

Book of Abstracts

The Ida Blom Conference

Gendered Citizenship: History, Politics and Democracy

Bergen, 14-15 October 2013

Table of Contents

Conference Topics.....	6
Keynote Speakers.....	7
Roundtable Discussion.....	9
Program Committee.....	10
Organizing Committee.....	10
Abstracts.....	11
STRAND 1: GENDER AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE.....	11
Panel 1: Media minorities? Journalism, sexuality and gender.....	11
Gay and Lesbian media Actors – the Same Old Story...?	11
Editorial leadership in Fædrelandsvennen – gender boundaries and differences ...	12
The 1913 Media Version of Women.....	13
Panel 2: Image, text, literature.....	14
Representation of Woman in Literature: Prose by Latvian Women Writers (1960-2010).....	14
The Gendered Representing of Agents and Personalities in History, Politics and Democracy.....	15
Pornography as Folk: The Desire for Tele-Vision.....	16
Panel 3: Gender in the online public sphere.....	17
Feminist Theories of the Public Sphere in Times of the Internet.....	17
Online affective writing and deployment of gendered political discourses.....	18
Militarization 2.0 – Militarization’s social media footprint through a gendered lens.....	19
Panel 4: Women’s associations in the history of the public sphere.....	20
Women volunteers as producers and consumers of festive sociability.....	20
within the public sphere (1950-2010).....	20
The role of women’s societies in making gender a public issue.....	21
Temperate Cultural agents.....	23
Panel 5: Gender and the Politics of Memory.....	24
Gender, race and generation in the politics of memory – Postcolonial migration from the Dutch Indies/ Indonesia to the Netherlands.....	24
Gender, Narratives and Local Perspectives on Memorial Ceremonies of an International Disaster.....	25
The Politics of Writing an Autoethnography.....	26
Gendering the political field. Remembrance and Forgetting.....	26
Panel 6: Constructing citizenship in journals and magazines.....	28
Postwar Men’s Magazines: Counter Publics for Political Debates and Social Issues	28
Economy journalism and the influence from women's magazines. An outline for a research project.....	29

Panel 7: Climate, nature and spatiality	30
Climate instruments and global governance: new public spaces and notions of citizenship.....	30
Backgrounding Nature. A Feminist Perspective on Visual Eco-Culture	31
Relocating Kiruna - gender, place and past in the colonial context.....	32
Panel 8: Women pioneers in media and culture	33
Female editors in Norway before 1913.....	33
The women of Norwegian broadcast literary reception	34
Panel 9: Challenging the Difference Engine. The discursive construction of Otherness in the Media	35
Place, Identity and Status: Media Representations of Indigenous and Traditionally Nomadic Minorities.....	36
Through the principles of Eurocentrism: Difference and (de)legitimacy in foreign news discourse on Venezuela	36
News Media construction of the Other.....	37
Gendered Spaces and Citizen Practices.....	37
STRAND 2: SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP	38
Panel 1: Heteronormativity and Nation	38
Sexual Citizenship Impossible: The Continuities of Old Discourse in the New Russia	38
Chinese Indonesian Politics of Citizenship in the Early New Order Period: Racialisation through Homophobia.....	39
Panel 2: Politics of Reproduction, Family and Work	40
Democratization of the Private Sphere and the Politics of Reproduction	40
Pro-Egalitarian Family Policy on the Supranational European Level: An Attempt to Regulate Reproduction in Ageing Welfare Societies.....	41
Gendered Citizenship, the Issue of Child Daycare and Women’s Movement. The Example of Sweden in the 20th Century.....	42
Panel 3: Dealing With Gendered Violence	43
Displaced Female Citizens: Male-to-Female Violence, the Family, and Civil Society.....	43
The Social Impact of Domestic Violence Exerted Upon Women in Bulgaria. A Comparative Analysis of Life Stories and Statistics as a Part of History of Behavior.	44
Gender and Genocide: A Research Creation Project.....	45
Panel 4: Discourses of Resistance	46
The Voices of Women in Witchcraft Trials.....	46
Feminist Man Haters and Puritans? Histories From the Struggle Against Rape and Pornography in France and Norway	47
Constructing Sexual Agency: Feminism, Choice and Gendered Sexuality	48
Panel 5: An ambiguous vigilante: The meaning of the condom in private and public sex	49
Getting Screwed Inside or on the Outside of the Law.....	49

”I don’t Want Him to Think I’m <i>that</i> Kind of Girl”. Positionality of the Condom in the Privatae and Commercial Sexual Lives of Sex Workers	50
Norwegian and International xamples of the Role of Safer Sex in the Legal Regulation of Prostitution	51
Panel 6: Postcolonial Citizenship and the Figure of Woman: The Case of the Hottentot Venus....	52
The Venus Hottentot is Unavailable for Comment.....	53
The French Connection.....	53
Politics as Subtraction.....	54
Panel 7: Challenging Discourses on Rights, Belonging and Diversity	55
Since We Know Humans Only in the Shape of Men and Women.....	55
Aporias of Citizenship. Gendered Perspectives on Participation and Inclusion	56
Sexual Diversity in a Civilisational Frame of Tolerance and Cosmopolitanism	57
Panel 8: Dealing with Sexual and Cultural Diversity	58
Transnational Love, Migration and Kinship: Gay and Transgender Indonesians in the Netherlands and Belgium.....	58
Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Multicultural Classrooms.....	59
Queer as Critique of Normative Violence and the Ethico-Political Commitments of Queer.....	60
STRAND 3: REPRESENTATION, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM	61
Panel 1: Intersectionality and the state	61
Politics of equality: state feminist power play in an age of uncertainty?.....	61
Gendered Citizenship Seen Through French Legal Bans on Muslim Women’s Coverings.....	62
The irregular body: biopolitics and subjectification in the inclusive-exclusive welfare state.....	63
Panel 2: Between Sharia and Human Rights: Sudanese Women’s Strategies for Legal Reform....	64
Governmentalization of women’s rights in Sudan: Emerging reforms from within.	65
Muslim Family law reform in Sudan: Women’s right to divorce between ideal and practice.....	66
Shifting Gender Relations at the Local Level in East Sudan: Women Rejecting the Decision of Traditional Courts	67
Panel 3: Women, conflict and representations.....	68
To be or not to be legit – representations of exile and oppressions in post- dictatorship Chile.....	68
Gender, race and class in interwar Swedish Fascism	69
Panel 4: Gender quotas.....	70
‘Quotas are the last option.’ Understanding the politics of quotas in the UK.....	70
Action Theory approach to State Feminism: taking the practices of policy-making into account.....	71

Alternatives to gender quotas? The public funding of women candidates experiment in the 2009 Malawian elections in comparison	72
Panel 5: Women in the legislature	73
What are the foundations of difficulties responsible for women's underrepresentation in the House of Commons and The Sejm of the Republic of Poland?.....	73
Transformations of the female subject in Finnish Parliament 1973-2013	74
The Quest for Women's Political Representations: Lessons from the Nordic Countries	75
Legislating Marriages: Family law reform in South Africa, Tunisia and Uganda	76
Panel 6: Symbolic violence and sexualised violence	77
An Appropriate Assimilation: Exploring Narratives of Body, Beauty and Citizenship in the Asian-Indian Diaspora.....	77
Engendering Familial citizens: Television, gender and civic engagement in urban India	78
Symbolic violence and sexualised violence	79
Panel 7: Inclusion and exclusion in transnational settings	80
(Re-) occupying marginal space: contemporary perceptions and practices of 'citizenship' among Palestinian women activists in Israel	80
Transnational Feminist Sociology and the State. Some Reflections through the Case of Afghanistan	81
Lived Citizenship: Insights from a multi-dimensional approach	82
Panel 8: Tracing gender in Aid and Development: Global – local dynamics.....	83
Mediators of development? Experiences with gender and aid among gender experts in Ethiopia.....	84
Gender and Governance: The role of NGOs in Tanzanian policy making.....	84
Maernet biqaglsi, equality through struggle: some notes on the Tigrayan context, Ethiopia.....	85
Panel 9: Universal suffrage	86
One man, one rifle, one vote': gender, military obligations and political rights.....	86
From economic to political citizenship. The history of women's vote in Norway.....	87
" <i>History of Women Suffrage</i> (1881- 1922): women's suffrage as a transatlantic, rhetorical project.	88
Appendix.....	90
List of Speakers.....	90

Conference Topics

The panel sessions are divided into three thematic strands: Representation, Democracy and Freedom; Sexual Citizenship; and Gender and the Public Sphere.

These themes reflect our goal of creating an arena for young and senior scholars across disciplines, like history, political science, gender studies, media studies, literature and the arts, anthropology, economy, law and sociology, to mention some.

1) Representation, Democracy and Freedom

This thematic strand addresses a variety of issues concerning gender and political representation, democracy and freedom, both historically and in regard to contemporary struggles. Historically feminism has been a struggle both for inclusion and for liberation, calling into question the relationship between representation and freedom. This strand opens for an exploration of the struggle for political power as well as of the effects of the increase of women in politics, especially as they concern theories and practices of freedom and democracy.

Topics include but are not limited to:

- Global/local institutions and equality
- The history of the struggle for the vote
- Gendered notions of freedom and democracy
- Representation and gender balance
- Migration and political inclusion
- Economic challenges

2) Sexual Citizenship

Sexual citizenship signals interest in sexuality, intimacy, erotics and bodypolitics, calling into question the public/private as well as the culture/nature divide. Issues include state regulation of sexuality and reproduction, sexual rights and entitlements, group recognition and questions of intersectionality, both relating to and exceeding the binary gender frame. We welcome panels and papers that explore various aspects of such issues as well as the rise of the concept of sexual citizenship itself.

Topics include but are not limited to:

- The production and regulation of bodies
- The politics of intimacy and everyday life
- Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex issues and rights
- Sexual and gender based violence
- Family Law, Marriage and partnership contracts
- Parenthood, reproduction and reproductive technologies
- Pornography and prostitution

3) Gender and the Public Sphere

This thematic strand concerns a variety of issues concerning gender and citizenship in the public sphere, historically and today. Gendered citizenship is constructed and represented in the cultural and political public sphere, finding diverse expressions in mainstream publics, sub-publics and counter-publics, through different forms of participation and activism, and in popular culture, art, literature and in the media. This thematic strand invites scholars to explore the cultural and social conditions of democracy and freedom in various public spheres and to investigate the ongoing debate on what should be private and what should be public.

Topics include but are not limited to:

- Gendered representations in art, literature, media and popular culture
- Gender, politics and power in public debate
- Media use, identity and cultural citizenship
- Social media, democracy and participatory culture
- Activism, Social movements, counter-publics and sub-publics

Keynote Speakers

Ida Blom

Professor Emerita, University of Bergen.

As a pioneer within the field of gendered history, Professor Blom has contributed with ground-breaking research within several fields of gender history, such as sexuality and reproductive matters, gendered work, gender and nationalism, gendered global history, health history and the history of women's political rights. Her fields of research over the past 40 years include international and comparative gender history, as well as welfare research and medical history. Her latest book *Legislation on Venereal Disease in Five Northern European Countries, c.1870-c.1995* was published in 2012 .

Mounira Maya Charrad

Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Texas at Austin, USA.

