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## The 4 in 1 Perspective

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The year 1989 represents the loss of perspectives for left politics. We come from the century of the failed experiment of a bureaucratic socialism. The 4-in-1 perspective is an attempt to re-establish a socialist-democratic perspective. This perspective again is elementary to a left which without it would not have a right to exist.

*Theoretical fundamentals: gender relations are production conditions*

The project comes from decades of studies on women's oppression and the experience of practical emancipation politics. It tries to take into account the changes in work of high-tech capitalism. It needs the openness to democratize socially appreciated things, to claim privileges reserved to 'elites' for all, to keep human life as the highest, to scandalize the new ways of distortion and alienation in the labor market, and to generalize all this as a political practice. Its theoretical fundament is the realization that gender relations are not merely an ingredient in the production conditions, but are constitutively inscribed in them selfs. The history of mankind is fundamentally affected by gender division. People reproduce their own lives and produce new ones by having babies and raising them up. In capitalist modernity, the areas of production and management of the life resources are those in which the productive forces are developed and the requirements for the further division of labor are made. Here this division is focused on further development of mankind. Because these areas are the accumulation field of capital par excellence, it seems to be the requirement for all progress. But the area in which life is created, cultivated and maintained is depreciated. It is given to women who are thereby marginalized as those being responsible for life-care. This hierarchical arrangement forms the basis for the social oppression of women, which shapes all

spheres of society: culture and language, ideology and social theory, morality and law, and the corresponding institutions. There will be no real liberation of women without a reversal of this hierarchy. Two superimposed types dominance determine the progress of history: the governance over labor power in food production and the governance of men over women in reproduction. This interaction has the effect that the development of mankind is connected with the destruction of its foundations. This dominance is supported and sustained by gender relations in which, for reasons of domination, the socially shaped is asserted as nature, and precisely in this way it is denied in its sensuous physical substance. The basis for the 4-in-1 project is to end the focus of the production relations to the commercial production of things and to relate them to both areas of human production. At the same time, the project is deeply involved in Marxist thinking.

On this basis, it becomes clear that women can not simply fight for 'equality' in that system, but that this structure of the system itself is questionable. At the same time, the specialization of many areas as women's politics is targeted by feminist criticism. This specialization put women's politics as a trap. If we continue to act in this trap, we finally leave everything as it is. Therefore, the 4-in-1 perspective transforms women's politics in a general liberation policy.

*Struggles for time*

4-in-1 counts on the experience and the common sense of the many. We all begin our life as a project with seemingly endless time, which is then channeled into separated areas. These areas are controlled without our intervention. This makes the diverse conflicts to struggles for time. These conflicts have become critical today because a growing part of the population has been expelled from the labor market. These people find themselves trapped in the repressive state government of Hartz IV. While the rest have "no time", or they do not find it for themselves. It took more than 100 years of fighting for the eight-hour day, then the 40-hours, and finally the 37.5-hour-

week. In the meantime, the productive forces of the work were strongly increased so that half of today's working time would be sufficient. In the middle of the 20th century, the last legal fetters began to fall in countries like Germany, that still kept women imprisoned. However, structurally and culturally, the assignments of their time to the reproduction area remained, whose "marginality" still determines the general position of women in society. The learning times for the profit-driven Internet age are getting more and more exhausting, without the individual having the leisure to develop other cultural skills. The political reforms are hunting for the transnational capital, which has always spread the generated wealth already. These reforms are incapable of financing the dignified survival of those forced out of the social production process. It becomes more and more clear that people must be involved in the shaping of their life conditions, in the decision about what is being produced and how, in the distribution of goods and in the necessary cultural transition from consumerism to more sustainable economics.

