

Remembering is for everyone.

Deeba Syed is Young Fabians Law Network Chair and a member of the Young Fabians Executive.

ALGORITHM PIONEER ADA — Aysha Raza



Ada Lovelace Day is celebrated internationally each year on the second Tuesday of October to recognise the achievements of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM).

A modest board outside William Perkin High School in Greenford popped up this September, hailing the imminent opening of the new Ada Lovelace High School.

Already deliriously happy to have a school specialising in science in my ward and with students' blazers in my favourite shade of violet, now to have another named after a pioneering woman in STEM, with school colours in teal, which jointly recreate a suffragette banner, is fantastic. Alarming high numbers of the non-science community have never heard of Ada Lovelace – some poured scorn on her name being put forward as the face of the new £50 note.



Even within the ranks of scientists, many struggle to pinpoint why her name ought to have some meaning, amongst feminists though, her name has recognition as a trail blazer. Ada Lovelace was a remarkable woman pushing the frontiers of science with a vision which continues to shape our world today.

Ada was the only legitimate child of Lord Byron and Anna Isabella (Annabella) Milbanke. As with much of Byron's life, it was 'complicated'.

Known for his love of women and epic mood swings it's quite miraculous there was a wedding at all. The marriage, as predicted, was short lived. Not that Ada lost out. We all stand on the shoulders of giants and Ada too was blessed to be born to a remarkable woman. Her mother was a keen educationalist, committed to social causes like prison reform and the abolishment of slavery. Highly educated, religious and now a single parent, she surrounded her daughter with many strong female role models, including Mary Somerville the notable science writer.

Raised in aristocratic elite circles, Ada was given the best education and mental stimulation afforded by the society of the day which was hungry for information and on the cusp of changes that would revolutionise our modern world – her mother believing this would also 'inoculate against the insanity' which had plagued her father.

In 1828 my 'godless college' inspired by Jeremy Bentham opened on Gower Street. UCL had a policy of admitting everyone who wished to learn, not just limiting education to the clergy. Charles Darwin had inspired much introspection into the natural world after his travels on the HMS Beagle, and Charles Babbage had thoughts on an analytic engine which captivated Ada's mathematical mind. With her unique brand of 'poetical science' she was the first to recognise that Babbage's as yet un-built machine had applications beyond just calculations. She wrote what was has been described as a 'remarkably prescient paper' and the first algorithm for such a computational engine - or computer as we of course know them today. Ada Lovelace was the world's first computer programmer.

The vivacious Victorian 'it girl' also made quite an impression at court being the daughter of Byron, and after entertaining many admirers, Ada married William King who was made 1st Earl of Lovelace and they had three children. She remained engaged in the scientific dilemmas of the day and hoped to work on a 'calculus of the nervous system' to model the brain, futuristically once again using electric currents as her point of reference. Sadly, in November 1852, at the age of just thirty-six, Ada died of uterine cancer.

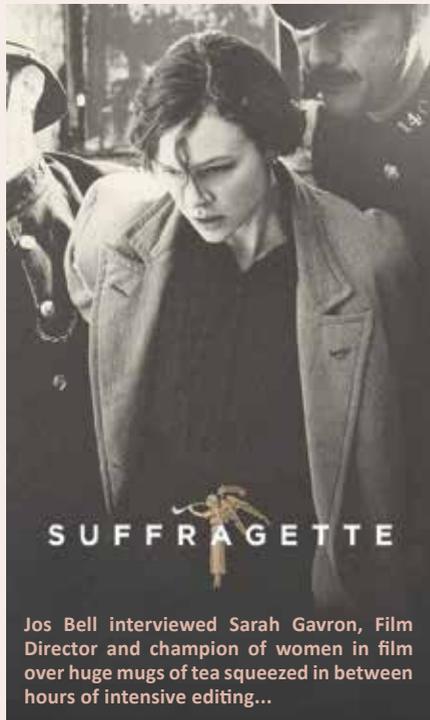
Oxford University holds the archives of Lovelace family papers, in particular Lovelace's "correspondence course" with the Augustus De Morgan (1806-1871, UCL's first professor of mathematics), and a new study in progress with the first professional historians of mathematics to work on this material.

In Greenford, teal coloured blazers decorate our roads in the morning and again at home time, soon to transfer to the school's eventual home near Hanger Hill, Ealing, where Ada's home Fordhook House once stood - a bus ride away from the University of West London on the site of Ealing Grove School where she taught.