Associate Professor Charrad's research focuses on politics, state formation, women's rights, Islamic law and citizenship in the Middle East and North Africa. She is the award-winning author of *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco* (2001). Her current studies of conceptions of modernity in legal discourses in the Middle East are grounded in analysis of social solidarities, such as in kinship and ethnicity.

Jasbir Puar

Professor of Women's and Gender Studies, Rutgers University, USA.

Professor Puar's research focuses on gender, sexuality, globalization; postcolonial and diaspora studies; South Asian cultural studies; queer disability studies and theories of assemblage and affect. She is the author of the award-winning *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (2007). Professor Puar currently holds the Edward Said Chair of American Studies at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

Birthe Siim

Professor in Gender Research in the Social Sciences, the Department of Culture and Global Studies Aalborg University (AAU), Denmark.

Professor Siim is Research Director of the Knowledge Centre: *Equality, Diversity and Gender* (EDGE) and of *FREIA*, the Gender Research Centre, AAU. Her main areas of expertise are gender theory; comparative studies of citizenship, democracy, migration/multiculturalism and the welfare state. Her latest book is *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an emergent European Public Sphere* (eds. with M. Mokre) (Palgrave 2012, fortc.) and she has contributed to the recent book *Female Suffrage in Europe* (Brill 2012).

Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak

University Professor, Columbia University, USA.

Professor Spivak is a literary critic, working within feminism, Marxism, deconstruction and globalization. As a leading postcolonial theorist over many years, she has published numerous books and articles, among them the seminal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) and *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards a History of the Vanishing Present* (1999). Her latest book is *An Aesthetic Education in the Age of Globalization* (2012). Professor Spivak is also an activist in rural education and feminist and ecological social movements.

Liesbet van Zoonen

Professor of Communication and Media Studies, Loughborough University and Erasmus University Rotterdam, Netherlands.

Professor van Zoonen's research concerns gender, media and politics, emphasizing the question of how popular culture might serve as a resource for citizenship, participation and civic engagement. Her most recent research projects have focused on multiculturalism, identity management and new media technologies. She has written several books including *Feminist Media Studies* and *Entertaining the Citizen: When Politics and Popular Culture Converge*.

Roundtable Discussion

At the end of the conference there will be a roundtable discussion summing up the conference under the heading "Global Changes and Future Frameworks of Equality".

Cathrine Holst

Senior Researcher, Centre for European Studies, University of Oslo, Norway.

Dr. Holst's main fields of academic interest are social inequality and the welfare state, including theories of justice, philosophy of social science, feminist theory. She is currently working with the institutionalisation of European equality politics, and is an important voice in Norwegian public debate.

Malin Rönnblom

Associate Professor in Political Science and Senior Lecturer in Gender Studies, Umeå University, Sweden.

Associate Professor Rönnblom's main focus of research is critical investigations of democracy and equality. Current research interest span from studying regional politics and equality politics, equality strategies in academia, as well as methodological and theoretical questions of equality.

Alice Kessler-Harris

R. Gordon Hoxie Professor of American History. She is also Professor in the Institute for Research on Women and Gender.

Dr. Kessler-Harris specializes in the history of American labor and the comparative and interdisciplinary exploration of women and gender. She received her B. A. from Goucher College (1961) and her Ph.D. from Rutgers (1968).

Alice Kessler-Harris has served as president of the Organization of American Historians, and am a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Philosophical Society.

Program Committee

Senior Researcher, **Hilde Danielsen**, Uni Rokkan Centre

Professor, **Inger Elisabeth Haavet**, Department of Archaeology, History, Cultural Studies and Religion, University of Bergen

Associate Professor, **Kari Jegerstedt**, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, University of Bergen

Researcher II, **Brita Ytre-Arne**, Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen

Associate Professor, **Haldis Haukanes**, Department of Health Promotion and Development, University of Bergen

Head of Department, **Leif Ove Larsen**, Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen

Associate Professor, **Ragnhild Louise Muriaas**, Department of Comparative Politics, University of Bergen

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Abstracts

STRAND 1: GENDER AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Panel 1: Media minorities? Journalism, sexuality and gender

Chair: Ragnhild Mølster

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Dræggen 1

Gay and Lesbian media Actors – the Same Old Story...?

Elisabeth Eide, Professor, Oslo and Akershus University College, Norway

We are all colonized to some degree by the majority culture.

Larry Gross 2001

The Norwegian Society has seen a dynamic development concerning gender relations and sexuality during the last decades. Sexual minorities have challenged the ruling sexual order (Andersen 2009: 136), while common-law partnership and serial monogamy has become part of the relational diversity. As part of the struggle against discrimination, a debate on what is given and “natural” has flourished and with this debate the critique of hetero-normativity (Mühleisen & Røthing 2010, Mortensen & al. 2008).

The media coverage of gays and lesbians has increased much parallel to the gay and lesbian struggle for recognition, and particularly so during the last decade (Retriever research 2013). This paper presents six experienced media actors with substantial media experience and gay/lesbian background, with particular emphasis on their own media experience as well as their views on the coverage of sexual minorities. Questions raised are: Can we, in the new millennium speak of a more diversified and less stereotypical coverage of gays and lesbians? Do these media actors experience essentialism and particular framing of their life experiences and (sexual) political engagement? This paper maps important experiences of media priorities, framing and media ascribed identities. It is part of a larger project on “Minority actors and media experiences”, where also individuals with ethnic minority background and people with disabilities are interviewed (Skogseth and Eide 2008. Eide 2010, 2011, 2012).

Editorial leadership in Fædrelandsvennen – gender boundaries and differences

Liv Iren Hognestad, Head of Section, Journalism, NLA Mediehøgskolen Gimlekollen, Norway

Fædrelandsvennen was established in 1875 as a newspaper in the southern part of Norway. Now it is a regional media house owned by Schibsted, and based in Kristiansand. The editors-in-chief, 19 all together, have always been a man – or for two periods – two men. The first female journalist was employed in 1946, and over the years, women have taken on different positions as journalists in various fields, and also as editors at lower levels.

The research project seeks to investigate to what extent gender differences are manifested in the news organization, making men more likely to become editors and editors-in-chief in Fædrelandsvennen, and whether the different journalistic disciplines and genres (such as news, culture, sports etc.) are favourable towards one gender in the recruitment process. A perspective placing the attitudes regarding the role of women as members of the staff, and the role of the journalist and editor in a historical context will be important, but main focus of the study will be towards the recent past and the present.

In addition to using written sources, I intend to interview present and former editors-in-chief as far back as possible. Female journalists and editors currently employed and in the recent past will provide an important source base for the project.

The 1913 Media Version of Women

Else-Beth Roalsø, Associate Professor, University of Stavanger, Norway

Elisabeth Eide, Professor, Oslo and Akershus University College, Norway

This is an exploratory paper aimed at revealing the representation of women in Norway at a particular historical moment, i.e. the year of universal suffrage. The investigation covers several national and regional dailies, and asks the following questions:

- To what degree are women represented in these newspapers?
- What are the topics through which women are made known in the (media) public sphere, and which discourses do they reflect?
- Which women were represented?
- To what extent were they allowed to speak; to what extent are they “spoken about”?

Our selection of data will also enable us to study what was written also at the particular time of parliamentary vote on women’s suffrage, but we are aware that much coverage happened before 1913. The newspapers selected are *Aftenposten*, *Fædrelandsvennen*, *Stavanger Aftenblad*, *Bergens Tidende*, *Adresseavisen* and *Nordlys*. These newspapers cover a large part of Norway, and will provide us with a material about both likenesses and differences in the representation of women across the country. Research on the representation of women during the last decades demonstrates an ongoing underrepresentation albeit slow quantitative progress, and that commercialization plays a role when it comes to the kind of women who have access to media. We also to an extent know which areas of coverage were allocated more to female journalists (Eide 2000, van Zoonen 1994, Kleberg 2006), but little is known about how women in Norway were represented 100 years ago. Our aim is a contribution to Norwegian history of journalism, and also to the general research on gender roles in the public sphere. Our methodology will be quantitative content analysis as well as qualitative discourse analysis of a smaller, representative sample of press items.

Panel 2: Image, text, literature

Chair: Kari Jegerstedt

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Dræggen 2

Representation of Woman in Literature: Prose by Latvian Women Writers (1960-2010)

Zita Karkla, Ph.D. candidate, University of Latvia, Latvia

Texts by Latvian women writers are analyzed using theories of women's writing that include four models of difference: biological, linguistic, psychoanalytic and cultural. Feminism has been deeply concerned with the woman's body either as something to be rejected in the pursuit of intellectual equality or as something to be reclaimed as the very essence of women. As it was common for Soviet literature, body and sexuality, especially the female one, was left beyond the discussion. In the prose of Latvian women writers of the Soviet era, woman's body mostly figured as the unspoken or was dismissed from the consideration. However, the situation changed during the Thaw, in the end of 1980s, when the new generation of women writers started to publish. With the disappearance of the censorship and the changes in the general cultural atmosphere, it became important to reveal in writing that which was left unspoken. From 1990s in the prose of women writers previously repressed issues of women's lives appeared and woman's body was recovered. In the paper the myths that follow the issue of motherhood and mother-daughter relationship, and the role that the mother-daughter bond plays in the process of development of the female subject are examined. In Latvian women's prose for the most part stories are told from daughter's perspective, and their relationship with their mothers are uneasy. However, mother-daughter relationship also forms the maternal and feminine space in which the appearance of a female subject is possible. Because there is a connection between subjectivity and maternal body, the importance of inscribing mother's bodily presence and mother's body in the texts is addressed. The paper analyzes differences in representation of woman in the prose by Latvian women authors beginning with the Soviet period (from 1960), including changes following 1980s and ending with the present-day representations.

The Gendered Representing of Agents and Personalities in History, Politics and Democracy

Birgitte Possing, Research Professor, The National Archives, Denmark

In the Western world, the market is overwhelmed by biographies, in entertainment, business, media, literature and history. This biographical turn in history represents a skewed gender balance on our understanding of history, of present times, and of the future: As we have entered the new millennium, recent research shows that in Norway, Germany and Denmark more than 90% of published historical biographies have male protagonists marginalizing the female representations to less than 10%. This skewed gendered representation is quite different in Sweden, USA and UK, as they are nations reflecting a much higher female representation (up to 40%) of biographical protagonists. Despite these dissimilarities, issues concerning state and politics, military and war, finances and business, science and philosophy still seem to attract the main (male) interest of historical biographers, while issues on democracy, rebellion, citizenship, suffrage, health, religion, arts and literature are attracting the minor (female) interest of historical biographers; the latter though, with very important and influential exceptions. Publishers claim that this skewed publication profile reflects the interests of the general audience although the general audience is mainly female. What does this paradox mean for the construction of gendered citizenship? How do the gendered similarities and dissimilarities of political and historical biographies reflect the state of the art of citizenship in the named countries? What do they mean for the making of the public reception of gendered access to power in the Nordic, the European and the American societies? Which games are the biographers playing with the general audience concerning the perception of gender and power in the public sphere, historically and in present times? This paper presents reflections on the impact of biographies in politics, literature, media, and popular culture on the construction of agency in history and gendered citizenship.