The new aspect of the 4-in-1 perspective is the arrangement of the four areas of activity - labor work, reproduction, culture, politics - with the same amount of time, instead of prioritizing one over the other. This shift in the fields of activity can count on the approval of the many who know the impulse "if I had time" as a leitmotiv of their entire life. This reorganization will increase its explosive power by targeting the core knot of our history: the dismantling of the social processes into the profitable sector of labor work, the "feminized" reproduction area beside labor work and the separated politics in the hands of "deputies". This dismantling strengthens the capitalist domination at the price of the stumbling and wasting of human talents. To resolve this knot of domination is the project of the 4-in-1 perspective. If the areas are linked differently, they also change qualitatively. While such a change must be accomplished by the many, their single connection with one function, which dominates everything else, dissolves. The spontaneous contempt of reproductive activities as "no real work" will turn into appreciation as soon

as they are part of one's own life. Fighting for the freedom of developing one self, works against the permanent sectoral exploitation.

In the relations among the humans and towards the nature, human history, productive forces and the individuals themselves are developed. "Finally," says Marx, "all economics are dissolved in the economy of time" (MEW 42, 105). Finally, we add, the entire history of domination and slavery is one of the dominance over time. If we jump into our time, we land in the middle of the crisis. Here we see the struggles of the working-class movement to shorten the working hours, which means getting the power over one's time back, at a critical point: The development of the productive forces led to a reduction of jobs, and further jobs were exported to 'low-wage countries'. When the union struggle is reduced to preserving the remaining jobs and the interests of those working there, instead of fighting for a good work and a good life for all, it becomes reactionary.

The feminist movement was fighting for a different society where also women can unfold their skills and live upright. Besides there was the goal of appreciate domestic work as work because only then women can negotiate at eye level which means emancipated. However, the concentration on the integration of the social form of the individual "housewife" into the work of the wage labor system could, under neoliberalism, be transferred into a policy of the arrangement of family and labor work, supplemented by the politic of the child-raising allowance. This buried the fundamental discussion about the question of what is actually done in the form of the individual housewife. It is about how people behave towards human beings - children, the elderly, the weak, the handicapped and the invalid. Here happens "true humanity", as the young Marx expresses it (Parisian manuscripts), for which the wage labor only disposes capital and instruments. But this humanity continues to be economically and socially marginalized and at best ideologically transfigured. Capitalism puts human beings not as a purpose but as an instrument of profit - Life is done meanwhile. In this peripheral position

women are sitting, caged in their families as wrong places of hope. But even in this retreat, it has been tight since the decline of Fordism and the enforcement of high-tech capitalism. The families were and are being decomposed. Poverty of women, part-time jobs, single-parent mothers, children who are growing up in poverty are part of the broad track that this process leaves behind. The government calculated one euro a month as an educational package for the rejected Hartz IV recipients. Marx's point of view was that everybody must be able to develop his\_her abilities, so that her\_his development would be a requirement for the development of everybody else. The gap between one euro for cultural entertainment and the goal of Marx is so gigantic, that it kills the thought of how you could step over it.

Apparently today it is not about a good society and certainly not about the development of each person, as the societies with the enormously developed productive forces become continuously richer and their governments act with billions of Euros as with virtual money. The development of elites and excellency as a criterion of export is up to date. In this situation it becomes a political issue to go for lost visions, in which everybody can learn possibly everything.

For this, politics must be taken out of the structure of automatic representation and become common property. At this utopian point one can learn something from Rosa Luxemburg. She recognized that bourgeois democracy doesn't need a teaching for the masses because there was an elite above the masses. The masses could vote but hadn't got the chance of a real participation in forming society. But in a socialist society democracy would need to let the masses participate. They would be educated and developed for and through pushing the task of developing society. As long as there was no clear concept and experience for this, the practical realization of socialism as an economic, social and legal system for Luxemburg was a thing that was lying in the fog of future.

If wage labor, reproductive work, cultural self-development and politics are ever pursued separately, they will trap into a dead end. Their

link liberates a different political dynamic. This needs a utopian breath, not just to argue for a reduction in working hours, but to redistribute the entire lifetime and all activities. This revolution of the time economy links the social with the individual level. If one begins to organize his\_her life differently, one notices that a good life is not only in conflict with the daily job-life, but also with one's self, because one has become accustomed to monotony. At the same time, it will be seen that this perspective can not be a call to individual persons: To rewrite the timetable with a red pencil and discipline oneself afterwards. But that the way of life of a whole society should be in critical focus, which can only be achieved in a culture of collective change. Our time of crises and the questioning of capitalist values is the right time for it.