Ada Lovelace High School, soon to be full of eager girls armed with smart phones, will specialise in coding and computing - a fitting legacy for the grandmother of computer science, the 'Enchantress of Numbers'. I am delighted that my ward will shortly have two schools specialising in STEM, inspiring many of the next generation of scientists.

Cllr Dr Aysha Raza is a proud councillor for Greenford Green ward at London Borough of Ealing & Neuroscientist & Teaching Associate at UCL

360 DEGREE SUFFRAGETTES



What exactly inspired you to go into film making?

I always enjoyed watching movies. At school we only knew about mainstream cinema – it was the era of Tom Cruise. We didn't know about art house movies, Bergman or Loach. Film didn't seem to reflect politics – and the kind of films I watched didn't seem to reflect the world around us. I always felt there should be something more than I was able to find. I went onto study English and then completed a Masters in Film. After spending 4 yrs working on documentaries I ventured into 3 years of studying film making at the National Film Institute. At the last minute, I opted to swap from my intention to pursue documentary making – first making shorts and then expanding into full length films.

Talking of women as film makers – the film industry is notoriously tough for women to break into at all levels -

90% of the team on my current film are women – a devised piece with a young cast (here Sarah shows

a definite Mike Leigh influence!). Suffragette had a majority female crew, but we really wanted to give space to as many women technicians and production workers as possible on this one.

After the accolades for Brick Lane, a film of a book of a young woman's eye view of East End immigrant communities, what exactly drew you to making Suffragette?

The Suffragettes have obviously left a huge legacy, but one which is not really portrayed in the cinema – and really only on television in the 1979 dramatisation of Testament of Youth and the 1974 ground breaking Shoulder to Shoulder. Testament of Youth was then released as a film in 2014. Aside from that, suffrage and suffragettes only got a mention in the context of the comedy factor Mrs Barnes in Mary Poppins, or other cameos. I wanted to take a serious view.

Venturing into the Suffragette project also seemed very timely with what was happening in the world – shining a light onto the lack of rights and ongoing struggles of women around the world.

I wanted to do their legacy justice and look at suffragettes in terms of the story we don't know, not simply focus on well known figures such as the Pankhursts, Pethwick Lawrence and Singh from more affluent backgrounds, but to focus on the story of working class women who joined the movement. I wanted to detail the human rights aspects of the journeys of women whose lives would otherwise be seen as ordinary and who were forced to give up so much to achieve the first steps of equality.

In a search for authenticity, we conducted extensive research in the Women's Library with Abi Morgan (who I had previously worked with on Brick Lane), Faye Ward and Alison Owen, delving into the archives and working with academics until we jointly 'found a way in'.

Suffragette is a movie of layers – with personal sub plots set against the history we all know well. How did that evolve?

We wanted to take a 360 degrees approach, casting Carey Mulligan /Maud as the pivot of the movie - she said yes to the role almost immediately – just 15 minutes into a conversation after reading the script. From there we built the cast around

her and set family and workplace scenes with Carey and Anne Marie Duff in amongst political rallies and meetings and the Emily Davison scene. Maud's journey is the journey of the suffragette movement at another level than the more affluent lead players.

After Brick Lane, there have been questions as to the lack of BAME faces in Suffragette – was that deliberate or accidental?

It was deliberate in that our library research didn't reveal BAME suffragettes in the events we featured - except for Sophia Duleep Singh who deserves her own movie to do her justice. We would probably do it differently now - for instance we've just seen what the Old Vic have done with Sylvia and an exciting BAME cast - but for the community of women in which this was set we went with the archives and went for historical accuracy. The group of Indian women who joined the Coronation Procession, which we didn't feature, later went on to be very active in Indian suffragette movement.

You portrayed the reality of grinding poverty – the feel, touch and almost the smell of it. There were several heartrending scenes – particularly giving up children and force feeding. How did you create such a sense of atmosphere and emotion?

We were determined to get close – we used real clothes of the time. To create the laundry we used real equipment installed in a converted basketball court and all the actors went through a laundry 'boot camp' to learn the ropes and know what they were doing. The heat and damp completely got under our skin – it must have been exhausting work, day after day.

We wanted to demonstrate the privations and prejudice in a real way – we felt it was important to shock, because that was a real and true part of being a suffragette. It's not well known that some gave up everything – jobs, families, homes. For the poor women it was far more difficult to keep their children and of course force feeding became increasingly common and increasingly brutal.

In our age of #MeToo, the role of the police and the prison workers is particularly hard to watch.