Pornography as Folk: The Desire for Tele-Vision

Asher Boersma, applying for PhD. Candidate, Utrecht University, Netherlands

This paper focusses on the concept of shared moral space in contemporary pornography and its relation to sexual citizenship. The desire of authenticity in both the production and reception of pornographic text has often led to a popularity of transgressive behavior of those who perform it. The typical path to heterosexual pornography stardom for male performers has become the role of the (often aggressive) enabler of the apparent boundless *jouissance* of the female performer. Thus the key to success for the porn actress can be defined as the ability to endure 'willingly' the continuous attempts of the male performer to push her into either bliss or pain. This has become acceptable as the closest substitute for the successful representation of *jouissance*. There is however a contrasting way to prove presence, the concept of a shared moral space, as Van Gerwen has shown in his theory on ethics and photography. This paper translates his idea to pornography. It is proposed that pornography is to be understood as *folk* and as part of the desire for tele-vision – the desire for simultaneity (to cross space, not time), that preceded the actual broadcasting medium television. This desire was already widespread in the second half of the 19th century and manifested itself in early cinema documentary genre of *moving postcards*, which this paper utilises as a comparison. It is intended that in doing so our historical understanding of pornography will deepen, and move us beyond the unproductive demarcation of professional mainstream pornography and amateur pornography. This adds to a more sophisticated understanding of sexual citizenship and gendered citizenship more broadly.

Panel 3: Gender in the online public sphere

Chair: Torgeir Uberg Nærland

Time slot: Day 1, 15.15-16.45

Room: Dræggen 1

Feminist Theories of the Public Sphere in Times of the Internet

Ricarda Drüeke and Elisabeth Klaus, Dr, University of Salzburg, Austria

The Internet and especially social media have newly stimulated the debate on the structure and the characteristics of the public sphere. However, feminist scholarship is conspicuously absent from much of the theoretical debates. In our presentation we will show that feminist theories have much to offer when analyzing the relationship between the Internet, democratic participation and the public sphere. Based on a review of the major contributions to public sphere theory by feminist scholars (e.g. by Fraser 1989, 1990; Pateman 1989; Benhabib 1992; Landes 1992; Young 1990) and taking into account more recent developments in Gender and Queer Theory we will identify seven central lines of argument that have important repercussions for public sphere theory in times of globalization and mediatisation. Feminist theorists have

- questioned the dualism of public life and private sphere.
- challenged the rationale discourse as the sole basis of democratic participation and stressed the emotional grounding of public debates.
- put forth a broader understanding of the political that extends far beyond a narrow institutional description of what constitutes political problems and political participation. This constituted a prerequisite for publicly debating such “private” issues as sexual exploitation, violence or pornography.
- led to the realization that the public sphere – understood as the realm, in which citizens decide on democratic procedures and negotiate social norms and values –, can only be realized by multiple publics.
- identified intersectionality as an essential perspective for analyzing the public sphere since access to the dominant public debates and to effective decision-making processes is unequally distributed. Different, subaltern publics, thus, are formed by citizens on the basis of shared experiences of exclusion and marginalization.

Online affective writing and deployment of gendered political discourses

Gilda Seddighi, PhD candidate, Centre for Women's and Gender Research, University of Bergen, Norway

Researchers in recent years have shown the trend of personalization of politics in political spheres that is understood to have its foundation in rational and democratic communicative action. The researchers have focused on the increase of personal, erotic and affective expressions in online political campaigns and its relation to offline political activities. This paper examines the way in which women's personal and emotional writings under an authoritarian regime contribute to circulation of the emotion of grief in a political movement. In the Iranian context, this, accordingly, contributes to creation of a counter-hegemonic discourse of martyrdom when Iranian authorities rigidly regulate offline mourning ceremonies. In other words, the paper discusses how the social media and the increase in sharing personal and emotional experiences challenge government's control over discourses such as martyrdom by blurring the distinction between private settings and public spheres. It is through online grieving that the sense of solidarity is created, and further, the value and criteria of counter-hegemonic discourse of martyrdom are shaped. This is a means of participation in the struggle for creating meaning and discourse in a political movement in a country where women's resources for claiming political demands are limited.

Militarization 2.0 – Militarization’s social media footprint through a gendered lens

Susan Jackson, Malmö Högskola, Sweden

My main concerns are to examine how militarization works and how people's everyday lives are involved in this process. A key assumption underlying militarization is that the military is good, natural and necessary (GNN), an assumption that allows people to participate uncritically and unquestioningly in militarization (Jackson 2011). The widespread acceptance and commonsense view of GNN is in part reinforced because “when a conventional wisdom is at its fullest strength, one’s agreement with that conventional wisdom becomes almost a litmus test of one’s suitability to be taken seriously” (Krugman 1995: np). For these reasons, it becomes difficult to question these perceptions of the military, and therefore easier to support this common wisdom, thus further reinforcing it and so on (see Jackson 2011). In this way, militarization goes beyond those directly involved in the military and often has no direct input from the military. Instead, it encompasses wider society and those who either outright bolster, or even those who more passively fail to argue against, GNN. Further, GNN is gendered in the terms themselves and the values associated with them as well as regarding the privileging of the military and business associated with it. This study proposes to untangle the gendered aspects of GNN and the privileging of business deemed in the national interest especially when national interest is defined as military security. How is society a part of this process? What does it mean in our everyday lives? How do corporation (in this case, the arms industry) impact these everyday lives, even when we are not the direct consumers of their products?

Panel 4: Women's associations in the history of the public sphere

Chair: Elisabeth Haavet

Time slot: Day 1, 15.15-16.45

Room: Dræggen 2

Women volunteers as producers and consumers of festive sociability within the public sphere (1950-2010)

Bente Blanche Nicolaysen, Department of Sociology, University of Bergen, Norway

The aim of this paper is to use a case study of women's volunteering - as captured by the fund-raising activities (1950-2010) of a local association of the Norwegian Women and Family Association (NKFF) - to call for a gendered perspective on citizenship broadening our view of what is relevant political and social participation in the public sphere. Gendered citizenship within the public sphere is explored by using the fund-raising bazaar as a point of entry to conceptualise women volunteers as: a) *economic actors*, and b) *as producers and consumers of specific types of commodities and aesthetic objects and festive traditions*.

People rummaging tables covered with objects at a fund-raising bazaar are very ordinary, and have been repeated over and over in Norwegian communities. Hundreds of thousands of people have been involved in "producing" fairs, contributing countless hours and an enormous amount of time and psychic energy. Even more people have participated as part of the bazaar "audience" (Gordon 1998: 205-206). Compared to other European countries, the relative share of public support to voluntary associations in Norway has been and is modest (Sivesind, Lorentzen, Selle & Wollebæk 2002). Historically, Norwegian voluntary associations have had to rely on *other financial sources of support* - subscription fees, grass-root activities, sales to members, lotteries and other collective income-bringing enterprise like *the fund-raising bazaar*. And, the fund-raising bazaar - continues to be a main source of revenue for many Norwegian voluntary associations (Lorentzen 2007). The bazaar is a point of intersection between forces that usually remain separate - work and non-work, work and play, the commercial and the non-commercial, the foreign and the familiar, the domestic and the public. This resilient institution, hovering at the boundary between private and public, is the anchor point of this paper.

In this paper I link a case study of the fund-raising activities of one local housewife association to discussions of citizenship by approaching the fund-raising bazaar both as *a source of revenue* (by looking at the production and consumption of goods and material and aesthetic artefacts it has engendered over time) and as *a site of sociability* (by examining the plurality of festive traditions and activities associated with it). The fund-raising bazaar is historically: a social meeting ground and entertainment centre; a training ground where individuals could develop social and other skills; and, an aesthetic outlet and showcase of handicraft and a large variety of objects. This paper directs its analytical lens at the *plurality of festive traditions and activities* associated with the bazaar, e.g. Advent and Christmas celebrations, raffles and bingo, play and entertainment, communal eating etc. This *festive sociability* functions as mechanisms of the transmission of tradition while incorporating modern and contemporary experiences. In this paper, the fund-raising fair is used to explore the gendered nature of this festive sociality and the role of festive activities in the inter-generational and gendered transmission of tradition. A study of the sociality associated with volunteerism allows us to capture complexities in women's gendered citizenship that extend *beyond the focus on formal memberships and organisations*.

The role of women's societies in making gender a public issue

Anne Holden Rønning, Associate professor emerita, University of Bergen, Norway

Historically women's organizations, or societies as they were known earlier, played a seminal role in putting gender on the public agenda. The major keys to liberation were seen as education, changes in the legal system governing most people's lives, the vote — issues which are still with us. The establishing in Britain of the Victoria Press by Maria Grey in the 1855 with an all female staff, was the start of a plethora of women's newspapers and magazines and journals in the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, mainly edited by women not only in Britain but elsewhere, many run by women's organizations, as for example, *Votes for Women* (1907-1918) run by the WSPU, *Suffragette* (associated with the Pankhursts), *English Woman's Journal* edited by Bessie Rayner Parkes and Mary Hays which "virtually brought the British

feminist movement into existence” according to Harrison. Others one could mention are *Women’s Suffrage Journal* (1896) *Shafts* (1892) and *Nylænde* in Norway edited by Norske Kvinnesaksforeningen. Most of these newspapers and journals were supported by men in favour of the emancipation of women, and were seminal in disseminating issues, for example, Josephine Butler’s *The Storm-Bell* in the fight against prostitution and the White Slave Trade. A study of such media reveals how important they were in promoting emancipation and bringing gender issues to the fore.

The second part of this paper/panel will discuss what role women’s organisations should play today, an issue prevalent in some parts of the media recently. Women’s societies or associations (NGOs) tend to specialise in different fields thus adding expertise and added interest to the cause of feminism. Even after the vote was won, which though important was only a beginning, such organizations have played a key role in gender issues in the public sphere, providing alternative views on political and legal issues, also to CSW and CEDAW. Why have we lost influence? Here in Norway the celebration of the centenary of gaining the vote for women has a shadow cast over it in that the influence of women’s organizations is fading - women’s views have become synonymous with a woman or any woman. That there are many women in the departments, ministries, and top positions in business does not mean that women’s views are heard.

Temperate Cultural agents

Åsa Bengtsson, Ph Doctor, University of Halmstad, Sweden

In my dissertation *Temperate Women. Educators, Entrepreneurs and Political Agents. The White Ribbon 1900-1930* (2011) I study the female Christian temperance union The White Ribbon's work at the beginning of the 20th century, and in this session I would like to introduce how the White Ribbon used its journal to promote a cultural citizenship. In their journal *The White Ribbon* the organization published short stories, lyrics, art, and literature recommendations. Here women were given an opportunity to have their work published, and the journal became a forum for women who were otherwise often excluded from the male dominated cultural area. Many of the organization's members were in fact authors and poets, and their journal served as a public cultural arena. In the journal they did not only spread their cultural heritage, but more importantly, they tried to change it by including women both as consumers and producers. *The White Ribbon* was mainly a political journal and the culture and political propaganda were presented side by side. The White Ribboners connected the cultural citizenship to that of the political, and the cultural citizenship was in fact a tool when claiming female suffrage. In my analysis of the White Ribbon's work and journal, it is clear that the collective identity of the members were based on the fact that they considered themselves to be political and cultural citizens during a period when women were not included in these citizenships. To the White Ribboners it was therefore a matter of redesigning the traditional and domestical ideal of womanhood in general, and in their journal they remodeled and launched a new and different kind of ideal in order to include women in the definition of the two kinds of citizenships and also to help women becoming political and cultural citizens.

