

*Solidarity*



$\triangleq$  Care





# Solidarity

empty promise?  
or honest allyship,  
followed by action,  
which does not shy away from its own borders,  
which at the same time respects personal borders,  
which consequently overcomes national borders,  
that recognizes historical contexts,  
that disempowers patriarchal structures,  
that takes responsibility.  
Caring for each other -  
powerfully!

**“BANDENBILDUNG IST  
EIN ERSTER SCHRITT”**

= "Banding is a first step"



= Together against deportation

# Preface

We want a fair world, a better world. We agree on that. But what does solidarity have to do with a just world? What does solidarity have to do with care? Can solidarity overcome the circumstances? And let's be serious: what does solidarity mean at all?

Care and solidarity are multidimensional and historically interwoven. On the next pages we will try to find answers to the questions asked. For this zine we want to explore/experience the principle of solidarity as a form of care work.

When there is a \* behind "woman", the intention is to point out that gender is a social construct.



## → Interviews

The three interviews that are in the zine were done with anti-racist activists in rural areas. The conversations are presented in summarized form - in consultation with the interviewees.

Questions were asked about the own perspective/positioning, the social and personal meaning of solidarity, the connection between gender and solidarity action, and the role of solidarity in the climate crisis. The two interviews with Sara and Tepeina were held in english, the interview with Eva in german. The names are pseudonyms.



## → Tepeina\*



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**I is weak, we is strong.**

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✱ Germany is not my home. I am a "Ausländerin". I come with different geographical, social and cultural perspectives and outlooks on life. I am (a) violent(ly) woman, because i have to fight to have the same rights as males.

Violently african refugee women\* should especially experience a lot of solidarity. As a refugee woman\*, you never have a break. You are a mother, you have to work, your asylum process is ongoing, it goes on and on and never stops. We have to fight extra hard to live as equals. The position of women\* in society is negotiable. That of refugees even more so. This becomes clear in the fact that women's rights do not apply equally to everyone. That is why we - as women\*, refugees and our friends - have to fight together in solidarity.



The problems of individuals are always the problems of many others in the world. Therefore, solidarity means solving these problems together and with many. None of us can master his\*her life alone - living means living with others and taking on the perspectives of others. The problems associated with the climate crisis cannot be solved by individuals either. They are the result of collective action and must also be solved together and globally.

Collective action alone is not enough. The people who make policy decisions and pass laws must be held accountable. Above all, policies must be made by the people they affect.



# Care & Solidarity

## → CARE

"Care work" has been a central term in feminist discourse since the 1980s (1).

The needs of others, and also the preservation of an intact ecosystem (2) are given priority here.

Typical care work includes, for example, cleaning, nursing or childcare.

(1) Gilligan 1982  
(2) Tyberg 2021



## → CARE

This care for the physical and mental health of others is often badly paid or not paid at all (2). In the discourse it is also criticized that care work is mostly done by women\* (3) or people with migration background (4).

(3) Lynch; Walsh 2009, S.36  
(4) Kontos; Walser 1979  
(5) Hochschild 2001, S. 157ff

MEIN  
GEHALT  
IST *schon mal*  
DIE HALBE  
MIETE



## → CARE

And what  
does all this  
have to do  
with climate?



There are findings according to which similar structures can be found in the exploitation of women\* as in the handling of the ecological environment (5). In this way, the body and the labor power of women\* are supposed to be endlessly available to society, just as nature would be infinitely usable and exploitable (6).

(6) Bauhardt 2018, S.467ff

(7) Sturgeon 1997, S.28f



# Solidarity

عندما تتأمل شقائق النعمان، تلك الرقائذ الجمراء الناعمة، التي تنبت  
في شتات الأرض، في كل بقعة من هذه الأرض العظيمة.

في تلك اللحظة راقب الجموع من السود يتحدون، يتجهلون، ويهولون  
سؤال بسيطاً لماذا؟

في لحظة صعبة من الوجود صابر كغيرها  
لا ترى التفرقة والفرق بين الأقسام تبقى وحيدة، تتصلح بيننا  
بين أجناسنا ما يحدث مولد ويدور في محيطهم من سكون  
كم نقرر في كثير من الليالي وشح الماء، يتساكنون الفرة عندما  
بأي شيء يقيهم ويروي عطشهم.

نعم نحن الأمازيغيين في بلاد الفرة كمثل الورد  
رفعنا نقطة الحد، عندما ترى يوماً ما أن هناك من يخطئ  
صديقاً، صديقاً، تلك الجموع، قريباً مني في السلام، ضحكنا من قبل  
لا مكان في قلبه للحقد والكراهية.

~~الجموع~~ ابتسخت شقائق النعمان ابتسخت عندما رأت  
ذلك اتضامن، رأت أنها تتألف من شعرة ~~بلا~~ بالفخ

Ayman

→ Eva\*

\* I speak from a woman's perspective, I am white, european and privileged.



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**Solidarity is an appreciative encounter at eye level**

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For me, solidarity means appreciative encounters at eye level. Because help that is imposed on others reinforces power relations. This also means meeting each other (value)free at first. Every person has a right to exist. No matter where they are or where they come from - with every need and every ability.