Again we took to the archives and discovered that even 100 years ago, the police conducted surveillance operations – there were lots of photos of suffragettes going about their day to



day tasks as well as at public events. We took a deliberately realistic approach to the Black Friday demonstration – where the women had been literally at the mercy of an army of police, ordered by Churchill to 'manhandle' them rather than make immediate arrests.

Filming outside Parliament was surreal and also very poignant and emotional – especially as we had direct descendants from key characters from opposing sides with us – Helen Pankhurst (granddaughter of Emmeline), and Helena Bonham Carter, great grand-daughter of PM of the time (H H Asquith 1908-16). Suffragette was the first film with permission to be given to film inside the Parliamentary estate.





Sarah Gavron, Film Director

We knew no one had been given permission to film there before, but we felt it was worth asking, and when we were given the ok we felt very privileged.

The casting of Meryl Streep was Carey's mum's idea, which then took off because Meryl quickly became very supportive of the project. As a film icon it seemed fitting that she take the Pankhurst role. She has also helped promote the film and the overall message in the US, which has been brilliant.



One word. Trump?

Trump is obviously a horrible threat. Women in the US feel as though hard won rights are in reversal – in terms of racism and division – and then with the Kavanaugh appointment and the way it was done, it's really alarming. Although UK women have borne the brunt of 80% austerity, the threat in the US is much more tangible because Trump is actively challenging the Constitution and all forms of equal rights.

#MeToo was at first shocking and then really a huge relief that the men who have behaved so badly were being held to account. I felt somehow lighter for the revelation. Not everyone had shared before this – there were rumours of course, but too little questioning. I really hope this encourages more diversity and safety in the industry, but there's still some way to go.



Above all we must continue to challenge and protest at grass roots and keep a spirit of optimism.

– and with that typically upbeat rallying call, this gentle and unassuming BAFTA winner returned to her edit suite for the next stint in completing her latest movie, on teenage girls growing up in contemporary London. Title as yet unconfirmed – another one to look out for!

(Fabiana Editor, Jos Bell studied film making and women's rights in her first degree – so this conversation was an absolute pleasure. Thanks so much Sarah.)

SISTERS & BROTHERS

Emma Whysall



The Arts and Crafts community revived craft traditions and had a more significant impact on the rural than the urban economy. It also created a pioneering environment in which women as well as men could begin to take an active role in developing new forms of design.

The architectural style of Chartridge Lodge, the former family home of Arthur Ellis and Caroline Franklin, deep in the Chilterns, much reflects the direction of travel for their family. Alice, Hugh, Helen and Ellis, along with their mother, turned from the Liberal Party tradition of the family and took the path set by Caroline's sister Henrietta who had set up the Jewish League for Women's Suffrage.

Nearby Chesham had an active suffragette movement. The Bucks Examiner had a supportive editor and reported all meetings as well as an (anon) suffragette column. This was the only branch of Emily Pankhurst's WSPU in Buckinghamshire – the majority of women locally in favour of women's suffrage were usually supporters of the NUWSS, including social reformer Margaret McDonald, wife of the future Labour Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. She was opposed to militant action. Not so the Franklins.

The feminist Franklin sisters Alice and Helen, were both active in Jewish suffragette organisations. Alice became secretary of the League set up by her aunt. During WW1 Helen became a forewoman at the Woolwich Arsenal and fought for the rights of women workers, but was forced to resign trying to form a trade union. Instead she became an organiser for the Women's Land Army. Helen and her husband Norman Bentwich moved to Palestine in 1919, where he was appointed attorney-general while Helen organised nursery schools, formed arts and crafts centres and became secretary of the Palestine Council of Jewish Women.

On returning to the UK, unhappy with what she viewed as divisive Middle East developments, Helen joined the Labour Party and although she failed in two attempts to get into Parliament, won council seats in North Kensington, Bethnal Green North East and Stoke Newington and Hackney North. She became an Alderman and Chair of London County Council and in 1965 was awarded a CBE.

Hugh Franklin became the most radical in the family, and was cut off by his father as a result. He was one of only a few men to be imprisoned for his part in the suffragette cause. Noted for taking a whip to Churchill on a train journey in protest at his police tactics and repeatedly imprisoned and force-fed, he was one of the first to be released under the Cat and Mouse

law. It is also thought he inspired the county's most famous suffragette 'outrage', the burning down of Saunderton Station. His wife Elsie Duval was next to be released under the Cat and Mouse but never recovered from the force feeding and prison brutality, and she sadly died in the 1919 flu pandemic.