Panel 5: Gender and the Politics of Memory

Chair: Pauline Stoltz and Monica Lindberg Falk

Time slot: Day 1, 15.15-16.45

Room: Dræggen 4

Gender, race and generation in the politics of memory – Postcolonial migration from the Dutch Indies/ Indonesia to the Netherlands

Pauline Stoltz, Ph.D. and associate professor, Department of Culture and Global Studies, Aalborg University, Denmark

Generally speaking, over sixty years after the postcolonial migration of a first generation of mixed-raced Indo Europeans from Indonesia to the Netherlands, complaints concerning a lack of recognition and unfair treatment can easily be identified from within the Indo European community on behalf of the Dutch state. This observation raises the issue of how to make sense of the past and its relation to the present and the future, both as this can be shared and interpreted by individuals from different genders, 'races' and generations and by national societies such as Indonesia and the Netherlands.

In this paper I will investigate the narratives of 'mixed race' Indo Europeans in the Netherlands about the Japanese occupation of the Dutch Indies during World War II and the subsequent Indonesian war of independence from its colonial power, the Netherlands. I am particularly interested in the different strategies of making sense of the colonial past and the postcolonial present and future as these can be recognised from the perspective of generational self-positioning and the effects of this positioning for the senses of belonging of different generations of Indo-Europeans in the Netherlands.

I will do this by means of a narrative analysis of two works of fiction *Indische duinen* by Adriaan van Dis (1994) and *Vervlochten grenzen* by Marion Bloem (2009). The choice of using fiction gives reason to discuss the links between individual and collective memories. Theoretically I will use the thought of Claudia Lenz on generational positioning in historical narratives (Lenz 2011), Dipesh Chakrabarty on time (Chakrabarty 2000; 2004) and Nira Yuval Davis on the politics of belonging (2011 a and b).

Gender, Narratives and Local Perspectives on Memorial Ceremonies of an International Disaster

Monica Lindberg Falk, Ph.D. Social Anthropology, Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies, Lund University, Sweden

In post-disaster situations, memorials are necessary. Memorial ceremonies serve varying purposes, from national recognition of a tragedy to healing an individual's inner wounds. An important aim is to make a catastrophic event comprehensible. The Indian Ocean Tsunami 2004 hit thirteen countries and about 300,000 people were killed. In Thailand approximately 10,000 perished and among them were foreign tourists from nearly forty countries.

This paper will address memorial practices and the sentiment that the memorial commemorations and the erected memorials bring about among those affected. It will also discuss the significance of memorials by focussing on the divergence between the memorial ceremonies organized by local communities affected by a disaster and memorial ceremonies organized by the state. The distinctions lay both in the significance paid to religion and in the politicization of the ceremonies.

This paper will include narratives and focus on one woman's experiences of how memorials were an important part of grief and mourning after the loss of several family members. Her narrative will also demonstrate that memorials, as manifestations of communal grief, are sensitive in many ways. The survivors' experiences of the different tsunami memorials have been both traumatizing and healing depending on involvement and the character of the ceremonies. How the memorial is presented and how the event is conducted reflect more the concerns of those who arrange and control the public activities that may surround it. Often, memorials are not created or organized by those who have been directly affected by a memorialized event.

The ethnography for this paper is based on a long-term anthropological research carried out after the tsunami in Phang Nga, the worst hit province in Thailand.

The Politics of Writing an Autoethnography

Mikako Iwatake, University of Helsinki, Finland

I am interested in writing an autoethnographical account of a Japanese woman who lives in transnational mobility here and now in a Nordic country. Through the narrative of her memory, I would like to depict how a person's life is enmeshed in colonial modernity and mobility.

Over the past decades, autoethnography has established itself as a legitimate style of academic writing. Instead of celebrating autoethnography as a form of postmodernist writing, however, I would like to reflect upon writing such a narrative. Autoethnography helps construct a portrait of self. Further, I would like to suggest contingency of a sense of self in spite of modern individual's desire to specify identity.

Gendering the political field. Remembrance and Forgetting

Karin Ask, Chr. Michelsen Institute, Norway

This paper discusses the gendered processes of silencing and remembering in Afghanistan against the background of 30 years of war and geopolitical aid intervention. In his much cited book about social memory and knowledge Connerton discussed how collective images of the past are used to legitimate power to implement plans for the future social order. The Afghan population differs both according to individual experience of war related trauma, years and places of exile, age and class in how they relate to the emerging official history of the past. Women who were marginalised during the Taliban fear they will again be left out of the political deliberations about social changes following the exit of NATO troops in 2013. Recent reports from the Afghan Human Rights Commission about negligence of applying laws against increasing gender violence and the education Ministry's decision to omit the last 30 years from presentation in school books on national history are two cases which illustrate the official selective construction of collective memory.

The paper seeks to explore the gendered implications of how national and international actors situate themselves towards different forms of collective memory; the multi-

layered embodied memory and the institutional memory inscribed in legal documents agreements.

How do Afghan actors juxtapose traditional embodied metaphors of gender with the new inscribed gender rights? Do the new technological possibilities for transmitting social memory invite radical difference between the generations and the genders interpretation of the past? How will international donors converse and act upon institutional memory of commitment to gender empowerment?

Panel 6: Constructing citizenship in journals and magazines

Chair: Brita Ytre-Arne

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Dræggen 1

Postwar Men's Magazines: Counter Publics for Political Debates and Social Issues

Laura Saarenmaa, Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Tampere, Finland

This paper introduces the ongoing research project “Addressing male citizens. Porn, Politics and Empowerment in the Finnish Men’s Magazines from 1940s to 1980s”. The research project explores the ways Finnish men’s magazines have historically worked as subcultures and imagined communities for their writers, producers and implied male audiences. In the research, men’s magazines are seen as cultural institutions that have invited men from different social, class and age groups, functioned as public spaces for men’s desires and fantasies, expressions of frustration, vulnerability and social subordination, and therefore as potential spaces for social and political empowerment. Moreover, in this paper it is suggested, that Finnish men’s magazines from the 1940s and 1950s have had a role in generating a counter publics for discussing various social issues neglected in mainstream publicity. The introduced case examples are the debates published in men’s magazine *Aatami* (1945–1955) concerning the high illegal abortion rates and the current alcohol policies in Finland.

Economy journalism and the influence from women's magazines. An outline for a research project

Birgitte Kjos Fonn, Associate Professor, Dr. Philos, Department of Journalism and Media Studies, Oslo and Akershus University College

Over the last 20-30 years Norwegian economy journalism has changed profoundly (Slaatta 2003). An important change is the increased focus on investigative reporting on economic actors, international economy etc. But current economy journalism also has another side, tied to personal economy, consumption etc. Koren (2012) has shown what profound effect it has had on the economy that Norwegian women, in particular from the 1980s on, increased their participation in working life. It is quite likely that this social revolution also has changed a significant field like economy journalism. But how? And where does the influence come from? Is current economy journalism in this field influenced by women's magazines, by the investigative school, or both? And how can we do research on this?

Slaatta, Tore (2003) *Den norske medieorden*. Universitetsforlaget

Koren, Charlotte (2012) *Kvinnenes rolle i norsk økonomi*. Universitetsforlaget

Panel 7: Climate, nature and spatiality

Chair: Elisabeth Eide

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Dræggen 2

Climate instruments and global governance: new public spaces and notions of citizenship

Seema Arora-Jonsson, Associate Professor, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden

In this exploratory paper we ask how global climate finance instruments such as REDD+ are reordering specific forest spaces in countries in Africa as well as the terms of citizenship for forest communities and especially for women. In the first part of the paper we briefly examine the formal mechanisms of REDD+ and its relation to forest governance objectives and what calls for secure tenure might imply for a new and gendered citizenship. In the second section, we introduce the idea of the global agora (Stone 2008) and that of the assemblages (Ong and Collier; Sassen 2005) to study how the REDD+ process has been initiated and meant to be operationalized in its as yet early stages with examples from two countries in Africa, viz., Burkina Faso and Tanzania. Stone's (2008) use of the metaphor of the agora, the public space of global policy making and administration, is useful to describe the spaces in which REDD+ programmes are negotiated. Within the processes for REDD+ as within the global agora she writes about, in the plethora of actors at different levels and in different spaces "some ... are more visible, persuasive, or powerful than others." The agora "is a social and political space – generated by globalization- rather than a physical place." And while this holds true for aspects of the REDD+ processes, much of the REDD+ activity is anchored in particular physical places that forms its contours.

The last section of this paper then discusses, not only how state spatiality is being challenged by transnational policy making (c.f. Ferguson and Gupta 2002) but also how forest spaces and notions of citizenship, specifically in the case of Tanzania where pilot projects are already being implemented, are being reordered. We argue that REDD+ processes are creating new public spaces in the global South with the onus on men and women in local communities as new global citizens and as preserver-carers of these new global-public spaces.

Backgrounding Nature. A Feminist Perspective on Visual Eco-Culture

Synnøve Marie Vik, PhD candidate at Nomadikon – The Bergen Center of Visual Culture at the Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen.

PhD candidate at Nomadikon – The Bergen Center of Visual Culture at the Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen.

Our apparent inability to take responsible action when it comes to global warming is discriminatory towards women, in that women and children in developing countries suffer the most severe consequences from extreme weather. Could the paradox in the inaction facing anthropogenic climate change in part be related to traditional perceptions and understandings of nature as feminine? This paper is an attempt to dig up old discussions on ecofeminism and the “backgrounding” of nature, in order to shed new light on representations of nature in contemporary visual culture, with examples from my PhD project which deals with images of oil sands and oil spills, hurricanes and flooding, as well as artistic engagements with nature.

A critical look at the social aspects of how we understand nature shouldn't escape a discussion of the essentialist assumptions of nature's bond to the physical body and gender. However, this approach has not been part of the current discussions within the field of visual culture at large, and within the eco-aesthetic discussions specifically. Acknowledging the dualism found in feminism – between rehabilitation or upscaling of “the feminine”, and a deconstruction of all these kinds of essentializing identities, can shed a questioning and an explanatory light on images of nature. How can we negotiate a feminist approach to representations of nature today, a new position that considers both the valid points of ecofeminism and anti-essentialism?

Moreover, present day capitalism and new conditions of living must be the framework for any discussion on both nature and its visibility. As argued in the work of David Harvey, the question of what economic time and social space we live in is intimately linked to ecology. A renegotiated eco-feminist perspective might counteract the inactivity that ultimately leads to gendered discrimination for those facing the effects of global warming.

Relocating Kiruna - gender, place and past in the colonial context

Johanna Overud, Ph.D., Umeå Centre for Gender Studies, Umeå University

The city of Kiruna in Northern Sweden was founded by the LKAB Company 100 years ago around the prosperous mine. Today, the continued expansion of the mine has led to the risk of major ground collapse and makes it necessary to relocate the city centre, a few kilometres north-east of its previous location, in order to secure both safety and the continuance of iron ore mining. In this transformation process there is an ongoing discussion about what from the “old” Kiruna is worth saving, and what should be transformed and changed for the future. The relocation process generates a historiography about what Kiruna “is”, what it was in the past and what made it what it is today. In the vision of the municipality the idea of a masculine life style in Kiruna, formed by the mining industry, needs to be changed in order to make it feasible for women to remain. Due to these visions I ‘m interested in how Kiruna is historized from the ambitions of early colonization. I want to study how power is visualized in representations of gender, place and past. The representation of time in the fiction of this relatively young city constructs the memory of the city's history and “the historic town” in the municipality’s production of information around the city transformation. This study will actualize the themes of colonial discourse: the male exploration of a feminized, “empty” northern land. In this presentation I will show examples of historical accounts and photographic memories and discuss the processes of power that arise in this social experiment. I’m asking how these processes both limit and enable democracy and participation of different groups of people in Kiruna. What history and whose history is reproduced and recounted for the future?