I also have to be aware of my own privileges, for example in freedom of travel. I have to deal with the injustices that come with it. Starting with myself, I can achieve a snowball effect.



As a single mother, I would like solidarity from the housing market. I am currently looking for an apartment and I am at the bottom of the list. I also wish for solidarity especially from male people. I don't want to be called a mouse or cute. I don't want to have to discuss that. It makes me angry. I once slapped one in the face - afterwards I felt a mixture of bad conscience and courage.

Solidarity also means working for better political conditions. But politics is usually like fighting windmills. That's why it's extremely important to join together in groups.

With regard to the climate crisis, for me solidarity means not closing the borders to the people who are fleeing because we are living here in a land of milk and honey at their expense. People must be put before capital.



## → SOLIDARITY

Solidarity can be classified as a part of care work. This is because social or ecological concerns are brought into focus here, sometimes at one's own expense (8): Solidarity is a way of living relationships (9). The prerequisite for this is the ability to distance oneself from power structures (10) , to question one's own privileges and to take (political) responsibility (11).



- (8) Tyberg 2021
- (9) Adamczak 2017, S. 257
- (10) Susemichel; Kastner 2018, S. 139f
- (11) Lessenich 2019, S. 106f



## → SOLIDARITY

The aim of solidarity is to bridge differences (12) while recognising inequalities (13).

REFORMEN  
REICHEN  
NICHT



= Organize against classism

In politics, this means overcoming the limits of nation states, private ownership (14) and profits, as well as keeping the limits of nature (15).

(14) Adamczak 2019

(15) Lessenich, S. 101 ff

(12) Sturgeon 1997, S. 28f

(13) Lessenich 2019, S. 106f



## → SOLIDARITY

But solidarity is a matter for all of us. Solidarity is always also a fight - because change brings resistance (16). Glouldhawke - indigenous author - defines solidarity like this:

"[...] to fight with others without pretending to be one of them.... to have one's own struggles and to combine them with those of others without adopting the fights of others as one's own" (17).

(16) Lessenich 2019, S. 105  
(17) Glouldhawke 2020





Gerechtigkeit  
die fehlt  
die Welt bebt  
Worin unsere Stärke besteht?  
Solidarität

David

Solidarity

إنساني شعوب تنسالم  
تنسالم بفريل

على تقي الورد تنسالم تنسالم  
لا يفسد ولا لونيه

منس كلنا يمينه من آدم  
منس آدم ابو البشر

السجين اذا يترام  
تنبهها قراع ثوابه  
من كفا يابن آدم  
حريه سلام حريه

محمد الحسن سالم محمد

der Dichter = Mohamed Alhassan Homied  
" Sudan "

## → Sara\*



**Solidarity is when society has respect for refugees, women's\* rights do not depend on asylum status, and women\* have space to fight together.**

\* I am a woman from Eritrea. I have also lived in Bahrain for a while. Like many other women\*, I got married to start a family. My husband fled to Norway. In a long process of five years, I tried to follow him there in various ways. Eventually I got a visa to Europe and met my husband. But after a few months, I was deported to Germany. Here I am stuck now - why?! Where is the humanity?

We do not come here because we are hungry, but because many of us suffer from the political conditions in our countries of origin, such as a dictatorship. But here we also suffer because our dreams and hopes die - we die inside. Some of us destroy ourselves with drugs and with alcohol.



Germany destroys refugees because it does not consider them as equal human beings, makes bad policies, treats them in a racist way and exploits them. In Germany, everyone knows women's rights, but where are the rights of refugee women\*? Pregnant women\* and women\* with children get deported!

= finally at home

The power is in the women\*. In me and in the refugees. They should not wait for someone else to act. We should act ourselves. I want to wake women\* up, that they can support each other, that they don't have to depend on someone. I also want to reach refugee boys and men - because they are petrified and need to wake up.

When we are together, we quickly learn from each other. A state of solidarity would be a state in which refugees are not separated from society. Especially the children should not be separated from each other. That's how they learn racism. Racism destroys us. Racism destroys Germany - **because we are here.**

# Epilogue

Solidarity is not only a question of position, but also of concrete action and change. This action has to be reflected, sometimes limited and sometimes strengthened, in order to do justice to the existing power structures and global - social and ecological - realities.

Maybe you took away some new thoughts from this zine. We certainly did. We wish to hear more voices on the subject of solidarity. Are you writing a poem? Or will you paint something? Why don't you make the next zine! Because, to speak the words of Audre Lorde:

**"Your silence will not protect you." ;)**

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# Disclaimer

→ Who is responsible for this zine?



**We are two**

**white positioned (+) women\***

**with a german passport**

**This zine was created in connection with the project workshop "Gender & Climate Justice" at the University for Sustainable Development Eberswalde.**

(+) **Whiteness** is not a biological attribute and not a real skin color, but a political and social construction. It describes a privileged position, for example in access to resources, which usually is left unspoken.  
(Glossary of Discrimination-Sensitive Language: <https://www.amnesty.de>)