Her letters describe what she endured... *'when I was sick I was told I wasn't to and said I did it for purpose and told me to keep still on my back but couldn't, had pain in heart and stomach & also headache. Sick in 3 handkerchiefs and after wardress left cell'*

Elsie's brother Victor married Una Dugdale, debutante niece of Viscount Peel, Speaker of the House of Commons. Una famously protested the marriage 'obey'. Christabel Pankhurst, Constance Lytton and the Pethick-Lawrences attended their wedding dressed in WSPU colours. Una was also imprisoned for a month and her sister Marjorie 'Daisy' Dugdale led the procession to welcome Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst on their release from prison on 19 Dec 1908.

Brother Ellis was a merchant banker who taught part time at the Working Men's College and with his wife was active in the 1930s Kindertransport scheme, taking in two children to their home. Their daughter Rosalind was the brilliant chemist and X-ray crystallographer who contributed vital work to the understanding of the molecular structures of DNA as well as viruses, coal and graphite. Her contributions to the discovery of the structure of DNA was only recognised posthumously because in a sad echo of the early loss of Ada Lovelace, she sadly died at the age of 37 from ovarian cancer – and would have been in line for a Nobel prize for her work on the molecular structure of viruses had she survived, the team she led ultimately being given the award. Ironically gynaecological cancer can be inherited through Ashkenazi Jewish DNA, but it is also thought excessive radiation exposure may have been the cause of her untimely early death.

Women's suffrage was built upon community, but also through family. The Franklins and their extended family are a remarkable example of the honesty of expression typified by the Arts and Crafts movement which was the catalyst for radical forms of progress and invention. Although in the UK the movement dwindled after WW1, the tireless efforts of the Franklins and the suffragette movement had only just begun to flower.

Emma Whysall is a practising solicitor and Labour PPC for Chipping Barnet.



During the 60s my teenage mother, responding to a call for skilled workers, excitedly travelled from Jamaica to the UK. Many of her family members were already there and she felt she was coming from her British Caribbean Island to the 'motherland', a name given to the UK, from which she like many others fantasied about. Indeed, she did make it her home. She raised her family and contributed to society. She, like many others who arrived in the 50s, 60s, and 70s from the commonwealth countries are now known as the Windrush Generation.

My mother is now a retired nurse. She was first trained in the countryside at Lincolnshire Hospital before proudly starting her new career as an NHS nurse in South East London. She worked in several hospitals there, including the Dreadnought Seaman's Hospital in Greenwich and the old St John's Hospital in Lewisham (both of which have since closed). Many women, like my mother, were to embark on this new adventure to the UK to become trained nurses, working for the public-sector in our flagship NHS. Yet, when they arrived in the UK they were met with much hostility. They soon discovered that they were welcomed by many and not welcomed, wanted or treated fairly by others.

The irony was that on one hand they were needed as a new labour workforce, building up the country following the war, but on the other hand they were being accused of taking jobs. They were faced with hostile signs saying 'No Blacks, No Irish, No dogs'. They were barred from certain cafes, getting jobs, renting accommodation or buying properties in some areas. Most shockingly, the churches also turn them away. Instead, black communities forced to set up their own places of worship and were segregated in certain parts of the country.

I feel the most painful aspect of the recent Windrush Scandal is the double jeopardy this generation have had to experience two of the most vulnerable times in their lives: when they first arrived as young people and then in their retirement years facing accusations of illegality, as a consequence of racial discrimination. The

Windrush Scandal has seen many rightful British citizens lose everything under the Government's 'Hostile Environment'.

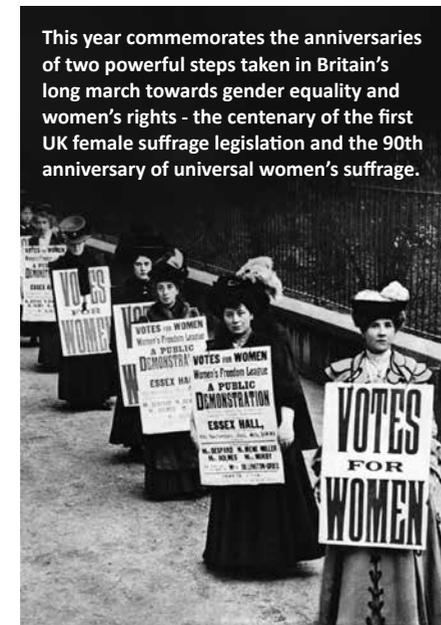
The hardship the Windrush Generation have endured is palpable, and we are yet to understand the full price of their mistreatment. They need to see action, not just platitudes.