Panel 8: Women pioneers in media and culture

Chair: Dunja Blazevic

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Dræggen 1

Female editors in Norway before 1913

Ragnhild Mølster, Dr., Nordicom, the Department of Information Science and Media Studies, University of Bergen

Traditional history of journalism is often a History of Great Men, and of outstanding editor personalities, as Martin Eide and claims in his book about the role of the editors (Eide 2000: 13).

Eide's book is not about the individual editors, but rather about historical and actual significance of the editor function, about the editor as a social agent. This paper deals with a bit of both, but the editors in question are all women, and all lived and worked before 1913.

When I tell people that I am writing about women editors before 1913, they usually look back at me with a confused expression: Were there really any female editors that early? As a matter of fact: yes, but they were few and not all of them would fit into the current understanding of what an editor is. This paper asks: Who were these women, why did they become editors, what did they stand for, what did they convey and what part did they play in the public space of their time?

Were their publications different because their life experiences and understanding of the world around them were other than men's, as Reidun Kvaale writes (Kvaale 1986: 15)? If so, how important isn't it then to take a closer look at that tiny share of female editors – especially in the period before the introduction of women's suffrage in 1913?

The women of Norwegian broadcast literary reception

Kristoffer Jul-Larsen, PhD Candidate, NTNU, Norway

Norwegian radio broadcasting was a medium dominated by men since its inception in 1925, and the literary programming was no different. A number of women however, have played important roles as reviewers and speakers on literary topics. Many of these women have been almost completely overlooked in broadcasting history, a fact that cannot only be explained by the very little research that has been conducted on Norwegian radio history.

Literary reception and critique has been given a central position in discussions on the history of the public sphere. Although this has mainly been a point regarding the early history of the bourgeois public sphere (Jürgen Habermas, Terry Eagleton), I aim to show that the role of literary reception has quite a lot to tell us about the national public sphere that was developed through Norwegian broadcasting. The role of women in this public sphere illustrates the gendering of public discourse in the early mass media society, but also points towards developments that have become apparent much later, both with regards to programming and forms of presentation.

In this paper I will present some of the women that have played parts in the history of literary reception in Norwegian radio from 1925 until today, and discuss their importance for, and influence on, radio and literature. Through case studies I will also examine the role of the human voice in broadcast literary reception and deliberate the gendered voice and its relation to the confluence and divergence of literary and oral authority.

Panel 9: Challenging the Difference Engine. The discursive construction of Otherness in the Media

Chair: Anna Roosvall

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Dræggen 2

“The Difference Engine” (Djerf-Pierre, 2011) refers to how the media function as a powerful vehicle for the (re)production and circulation of cultural values in contemporary society. Hegemonic representations structure the world at global, regional and national level and due to economic and cultural globalization, mediation and representation become increasingly more powerful. However, representations are also ‘dynamic’ (Siapera 2010: 129) in the sense that they are not fully controlled by their primary producers.

The panel participants are interested in the driving forces and consequences of mediated representations of ‘Otherness’, may it be gender, class or ethnicity. Using an intersectional approach, the contributors critically examine the social power of the media as they empirically and theoretically explore the centrality of communication for the construction of social and political identities. More specifically, the panel addresses the construction of difference, or Otherness, in mediated contexts where Western epistemologies challenge and are challenged by diverse cultural, religious or political discourses and projects.

Contributors draw on different critical perspectives in terms of theory (postcolonial and gender studies) and method (critical discourse analysis and ethnography). The theoretical and methodological diversity makes it possible to deconstruct various discursive techniques and strategies of exclusion and inclusion, which are crucial for the construction of Otherness. In so doing the papers aim at an increased and more fine-grained understanding of the complex ways in which media representations and other communicative practices help in resisting or reproducing dominant discourses. The panel hence proposes a multifaceted perspective on the relation between communication and power where class, ethnicity, gender, cultural identity and ‘cultural difference’ become battlefields in which the hegemony of dominant (often Western) epistemologies is contested.

Place, Identity and Status: Media Representations of Indigenous and Traditionally Nomadic Minorities

Anna Roosvall, PhD, Örebro University, Sweden

This contribution explores intersections of ethnicity, class and gender in media representations of indigenous and traditionally nomadic minorities, and more particularly how the relationship between these groups and place are constructed in media coverage regarding rights and justice, as well as regarding culture and spirituality. Two cases are discussed: 1) Coverage of a controversy concerning the forced move of a settled community of Travelers in the UK (who were not granted the rights to the place where they lived) in UK newspapers online. 2) Coverage of controversies concerning land claims related to Sami people in Sweden (a transnational people with indigenous status and, often contested, rights to local/national places, and a nomadic history) in Swedish newspapers online. Theoretically identity politics theory is combined with theories on geography. Methodologically discourse theory is employed, focusing on constructions of place, ethnicity, class, and gender, and subsequently difference/similarity and limitation/extension of (cultural) citizenship.

Through the principles of Eurocentrism: Difference and (de)legitimacy in foreign news discourse on Venezuela

Ernesto Abalo, PhD candidate, Örebro University, Sweden

Aiming at providing a critical postcolonial understanding of the interrelationship between the construction of difference and political legitimacy in foreign news discourse, this paper studies the construction of government supporters (chavistas) and the opposition in Venezuela. News items from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden), El País (Uruguay) and the New York Times (US) are examined by combining critique of Eurocentrism with critical discourse analysis. Three topic classes – violence, dogmatism and class – are shown to be important for ascribing the two political camps different characteristics and for constructing political (de)legitimacy. The construction of political legitimacy through difference is tied to Western political norms in general, but also to the politico-ideological fundamentals of Eurocentrism: the defense of liberalism and capitalism. While constructions of chavistas as deviating from these norms serve to delegitimize this group, constructions of the opposition as not deviating from these serve to limit the questioning of their legitimacy.

News Media construction of the Other

Mahitab Ezz El Din, PhD candidate, Örebro University, Sweden

The image of the Muslim as the 'other' in Europe has been prevalent and negatively presented in different media globally. In the presence of a 'threat' society, especially after September 11 attacks, the media construction of Muslims contributed to the culture of fear from immigrants. Integrating Muslims in European societies has been affected by the general 'threat' image of Muslims. Hence, integrating Muslim women in particular can be challenged by the media construction of veiled Muslim women's visibility in the society as a challenge to Western modernity and their construction as a 'threat' to the modern "Western" world. Using the case of the French headscarf ban in France in 2004 I examine mediatized identity construction and how the 'other' has been represented in the news media. The case has created a huge debate in the global media on women's right to practice their religion freely within western democracies.

The study used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to empirically analyze the Western and Arab media coverage of the case examining how was this case constructed in the media, testing which voices are used in the coverage, and if women got the opportunity to express their opinion in the media, bringing up in which mode the coverage construct the headscarf and Islam as a 'threat' and when does cosmopolitanism and tolerance pop to the surface.

Gendered Spaces and Citizen Practices

Johanna Stenersen, PhD candidate, Örebro University, Sweden

The aim of this paper is to explore contemporary processes and experiences of communication and democratic participation in the everyday life of members of the Nicaraguan women's movement. The study applies a critical ethnographic approach to explore how members with different backgrounds, in a context marked by religious and political tensions, individually and collectively construct themselves as citizens, in the private as well as the public sphere. As the informants engage in various communicative practices, new spaces of action emerge, and social and political identities form and dissolve. The analysis will show how social, cultural and political affiliations are articulated through expressive means of communication, but it will also question take-for-granted views on participation and empowerment.

STRAND 2: SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP

Panel 1: Heteronormativity and Nation

Chair: Gaudencia Mutema

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Dræggen 4

Sexual Citizenship Impossible: The Continuities of Old Discourse in the New Russia

Alexander Kondakov, Researcher, Centre for Independent Social Research, Russia

This presentation is focused on changes of citizenship regimes that have occurred in Russia from the fall of the USSR through transitional period and to the nowadays. Without intention to cover all the processes, by which these changes are characterised, I want to centre on sexualised aspects of citizenship and look at how law, politics and everyday practices influenced those configurations of citizenship that shape lesbians and gay subjectivity in Russia. My conclusions are based on two empirical researches conducted in 2009-2012. The central thesis of the first research, which dealt with discourse-analysis, is that Russian citizenship is in many ways informed by heteronormativity that remains represented in politics, judiciary and public social practices in Russia. I argue that the observed discursive reality affects construction of heteronormative citizenship that restricts full inclusion of queer subjects. The discourse of lesbian and gay organisations, in turn, is subjected to the dominant state discourse and produces conformist subjectivity. The second study focuses on the accounts regarding citizenship rights of the people who identify themselves as lesbians or gay men. I conducted group and individual interviews to collect narratives that reconstruct attitudes towards rights and sexual identity in the process of speaking. The respondents presented their own practices of inclusion in society and articulated their rights demand. Basing on the conclusions from these studies, I argue that there are fewer changes in Russian regime of citizenship in comparison to the Soviet one, than one could imagine to appear. I draw arguments from the studies of other scholars who surveyed Soviet queerness to show how major ideas about citizenship and sexuality are reproduced at the moment.

Chinese Indonesian Politics of Citizenship in the Early New Order Period: Racialisation through Homophobia

Ivana Prazic, PhD Candidate, The University of Sydney, Australia

Indonesian Chinese politics of citizenship has been marked by a variety of ways in which Indonesian state has related to its Chinese subjects. During the New Order regime (1966-1998) several openly anti-Chinese regulations were gradually introduced. For instance, Suharto's regime banned the use of Mandarin language in media and education, complicated the procedure for issuance of identity cards and citizenship certificates for the citizens of Chinese origin and outlawed the public celebration of the Chinese New Year. Repressive regulations targeting the Chinese had also occurred during the regime preceding Suharto's rule, known as the Old Order regime (1946-1965). In contrast, post-New Order period (1998-) has been marked by the lift of restrictive and exclusionary regulations that hitherto disabled the Chinese to easily access and enjoy their Indonesian citizenship.

Some authors find the fact that post-Suharto political changes have been structured primarily in legalistic terms problematic arguing that such approach fails to address socio-cultural and religious aspects of sinophobic racism in Indonesia (Sai and Hoon 2013). In this paper, I explore the operation of anti-Chinese racialisation in Indonesia as a totalising, ontological regime. Although legislature plays important role in maintaining the illegitimacy of the Chinese Indonesian subjectivity, I am interested in the ways in which the Chinese body has been relegated to the realm of unintelligibility. Juridical normativity regulating the Chinese body outside of the body of Indonesian nation can be understood as an effect of racialisation beyond the habitual theorising of 'race' (Puar 2007). Homophobia as a discursive technology of racialisation was deployed in the early years of the New Order regime, which were characterised by increasing number of openly sinophobic regulations. In this paper I argue that heteronormativity played an important role in normalising the Chinese Indonesian body as corrupt.