After a lifetime of building a community, working, paying taxes and bringing up their family, many from the Windrush Generation have found that the country they contributed to no longer legally recognised them as British citizens. Many elderly people have undergone inconceivable treatment of wrongful detention and deportation. By the end of August, the Jamaican Foreign Ministry reported the saddening news that at least three of these people had died before officials were able to provide them a safe return to the UK. As a result, I pressed for the Government to accept responsibility and to redress this. The number has since risen, and on the 12th November it was confirmed by the Home Secretary, Sajid Javid, that the total was now 11 people.

Following widespread pressure, the Government has backtracked and confirmed that the Windrush Generation do have the right to remain and will be granted back their British citizenship. This is a welcomed outcome, but more needs to be done to heal the overall harm created. Compensation alone is not enough. If we are truly to confront this issue, we must have an independent public inquiry so that we can understand and address the full extent of the damage done. We also need to understand if this has disproportionately affected women and take a hard look at the 'hostile environment' policy in a wider context, closely scrutinising its consequences and human cost.

Our patients and our NHS have always appreciated our Windrush nurses, now our country needs to do the same.

Janet Daby is MP for Lewisham East and a daughter of Windrush.



Whilst these steps are shared in the history of nearly every country on earth, the timings are not. The distance between the first and most recent countries to grant women the vote spans over a century, with Saudi Arabia allowing women to vote only 7 years ago.

The past two years of this path has taken us through turbulent times. As Brexit clouds darken the horizon, the future of women in the UK is looking more uncertain than ever. Various reports have cautioned on the impact of Brexit, particularly on women, from the financial burden on household income and benefits, and a decline in funding for vital women's services, to the impending risk of leaving a 'gaping hole' in women's rights and of 'turning back the clock' on gender equality in the UK.

While UK negotiators clamour to secure the 'best' deal for the UK, in focusing on trade and immigration, the issue of workers' and citizens' rights is left as a bargaining chip rather than an ultimatum in future deals. Many of the rights

under threat will disproportionately affect women workers. From the employment rights of pregnant women, to parental leave rights, to part-time workers rights (42% of women work part-time), women under EU law are protected at work regardless of their nationality.

The financial impact of Brexit has worrying consequences for women across the UK. The current economic system undermines the value of the unpaid, invisible work done by women, who not only contribute to the economy through unpaid domestic and caregiving labour, but also make up a large amount of part-time, agency, and zero-hour contract workers.

As the primary users of public services and workers in the public sector, women will also be disproportionately affected by changes and cuts to public services and the resulting budget deficit. Vital services like women's refuges and legal aid in family law and housing are also under threat, as with all women's services they have already seen a decline in funding and scope. Without protections of EU migrants' right to work, the shortage of carers forecast by the Department of Health will add enormous pressure to women who are expected to make up for this shortfall.

Years of austerity have hit women particularly hard, where women received 86% of the burden of the government's tax and benefit changes. An EHRC review found that the recent welfare reforms resulted in women losing £400 per year compared to the £30 lost by men based on income averages. An LSE study now predicts a £850-6400 decline in household income per year, which will also hit women particularly hard as the primary 'shock-absorbers' of family poverty.

Women's citizen rights are doubly threatened by the UK's impending departure from both the European Court of Justice and the protections of European human rights laws. Notably, the UK has still not ratified the Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence, which it signed in 2012.

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) has reported that both future and existing equality and human rights protections from the EU may no longer protect women following Brexit. More concerning still is the effects of hate-crime against migrant and ethnic-minority women, which has seen a sharp rise in the UK since Brexit.

Yet, for those bearing the brunt of Brexit, women have been largely excluded from discussions of Britain's future.

Despite having a female PM, only one of the five Brexit ministers is a woman. As Theresa May struggles, women are pushed to the side lines. The men dominating the political scene are those who have campaigned most aggressively for Brexit. Boris Johnson and Nigel Farage have pivoted the focus on issues of trade and migration, eclipsing the rights and protections of women as workers and citizens. Lord Martin Callanan, DExEU Minister has previously called for scrapping the EU's employment protections for pregnant women in a desire to 'get rid of all the red tape', which includes so many hard-fought employment rights.

Only 16% of televised Referendum coverage included women. As well as the exclusion of female politicians and experts, women citizens represent only 39% of contributors. Women voted against Brexit (51%); YouGov polling in September 2018 indicates a 12 point margin in favour of women supporting remain as well as 58% of women (excluding don't knows) backing a People's Vote on the final deal. 73% of women now fear the protection of our rights to be 'empty promises by politicians' (YouGov poll).

Leaving the EU not only means abandoning our place in influencing and deciding the future of women's rights and protections in Europe, but also putting our current rights and protections in jeopardy.

The rights of women should not be determined by nationality, nor economic status, but instead be part of a shared project that spans



political and national divides. The EU has been a champion of women's freedom in Europe, offering protection and stability against changing political and social landscapes. It provides a platform and framework through which states can come together to discuss gender inequality and propose means of progress for all nations in the EU.

As a party, as a society, we must step forward to prevent so much progress from being swept out from beneath us. We cannot leave women's rights as both workers and citizens exposed to uncertainty and erosion or allow women to bear the brunt of economic shock. We cannot stand by as female politicians and experts' voices are drowned out by careerist political posturing.

The Labour Party must step forward and claim its historic role to protect those most threatened by the uncertainty, vulnerability and hardship that clouds the horizon.

Mary Honeyball is MEP for London and UK Labour representative in the Women's Rights and Gender Equality Committee in the European Parliament.



IS THE U.S. FUTURE REALLY FEMALE?

A new tee shirt has entered the fashion scene in the United States.

It has a bold message: "The Future is Female". It's a garment ripe for the 21st Century. If worn with ripped jeans and slouchy motorcycle boots one would resemble a female character in a remake of the 'Road Warrior'. New fashion rises from the streets and in the case of this particular tee, it arose in the last century at the height of the women's liberation movement. The Future is Female is right back from the past.

It's a successful reissue because our present certainly isn't female. The message still speaks. The original tee shirt was created in 1975 at the height of the Women's Liberation Movement. This was a time when we knew we had the power to build a feminist future. The tee shirt was bold just like those Twentieth Century feminists who rejected beauty parlors, nail polish and brassieres. We knew the future was going to be fully female, not an empty image of woman created from the male gaze as objects for mass consumption. We were demolishing that monster by uniting with each other as sisters. Women were taking space and power. We would no longer be decorative objects, even the font on the tee shirt was boxy and utilitarian. It lacked a seraph.

The tee made its big comeback in 2015 because in that year the United States was getting ready for that female future. Some may disagree that this is why the tee shirt reappeared, but one can't uncouple the reissue of the tee with the first female and feminist nominee for President. Hillary Clinton, the experienced politician with a lifetime of work for women and children, both here in America and around the world, was running for POTUS. A feminist future was swirling in the air (and in women's minds). Despite all the negativity towards Hillary Clinton (a strong hatred towards her existed on the progressive left that I will still never fully understand), we still had a feeling she'd win the election.

Even those who refused to vote for her thought she would win! Imagine that?

Alas, all good things don't come to those who wait. We all know how the election ended. Extreme sexism was considered okay by a sizeable number of Americans and the rights of women and children were not considered important enough to fight for. Let's ask ourselves a hard question "Is the future female in the United States?"

The success of the tee shirt in the marketplace says, yes, we believe we can achieve a different world where feminist ideas are woven into our domestic and foreign policy.... but Hillary espoused those ideas and was hated by the right and many on the left. She was deemed not good enough despite her extraordinary level of experience. That's sexism. Our problem isn't with a mythical patriarchy looming over our heads, it's the patriarchy in our minds which destroys us.

This isn't a new problem. Suffragettes grappled with patriarchy and sexism. Even after decades of fighting, many women weren't sure they would win the right to vote.

Susan B. Anthony, in 1906, at 86 years old gave a speech to despondent suffragists and she said... "with all the help with people like we have in this room, failure is impossible".

It bolstered them up and they kept fighting. After the election of Trump I am as despondent as the suffragists listening to Anthony.

In December 2016, less than two months after the election, I visited the International Islamic University in Islamabad, Pakistan, to discuss the U.S. Women's Liberation Movement. A female student looked at me with a question. I knew what the question would be and I was dreading it.

She asked, "What happened?" I had a hard time answering her and I stumbled, embarrassed by our election result. Pakistani women, as all women and children, needed a feminist woman to enter the Oval Office. These students in front of me were sure Hillary would win. Instead we gave them more patriarchy to fight. We gave them a man who evidently revels in misogyny and racism (and who would appoint someone accused of serial sexual misdemeanours to be a lifetime Justice of the Supreme Court). Now that's embarrassing. I should have had an answer for her but I was tongue-tied or maybe my mind couldn't process the election and I had no words.