Panel 2: Politics of Reproduction, Family and Work

Chair: Hilde Danielsen

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Dræggen 7

Democratization of the Private Sphere and the Politics of Reproduction

Bente Rosenbeck, professor, dr.phil., Copenhagen University, Denmark

Marriage, abortion, birth control, single mothers, illegitimate children and population growth came into political focus in Denmark and the Nordic countries in beginning of the 20th century. This paper takes a closer look at the growing political interest in and the control of reproduction. Was the politics of reproduction and state intervention in private life an expression of bio-politics with focus on regulation of the population and discipline of the body. Or did this policy promote individualization and can be characterised as the first step towards sexual citizenship for women? One important aspect of the family reforms was equality between women and men and between legitimate and illegitimate children. Another important aspect was that eugenics, a new science, influenced the marriage reform. The concern for the health of the family and the children came in focus. Individual rights was important. The concern for the health of the family (and the population) might, however, limited the freedom of the individuals. There was a tension between individualization and collectivization. Regulation and control was legitimized in science. Social engineering was an important aspect of the reform and illustrates that the modernization of marriage was also meant to solve social problems and to create an orderly society. At the same time, the reform both prepared the way for the individualization necessary for a welfare system based on universal and individual rights and created a gender arrangement based on division, supporting women's reproductive work.

Modernity is characterized by a tension and interaction between individual and collective identity, which limits equality. Equality was based on separate spheres and complementarity and naturalization of sex differences. Citizenship and equality underscores the ambivalent relationship of feminism to modernity. This contradiction in the family reforms is still relevant to-day.

Pro-Egalitarian Family Policy on the Supranational European Level: An Attempt to Regulate Reproduction in Ageing Welfare Societies

Heike Kahlert, Prof. Dr. Ludwig-Maximilians-University Munich, Germany

Reflections on the fertility decline and the ageing of European welfare societies are not new on the supranational European agenda but now since the turn of the millenium they have started to become more visible. In these discussions economic, demographic and equality oriented arguments are mutually connected. In the paper I will discuss how the EU-European strategy of gender mainstreaming is supposed to solving the causes and consequences of demographic changes in ageing European welfare societies and how it is interwoven with attempts to develop a supranational European family policy. Indeed, this may sound strange because family policy in the European Union still is a policy topic in national responsibility. However, on the supranational European level attempts to develop a common European family policy have since the 1980s been discussed in the light of putting gender equality into action. A main topic in these discussions is the problem of reconciling work and family that in European politics still is mainly presented as a problem of women. But gender equality politics on the European level also takes the problem of the gendered division of labour in public and private spheres into account. According to official papers by the European Commission of the European Union this gendered division of labour should be changed to enable women to work and to become and be mothers. So changes in gender relations in the direction of more gender equality in public and private spheres are supposed to heighten women's participation in the labour market (as the Lisbon-Agenda requests) and to heighten the fertility rate as well. My paper is based on the results of a qualitative content analysis of the main documents by the European Commission and the European Council that deal with questions of demographic change and gender equality on the supranational European level.

Gendered Citizenship, the Issue of Child Daycare and Women's Movement. The Example of Sweden in the 20th Century

Ann-Katrin Hatje, Professor emerita, Umeå University, Sweden

Public child day-care centers (*förskola*) are nowadays taken for granted as an important welfare service for the families and the children. When these centers were included in the Swedish family policy in the 1960s and 1970s they became an important support to a dual breadwinner family model that to a large extent enabled the strengthening of women's economic citizenship. If you go further back in Swedish welfare history the issue of public child day-care was almost a non-existing political question, also within the women's movement. My purpose is to give an historical background to this ignorance and to point to some facts that changed this ignorance. Themes and facts that I shall describe and analyze are the house-wife ideology, the concept of women's full citizenship and that of mother-citizens, and the strong wage-earning tradition among women in Sweden. All these questions illuminate tensions due to class, gender and economy. I shall give special attention to the activities of Swedish State Feminists, who according to my opinion played the most important role in achieving a new family policy in the 1960s and 1970s, taking advantage of good economic times. I shall also make some comparisons with other countries.

Panel 3: Dealing With Gendered Violence

Chair: Gaudencia Mutema

Time slot: 15.15-16.45

Room: Dræggen 7

Displaced Female Citizens: Male-to-Female Violence, the Family, and Civil Society

Helle Rydstrøm, Professor, Lund University, Sweden

In focusing on male-to-female violence in the family in contemporary Vietnam, this paper will address the precariousness imbued in gendered citizenship (Butler 2004). Informed by various periods of anthropological fieldwork in Vietnam, the paper will be divided into three sections; it will thus first examine the ‘logic’ (Arendt 1970; Bourdieu 1992; Stoler 2010) intrinsic to intimate partner violence in a society where couples (i.e. heterosexual) are expected to build a “prosperous, equal, progressive, happy and lasting family” (Marriage and Family Law 2000, Art. 18). Second, it will consider how abused female citizens are displaced to a ‘zone of exception’ included by exclusion from the social order and its promises about individual security (Agamben 1998, 2005; Rydstrom 2012; Sanchez 2004; Sylvester 2010). And third, the paper will highlight the ways in which jeopardized security and curbed freedom of female citizens are handled by ‘civil society’ associations such as local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the Government-Operated-Non-Governmental-Organization (GONGO) the Women’s Union, which is under the obligation to reconcile in matters of “discord” in the family (Marriage and Family Law, Art. 3.2). These three sections will be brought together by discussing how a tendency to sidestep the meaning of gender and the family in studies of citizenship and civil society (with exceptions such as Blom et.al. 2006; Howell 2007; Singerman 2006; Yuval-Davis 1997) impacts the analysis of gendered violence in the domestic sphere in a one-party Southeast Asian society.

The Social Impact of Domestic Violence Exerted Upon Women in Bulgaria. A Comparative Analysis of Life Stories and Statistics as a Part of History of Behavior.

Silviya Serafimova, Assistant Professor, PhD, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Bulgaria

The problem of domestic violence is implicitly concerned with exploring the relation experience-discourse as a multifunctional relation, which contributes to outlining the specific representations of this phenomenon in Bulgaria. The aim of recent study is to examine why even from women's perspective, the exertion of violence is often suppressed as a part of women's biographies. Furthermore, we will explore how the exertion in question is internalized as an experience shaping many negative attitudes and practices regarding gender stereotypes. In this context, the main objective of the study is to show that it is the discursive model that enables the depiction of aspects concerning the pseudo-normalized victimization as well as the observation of life stories and statistics due to the so called symbolic capital of socially constructed roles 'violator-victim'. The aforementioned problems can be reconsidered by looking for an answer to the following question: why is the problem of violence interpreted among the Bulgarian women themselves outside of an articulated and openly declared discourse, which to prevent the discrimination imposed by the means of both censorship and autocensorship?

Gender and Genocide: A Research Creation Project

Azra Rashid, PhD Candidate, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada

The mediated images of war, though seemingly genderless, contain a history of women and how meanings and bodies get made in a society. My research seeks to decode the existing images and provide an alternative study of genocide by making women's experiences central in discourse on genocide. I am interested in ethnographic research and documentation of experiences of women during the Holocaust and the genocides in Bangladesh and Rwanda. I have chosen visual representation, in the form of an essay film, and in-depth interviews in my research to make visible the identity and gendered experiences of victims of genocide.

Expressive subjectivity of the filmmaker, which is considered as one of the most recognizable signs of an essay film, makes visible the articulation and consciousness of the filmmaker. It not only creates transparency but also accountability for a specific positioning of a knowing self. Instead of claiming access to a universal truth, I intend to make transparent the various visual possibilities and viewing positions, and focus on one point of view which is most accessible to the filmmaker, which is her own. As a person marked by my gender and ethnicity, it is not only my subjectivity that will help create meaning but as the film enters into a public arena outside the authority of my own expressive subjectivity and representations, the film will create a dialogue where the subjectivity of the spectator also plays a significant role in formulating the meaning. Similar to a transnational feminist approach, the consciousness of the essay film expressed through the essayistic subjectivity demands the viewing position of the "I" to build coalition with the "you", and does not attempt to squash the "you" into the "I". This dialogue between expressive subjectivity and the public is what allows people to see connections and differences.

Panel 4: Discourses of Resistance

Chair: Randi Gressgård

Time slot: 15.15-16.45

Room: Dræggen 8

The Voices of Women in Witchcraft Trials.

Liv Helene Willumsen, Professor, University of Tromsø, Norway

This presentation will focus on the voices of women in the legal courtroom in seventeenth-century Finnmark, Northern Norway. In between a variety of male voices in legal discourse, a few voices of women are entered into the court records. What do these voices express and what do these voices tell about being a female member of society long before women's suffrage was a fact?

Witchcraft trials are particularly suited when it comes to listening out women's voices in historical documents with regard to mentalities. As part of the records of a witchcraft trial, the accused person's own confession is entered into the legal protocols. Through close-readings of original sources the voices of women come through particularly in their confessions of witchcraft. Court records of these confessions offer multi-layered texts wherein each woman's individual accent appears. Even if the setting is formal, we get insight into the world of images and belief systems of common women, their hopes and despair. As a paradox, strength and perseverance may be heard in words uttered from bodies utterly tormented.

Discourse analysis from a narratological approach will be used to interpret the voices of the women accused of witchcraft as well as to analyze their strategies throughout the trials. How did gender play an important part in the painful phenomenon of witchcraft persecution? How did the women face the anxiety of male prosecutors? Why did they tell what they told before the court? And how does it come to the fore that they were looking towards their own end? And not least: how were these women dealt with, being citizens of Denmark-Norway?

Feminist Man Haters and Puritans? Histories From the Struggle Against Rape and Pornography in France and Norway

Trine Rogg Korsvik, PhD-candidate, University of Oslo

When women organize politically as women, they have often been branded "man haters". This was the case when women demanded equal rights with men in the 19th century, and when feminists a hundred years later organized for women's liberation. It seems that women's political organizing, unlike e.g. working class organizing, in a particular way is connected to psychological factors such as emotions and sexuality: The caricature of feminists has been – and still is – as hysterical, unattractive women rejected by men, which explains their supposedly "man hatred". This stereotype seems to be reinforced when women organize politically to confront phenomena that directly concern sexual issues, such as rape, pornography, and prostitution: The "man hater" label gets an additional dimension, that of an allegedly Puritanism and hostility towards sex. Why do feminist challenges of the public/private division and the calling into question men's rights to sexual available women lead to accusations of man hatred and Puritanism?

Without having any definite answer, I will clarify this question by presenting findings from my PhD-research on the women's liberation movements in France and Norway in the 1970s and early 1980s. In this period, the struggle against violence against women became central political issues in the two countries, as in other Western democracies, though with different emphasis regarding political mobilizing. In France, the women's liberation movement directed its efforts towards combating rape, while its Norwegian counterpart mobilized against pornography, seen as degrading to all women. Rape and pornography were, until then, not regarded as political issues but concerning morality. However, within a few years the women's movements, through intensive political mobilizing and actions, reframed these phenomena into feminist issues. Though the movements succeeded in bringing these issues on the general political agenda, leading to law reforms, movement activists were accused of man hatred and Puritanism.