Now here I am two years after the election and I am beginning to see a positive future again. Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, age 78, will once again be our Speaker of the House and we have a new young group of feminist Representatives. Pelosi made a statement which shifted my perspective – "No one gives you power, you must take it from them".



This is true. The Future is Female.

Jennifer Hall Lee is a feminist film maker and Fulbright Scholar working in California and Islamabad.

THE POLITICAL



Melania Trump and her stylist Herve Pierre knew exactly what they were doing and saying when she wore a white trouser suit by Christian Dior at The 2018 State Of The Union Address – they made a direct play on the sartorial language of Hillary Clinton who wore a trouser suit through her entire Presidential campaign, even wearing white to accept her Presidential candidate nomination in 2016.

In the US, white is also the colour of the suffragette movement, of pure protest and female emancipation – in the UK of course, there were two groups, red and green for suffragists and green and purple for suffragettes, both often worn with white.

According to Business Insider, it takes 3 seconds for someone to assess your clothes - and whether they trust, like, or will hire you.

Anna Wintour, Editor in Chief of American Vogue, a key mover in the global fashion industry known to make careers, hails from a politically literate family - her father Charles, was Editor in Chief of the Evening Standard, while her brother is Patrick Wintour, Diplomatic Editor at The Guardian, and is rumoured to have been behind the scenes for both Hillary and Michelle Obama. She knows that a political uniform is a code.

CODE IN FASHION

Tamara Cincik



Fashion is a huge part of the marketing strategy for any aspiring politician, because it is a key determinant in whether people who have never met you, will trust and vote for you. For politicians, this comes with a unique set of challenges: think what you want to represent and do it clearly. Keep it local: wear brands from your own country and don't overreach.

Think then, of Theresa May wearing £995 brown leather trousers for The Sunday Times, soon after taking the premiership, as a warning for all wanting to walk the tightrope of public life. Subsequently, it was claimed that her former joint chief of staff Fiona Hill had called in the clothes. By not checking the price point, what should have been a soft pitch piece to refocus the PM as an everywoman at home – albeit the leader of a government guiding the UK through Brexit after several years of Austerity, became political nitroglycerin. On-the-sofa May became symbolised as Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon playing at being a farmhand, while Paris starved.

Out of touch, over-indulged, removed. Dangerous for any public figure who consistently needs to know the prices of milk, bread and butter, as Mrs Thatcher famously did and David Cameron famously didn't – and look where he has taken us.

Back to Melania Trump and her recent Africa tour wardrobe of pith helmet and khakis. As Klara Glowczewska wrote for Town and Country: "It was not clothing, but costume. And costume always attracts attention, invites interpretation, and sends its own message."

Having a stylist (who avoids costume drama!) takes budget, but arguably in a world where digital access creates a 24/7 platform and the political landscape is this fragile, it's a cost worth spending. With the red tops always on the hunt for a story and on a day when matters personal and deep rooted, clothing can be a key to winning any forthcoming election, an opportunity to win over voters who are swayed by public perception.

There is a really fine line between being authentic and seeming fake. The world is now saturated with content and reaction to our every nuanced move. New politician Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who last year worked in a bar while campaigning, overturning an incumbent candidate, will in January become the youngest Member of the

U.S. House of Representatives. She smashes it. Red lipstick, wide smile, smart. She has a millennial's intuitive understanding of her online audience. Her Instagram is personal, personable and resonates with new inclusive policy ideas to galvanise her local community.

Fashion makes the UK £30bn a year (fishing makes £1.4bn GVA), employing almost 1m workers. Globally, if it were a nation state, it would be the 7th richest economy.

Michelle Obama visited London this month: tickets for her talk at The South Bank sold out in seconds. Gal-Dem have launched a pop up in partnership with Penguin in celebration of her book "Becoming", where she tackles the challenge of taking on the huge role as Flotus. **"your story is what you have, what you will always have. It is something to own."**



Gal-Dem pose the question for one event: "What would Michelle Do? (if women ruled the world)". From Michelle, the audience was treated to the most impassioned, inclusive and intersectional speech while wearing a cool outfit on stage, a white outfit, which supported who she is, respecting her audience and did not consume her in costume parody.