Constructing Sexual Agency: Feminism, Choice and Gendered Sexuality

Mervi Patosalmi, Dr., Gender Studies, University of Helsinki, Finland

In my presentation I examine constructions of sexual agency by analysing media coverage of the British SlutWalks that took place in 2011. I study possibilities for feminist sexual agency by examining how sexual autonomy is presented in these debates; specifically I concentrate on the relationship between the notions of choice and sexuality. The notion of choice is a central element in liberal thought on freedom and autonomy. In my paper, I analyse potentials and limitations of the notion of choice in the context of sexuality and draw on critical feminist theorising of autonomy, especially those that rely on relational notion of autonomy. The media debates both produce meanings and values, and reflect how sexual citizenship and possibilities for agency in sexual practices are understood. The discussion concerning the SlutWalks was strongly divided into positive and negative reactions, but the division was not a division between feminist and non/antifeminist comments. The varied commentaries reflect the conflicted and multifaceted relationship between feminism and sexual agency. I study how sexuality, sexual freedom and in connection with that choice in regard to sexuality is conceptualized and what kinds of gendered notions these debates include. The purpose of my paper is to examine regulation and production of gendered sexualities and constructions sexual citizenship

Panel 5: An ambiguous vigilante: The meaning of the condom in private and public sex

Chair: Ida Blom

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Dræggen 4

At different historical conjunctures, when the social order has been considered as unstable and under threat, particular sexual relations, practises, identities and groups have been constructed as objects governmental regulation and prevention programmes. Through punitive laws and medical, psychological, social intervention programs a range of techniques has sought to install a particular mode of responsible sexual and moral citizenship in targeted populations as well as in the general population.

Today, condom-use seems to be highly incorporated into the work ethics of sex sellers. Simultaneously, condom-use amongst youths seems to be on the decline, with numbers of chlamydia infections for instance increasing.

We ask if and why are some groups identified as ‘high risk populations’, whilst others seem to escape this?

In this panel we wish to discuss both the symbolic meaning attached to the condom as well as its place in regulatory regimes, and as marker between private and public, intimate and non-intimate sex by both state- and private actors.

Getting Screwed Inside or on the Outside of the Law

Synnøve Jahnsen, PhD candidate in sociology, SKOK, University of Bergen, Norway.

Drawing on fieldwork observations and interviews this paper examines discourses on prostitution and their legislative and institutional effects in local contexts. In particular I address the question of whether recent policy changes in Norway can be seen as a step forward for an inclusionary society and increased gender equality or if they are better understood as part of larger societal transformations in western liberal democracies where an increasing number of individual are deemed to be “rescued” and “rehabilitated” into particular ways of living and consuming as well as “excluded” from certain goods, territories and spaces. I will ask this question by engaging with theoretical debates on how and why law matters in the regulation of sexual relations

and the actors that engage in the commercial market for sex, while I at the same time illustrate how insights from governmentality theories can help us to shed light on my empirical data. The empirical case that will be presented shows a high level of discrepancy between the national rhetoric that surrounds the field of prostitution and human trafficking and the realities that are experienced by those whose profession it is to implement national policy and international legal instruments. Here new alliances are constructed, while prior ones are broken.

"I don't Want Him to Think I'm *that* Kind of Girl". Positionality of the Condom in the Private and Commercial Sexual Lives of Sex Workers

Ida Kock, Department of culture and media studies, Umeå University, Sweden

In most available research on commercial sex, STD-prevention in the form of condom use and/or extensive STD testing seems to be highly incorporated in the work ethic of sex workers. But researchers such as Sanders (2002) have shown that condom use seems to be connected to 'work' by sex sellers, and not to private, non-commercial sex acts where condoms often are disregarded, something that indicates the condom as distinguisher of private and 'public' sex, but also as a distinguisher of intimacy and non-intimacy.

In this paper, I will take my departure in a statement made by a Swedish sex worker interviewed for my forthcoming doctoral thesis *The elephant in the room: Sex and sexualities among Scandinavian sex workers on the indoor market*: "I would never, ever have sex without a condom with a client, but private sex it's...well it's like I don't want to ask because they might think I'm that kind of girl..." Other sex workers interviewed claimed the mandatory use of condoms in their work, made them confident to ask and insist on condom use in private sexual encounters.

Particularly focussing on the emotions attached to the meaning of the condom in commercial and non-commercial sex, I wish to discuss the condom as watershed of private and commercial, intimate and non-int

Norwegian and International examples of the Role of Safer Sex in the Legal Regulation of Prostitution

Sunniva Schultze-Florey, PhD student at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany

Historically prostitutes have often been seen as carriers of sexually transmittable diseases, STDs, and there have been many legal regulations to undermine the spread of disease. Generally it has been the prostitutes and not their clients who have been held accountable for the possible spread of STDs. The legal regulations have mostly been targeting prostitutes, not their clients.

We find legal regulations of medical controls of prostitutes in order to stop the spread of STDs in many countries and at many times in history. In Norway and Germany this was a part of the legal prostitution regime in the 19th century. Here the prostitutes were under the duty to undergo medical check ups, and to carry documentation about their health status. Failure to comply with these measures was criminalized. Similar control regimes have re-emerged with the new Austrian regulation, especially the Vienna Prostitution Act of 2011. Despite the good intentions, the documentation of health status can and often do lead to clients demanding sex without condoms, because the prostitutes are documented healthy.

In my presentation I will give a historic overview of the legal regulation of safer sex and prostitution. I will provide examples from Norway and Germany mainly, with some examples from South Africa and Austria. I will examine the purposes of such regulation and the impacts on the prostitutes and their clients, and society at large.

Panel 6: Postcolonial Citizenship and the Figure of Woman: The Case of the Hottentot Venus

Chair: Donna McCormack

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Dræggen 7

"The figure of woman is pervasively instrumental in the shifting of the function of discursive systems," Gayatri Spivak writes in *Death of a Discipline* (74). Her statement serves as an allegory of reading, tracing a possible emergent future to come, at the same time making it possible to address critically the shifting between various discourses on citizenship, especially as they pertain to the colonized world. The current strive to promote democratic citizenship globally, cannot be analyzed independently from the spread of global finance capitalism, which makes it both possible and necessary to form new transnational connections, at the same time subordinating states and populations to the imperatives of a global market. The shifting figurations of woman play an intrinsic role in these dynamics. This can be exemplified by the slogan "Women Rights Are Human Rights", where "woman" names *both* the feminist struggle for hegemony by being included in the universal *and* a "democratization process" that upholds capitalist power relations and the right to intervention in order to give rights to "victims", thus functioning as a process of subordination.

This panel seeks to problematize the relationship between the shifting figurations of woman and global power by analyzing cultural and artistic representations of the Hottentot Venus (Sarah Bartman) on three different continents. The Hottentot Venus has shifted from being a symbol for the lower parts of the race hierarchy in early 19th-century science, to becoming a symbol for a *critique* of this very construction, as well as a symbol for the struggle for freedom and rights along racial, as well as sexual/gendered lines. To what extent does the recent re-appropriations of Hottentot Venus signal a new democratic future by opening up for new voices to be heard and to what extent does it merely reinscribe imperialistic power relations, only in neo-liberal terms? The texts and art works analyzed address these questions by problematizing the relationship between the representable and the unrepresentable, silence and speech.

The Venus Hottentot is Unavailable for Comment

Željka Švrljuga, Associate Professor, Institute for Foreign Languages (English), University of Bergen

The proposed paper examines Susan Lori Parks' play *Venus* (1997) which—like the recent literary, artistic, and critical industry generated around the figure of Sarah Baartman—participates in the restoration of the subject of history, whom the play stages as participant in her own undoing. Despite acerbic criticism of Parks' gender and racial typecasting of her protagonist, which repeats the nineteenth-century victimization of Baartman, the paper will argue how the play makes use of a parodic turn to topsy-turvy the historical scenario. Irony shines through the play in which erasure turns into a politics of representation: Not only are historical participants rendered as nameless, their names are replaced with generic designations which in a sense function as open signifiers in the colonial sexual-textual scenario. While the choice of genre appears to be an apposite medium to give voice to the oppressed subjects of history, *Venus* refuses to do so, as the title-quote of my paper indicates, highlighting the impossibility of speaking for others or of “speaking back” from beyond the grave. Yet, the paper will argue, the play is by no means partial to the figure of woman, which it venerates with its aesthetic experiment that upends the order of things.

The French Connection

Jorunn S. Gjerden, Associate Professor, Institute for Foreign Languages (French), University of Bergen

From 1814 until her death in December 1815, Sarah Baartman lived in Paris, where she was exhibited in salons to a libertine audience before ending up in prostitution. Her year in Paris was also marked by the scientific examination and documentation of her bodily characteristics conducted by Professor Georges Cuvier.

My paper will consider two fictional representations of this period in Baartman's life. One is *La Vénus Hottentote ou haine aux Françaises*, a vaudeville play written in 1814, while the popularity of the Hottentot Venus was still at its peak in Paris. The other is the film *Vénus noire* directed by the French-Tunisian Abdellatif Kechiche in 2010.

While the 1814 vaudeville displays various gender and racial stereotypes and prejudices through its depiction of the Black Venus, as opposed to the critical postcolonial account of Baartman's destiny in the 2010 film, the two contrasting portraits at the same time curiously resemble one another in their shifting and merely indirect and/or exterior representations of Sarah Baartman. By virtue of the effects of focalisation, notably in the film, her story is never unambiguously related from her own point of view, not even when she rises to speak and we hear her voice. Focusing on the plurality of indirect versions of Baartman we thus are left with, my reading will discuss how, why and to what extent these reflections cause her to slip away and remain unrepresented as a subject in the film as well as in the play.

Politics as Subtraction

Kari Jegerstedt, Associate Professor, Centre for Women's and Gender Studies, University of Bergen

During the transition years in South Africa, Sarah Bartman became a symbol of a national need to confront its colonial past and restore dignity to its people. This included having Bartman's remains returned from France, so she could be buried in native soil. However, the nation-building gestures captured in her burial not only directed attention *towards* a long history of colonial oppression but, simultaneously, *away* from the present economic structures and the enormous class differences that are the effects of this history. Thus the struggle for freedom and rights that Bartman has become a symbol of, can be said to function as a modality of subjection, channeling opposition into forms containable under present economic relations.

Zoë Wicomb's novel *David's Story* challenges this mode of representation: Here Bartman functions as a critique of the nation building process in South Africa. Bartman herself is however only inscribed "negatively", through a subtraction. This paper argues that the function of this subtraction is dual: Firstly, it makes visible a negativity through which Hottentot Venus *can be* refigured, without taking part in the hegemonic rhetoric of rights and thus appropriating Bartman's story for itself; secondly, it serves to question how the female body *can be* described within systems of representation where the female, racial body already is marked and defined in specific terms. In *David's Story* this body only speaks through its absence – as that which cannot be decided, named or represented, but nonetheless functions as the basis for representation as such.

Panel 7: Challenging Discourses on Rights, Belonging and Diversity

Chair: Kari Jegerstedt

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Dræggen 4

Since We Know Humans Only in the Shape of Men and Women

Resa-Philip Lunau, Diplom Artist, B.A., Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

In her *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Hannah Arendt dedicates a chapter to the phenomenon of statelessness. Even though her widely discussed view there seems to focus on a special historical setting and people, like Judith Butler I believe that Arendt wanted it to be understood more broadly as exemplary of a way to manage minority populations per se. With this in mind, I would like to propose a reading that connects her thoughts about statelessness to the current situation of gender variant people¹ in western societies.