If there is one lesson all of our politicians could learn from this, it is to be more Michelle : hire a stylist, or don't, wear high end if you can afford to sometimes, but mix it with high street. Know your audience and communicate with them authentically. What you wear really does matter.

Tamara Cincik is founder and CEO of Fashion Round Table.



The non-profit Patrician Press was formed by Patricia Borlenghi in 2012 after she completed her MA in Creative Writing at the University of Essex. A children's imprint, Pudding Press, was launched in March 2015.

Patricia writes:

The philosophy and aim of the Patrician Press is to encourage and promote writers of high quality fiction and poetry. We are small, independent and courageous. We strongly believe that it is imperative to uphold and maintain the quality of contemporary literature in today's challenging, competitive and ever-changing technological world.

The majority of submissions received by the press are predominantly by male writers, so it is vital to advocate that women writers still need to be encouraged and promoted.

We are proud to have published diverse women writers, who through their creative talents, explore many contemporary and complex issues. Together, we have produced our three topical and politically-motivated anthology collections of short fiction, poetry and essays.

Refugees and Peacekeepers, edited by Anna Johnson (2017)

My Europe, edited by Anna Johnson and Anna Vaught (2018)

Tempest, edited by Anna Vaught and Anna Johnson (2019)

Poet Catherine Coldstream who this year was shortlisted for the Robert Graves prize, has contributed to all three anthologies. We were also delighted that Christine De Luca, who was appointed Edinburgh's Makar, or poet laureate, from 2014 to 2017, donated a poem in three languages: Shetlandic, English and Italian to the My Europe anthology. We are now in discussion to publish a collection of her bilingual poetry in Shetlandic and English. The first bilingual poetry collection we published in Italian and English was Arcobaleno-Rainbow by Sara Elena Rossetti (2013).

With Brexit in full view, we are also very privileged that Baroness Helena Kennedy QC has kindly contributed an essay about the legal problems surrounding Brexit to My Europe. She adroitly forecast the many complications and hurdles concerning cross border rights and contracts and the unresolved problem of the Irish border would be very difficult for the UK government to negotiate. She concluded:

"Harmonising law across Europe has raised standards – to our advantage. Europe-wide law is now integrated into our lives, albeit without much visibility, but it makes our European engagement safer and stronger."



Professor Jean McHale also knowledgeably contributed an article about healthcare issues, post Brexit, to the same anthology.

(Since) 'the pledge on the side of the big red bus of an extra £350m to the NHS, nonetheless as the dust has settled, it is increasingly apparent that Brexit will have consequences for the NHS other than a simple transfer of cash to provide enhanced services'.

In our latest anthology, *Tempest*, about the advent of Trump and our present political tumultuous times (to be published spring 2019), Professor Chantal Mouffe, professor of political theory at the University of Westminster, as well as Ivana Bartoletti, chair of the Fabian Women's Network, have kindly given permission for their articles (both published in *The Guardian* this year) to be reproduced.

Refugees and Peacekeepers was published after we ran a writing competition for short fiction and poetry. All contributions were submitted anonymously. The judges were led by Anna Johnson, (consultant editor for Patrician Press) and I was thrilled that the shortlisted writers, who were subsequently published in the anthology – were all women.

The two historical novels by actor and screenwriter Melanie Hughes - *War Changes Everything* and *Midnight Legacy* (2017) are about a progressive woman's personal struggles, along with her work for the Indian League in London, culminating in India's

Independence in 1947. Another of our authors, journalist Wersha Bhadrada has written internationally about women's rights for over two decades.

The first novel by Anna Vaught that we published in 2016, *Killing Hapless Ally*, addresses women's mental health issues; Emma Kittle-Pey's two short-story collections, *Fat Maggie* (2013) and *Gold Adornments* (2017) have a feminist and witty slant; and *Duff* by Suzy Norman is a road-trip novel examining women's relationships with both men and women.

Soon to be the Patrician Press Collective, we hope to continue to publish books addressing international political issues, conflicts and equal rights. Proceeds from the anthologies are donated to charities, including Help Refugees, Europaem and Amnesty International.

Patricia Borlenghi, who is hearing impaired, has been working in publishing for many years and plans to retire in 2020. She is the author of several children's books and divides her time between *Mistley*, *Manningtree in England* and *Castelletto di Vernasca in Italy*.

We extend our congratulations to Gillian Wearing OBE and coding and Bletchley Park champion, Prof Sue Black OBE, awarded honorary doctorates by the University of London in recognition of their remarkable achievements.

@FabianWomen

#MeToo