Particularly important and fruitful for understanding the situation of gender variant people could be her notion of “no longer belong[ing] to a community”.

Even though gender variant people seem to have the basic human/civil rights in most western states – because they are members of a state – their specific situation can be understood in terms of “deprivation of a place in the world”. Like the “displaced persons”, gender variant people fit Arendt's conception of “rightlessness”, which is to be innocent, without Name and Identity, without home and to have lost “the relevance of speech” – they are thereby vulnerable to discrimination by the state they live in.

By a detailed examination of Arendt's account of “rightlessness” this paper will show why the rights of gender variant people, at this point, can only be secured through an appeal to human rights as done by many activist and organization in the past years. Therefore, her idea of “right to have rights (and that means to live in a framework where one is judged by one's actions and opinions)” becomes central. After all, as Arendt showed, “We are not born equal; we become equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights.”

Aporias of Citizenship. Gendered Perspectives on Participation and Inclusion

Doris Rosenlechner-Urbanek, Dr., Salzburg University of Applied Sciences, Austria

Contemporary theorising of citizenship faces at least three aporias. First, can citizenship reconcile that it promises participation and inclusion into a polity, while at the same time it does exclude due to the precondition of membership (the nationality-territory-aporia)? Second, if the nationalist model of citizenship is dismissed, how can accountability and legitimacy of rights and duties be conceptualised in a wider setting (the human rights-citizen rights-aporia)? Third, if equal rights are conceptually pursued, how can claims for recognition of diversity be accommodated (the equality-diversity-aporia)?

The article presents a research project that explores these aporias from a gendered perspective. In order to tackle the first aporia, the historical legacy of nationalism, the project discusses the transformative concepts of stakeholdership, transnational, global and cosmopolitan citizenship. The second issue is debated by enquiring into the conditions for democracy and rights entitlements beyond the state, against the backdrop of a gendered human rights framework. Revisiting the Wollstonecraft's dilemma of equality and difference strategies will open the challenge to the third aporia. Informed by an anticategorical understanding of intersectionality and the norm of substantive equality, the suggestion is to incorporate diversity into issue-based, rather than identity-based rights claims. By reworking these aporias the project seeks to contribute to an inclusionary concept of citizenship.

1 This article elaborates on selected chapters of the author's dissertation thesis (Urbanek, Doris. 2011. *Discursive Practices of Political Intersectionality. On Recent German Intimate Citizenship Policies*. University of Vienna), supervised by Birgit Sauer and Mieke Verloo and presents a follow-up research project.

Sexual Diversity in a Civilisational Frame of Tolerance and Cosmopolitanism

Randi Gressgård, Associate Professor, SKOK, University of Bergen, Norway

Diversity is increasingly made an ally of capitalism in urban politics. The capitalisation of sexual and cultural diversity is often associated with *The Rise of the Creative Class* by Richard Florida (2002/2012). In this influential book, Florida sees of tolerance to sexual diversity as an index of success, emphasising that the rules of the economic game is now defined by the three Ts: tolerance, talent and technology. Instrumentalisation of sexual diversity is not an issue of consumption in a strict economic sense, however. Sexual diversity is profitable and desirable only to the extent that it signals progressive cosmopolitanism, as opposed to backward-looking traditionalism. Economic growth and financial success are intimately linked to visions of civilisational progress within a homogenous linear timeframe of succession. The temporal splitting between the progressive and the backward is, in turn, closely linked to spatial imaginations of cosmopolitanism, used as a byword for living together and tolerating one another. This paper focuses attention on how tolerance to sexual diversity invokes a spatio-temporal splitting between 'Us' and 'Others' along these lines.

Panel 8: Dealing with Sexual and Cultural Diversity

Chair: Synnøve Bendixsen

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Dræggen 7

Transnational Love, Migration and Kinship: Gay and Transgender Indonesians in the Netherlands and Belgium

Tanti Noor Said, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Migration is one of the most important vehicles by which the global flow of ideas, and economic and cultural goods are transported within the discourse of globalization. These flows produce not only an enthusiasm, but can also cause controversy and provoke rejection. Shifting and progression which occur as a result of ideas spreading can be an advantage for some people, but it can also be disadvantageous and cause harm and instability for others who search for the goodness of nostalgia and comfort of different times. On the one hand migration has been an invitation of opportunity for those who are starving, to taste prosperity, exoticness and curiosity of a different life and all the possibilities that may bring. On the other hand, it can also disenchant them about their limitations caused by lack of capital, social, economic and cultural fears, and also exclusion and inclusion policies from each country considered as destinations in their migration.

In my research, I focus on migration that occurs accompanied by intimate relationships between non heteronormative male Indonesians and Western men. I investigated the everyday life and struggle that non-heteronormative male Indonesian migrants undergo in the Netherlands and Belgium. In studying them, I paid attention to many aspects, such as economic, social, sexual and cultural. Previous research shows many obstacles they experienced as a result of heterosexual hegemony and heteronormativity in Indonesia (Oetomo, 2001; Boellstorff, 2005). Unfortunately, their migration to the Netherlands and Belgium does not obliterate their problems as members of minorities who are constrained and judged by the preexisting beliefs of the majority. This becomes increasingly complicated for them as they are both non-heteronormative males and migrants.

Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Multicultural Classrooms

Baukje Prins, Dr., The Hague University of Applied Sciences, Netherlands

Siela Ardjosemito-Jethoe, Dr, The Hague University of Applied Science, Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the cultural and social integration of immigrants is especially judged by the extent to which their views on gender equality, gay and lesbian rights and sexual freedom are in agreement with those of the progressive Dutch majority. In public debate but also in official political discourse, these progressive views are presented as exemplary of a Dutch 'tradition of tolerance' and non-negotiable. This image, however, does little justice to the everyday experiences of frontline professionals such as teachers, social workers or nurses. In our ethnographic research in ethnically and religiously mixed classrooms of schools for middle and higher vocational education we witnessed a variety of situations in which teachers had to deal with students who either seemed to feel profoundly uncomfortable when issues of sexuality were addressed or, precisely the opposite, frequently provoked the teacher or their classmates with sexually graphic comments and abusive language. In this paper we zoom in on some key events where allusions to sexuality invoked a tense or sultry atmosphere in the classroom. We will specifically assess (1) the effectiveness of the various strategies that teachers use to prevent these events from disrupting order in the classroom, (2) the extent to which teachers find ways to get their ideas about sexual equality and freedom across, and (3) the ideas and views of teachers themselves on the role schools should play in the sexual education of especially students with immigrant backgrounds.

Queer as Critique of Normative Violence and the Ethico-Political Commitments of Queer

Christel Stormhøj, Associate Professor, Ph.D, Department of Society and Globalisation, Roskilde University, Denmark

The term 'queer' is appropriated and constructed by queer theory as referring to that which runs transversely to the legitimate, or what is assumed to be the order of things. By definition, queer delineates a critical positionality vis-à-vis the normative. Hence, queer thought is a critical enterprise. But what does this mean?

The aim of this paper is to explore, discuss and assess queer as critique. My focus will be on the theory side of queer as I base my investigation on a series of parallel readings of leading queer thinkers, including, among others, Butler, Sedgwick, Freyer, and Halberstam. Examining the issue of queer as critique I will use an all-encompassing philosophical (theoretical and political) approach. While it is broadly known that queer is an interrogative mode of inquiry, problematising established notions and norms of sex, gender, sexuality and their intersection with other regimes of power and discipline, it is often not noticed that queer itself is engaged in setting norms and making normative commitments.

The questions that will guide my inquiry include the following:

- How do different queer thinkers perceive the practice of critique?
- Which forms of critique are at play in queer, where do their criteria of critique come from, and how do they justify them if at all?
- Unpacking the notion of normative violence, what are the specific objects and aims of queer critique?
- Given the aporetic situation of critique, i.e. that queer cannot but set norms itself when practicing critique, how do queer ethical and political visions look like, and what are their normative commitments?

STRAND 3: REPRESENTATION, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

Panel 1: Intersectionality and the state

Chair: Sevil Sümer

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Dræggen 8

Politics of equality: state feminist power play in an age of uncertainty?

Cathrine Egeland, Research director, The Work Research Institution, Norway

During 2011 and 2012 two major public reports on the politics concerning equality were released in Norway. The reports, titled *Structure for equality* (2011) and *Politics for equality* (2012), were produced by a committee of experts appointed by the government. The committee was given a rather broad mandate for their work. They should consider the Norwegian politics on equality, address specific challenges and dilemmas in this politics, and come up with recommendations. In the mandate it was furthermore emphasized that equality should be understood as *gender equality* and that gender should be addressed as intersected by ethnicity, class and differences pertaining to life span. In line with this the experts behind the two reports thus suggested a so called *Gender+* approach to equality thereby following an international trend within feminist politics and policy analysis of intersectionality and equality. In this presentation I will take a closer look at the 2012 report *Politics for equality*. I will ask what a *Gender+* approach to intersectionality and equality actually presumes and implies. I will then continue to inquire the more general principles and feminist presumptions put forward in *Politics for equality* in order to point out some theoretical and political dilemmas and challenges I think needs to be discussed in the wake of the reports.

Gendered Citizenship Seen Through French Legal Bans on Muslim Women's Coverings.

Christine M. Jacobsen, Dr., University of Bergen, Norway

In the last decade, Muslim women's sartorial practices such as covering the hair and face-veiling have become the subject of heated discussion across Europe, and several countries have envisaged or already implemented legal measures to regulate it. My paper will focus on the dilemmas involved in efforts to "regulate religion" through the law. I am interested in uncovering the productive 'friction' (Tsing 2005) generated in encounters between particular legal regimes, local/national histories of secularism, and the universalising rhetoric of religious rights. After a decade of heated debate, a ban on Muslim headscarves and other "ostentatious" religious symbols at state schools was introduced in France in 2004, and a further ban on face-veiling went into force in 2011. Taking the French case as a point of departure, the paper discusses how various religious and secular norms, sensibilities and affects related to "gender" and "sexuality", manifest themselves in debates surrounding legal initiatives to regulate Muslim women's sartorial practices. Analysing these debates, and how Muslim women embrace, resist or subvert legal efforts to regulate sartorial practices, helps us throw light on how 'gendered citizenship' is (re)shaped, debated and practiced in the contemporary French context.

The irregular body: biopolitics and subjectification in the inclusive-exclusive welfare state

Synnøve Bendixsen, Post doctor, Dr., UNI Rokkansenteret, Norway

Norway has a limited available social support and health service for irregular migrants partly in order to present itself as an unattractive option to 'would-be refugees'. The use of welfare distribution as a means to regulate migration creates internal borders where, while irregular migrants are physically within the territory, they are excluded from a so-called universal welfare state. This situation has led to an increase in insufficient health care for irregular migrants mostly without seemingly having the intended effects of discouraging asylum seekers arriving to Norway. It suggests how the bodies of irregular migrants are not considered to be the target of social policy – they are included only by being excluded or held at the margin of the system. Yet, they are still, through the active process of being excluded, an object of intervention which can be viewed as part of biopolitics.

This paper will ask how governmental and policy practices in the field of health care shape the lived experiences of irregular migrants, with gendered differences. How is the Norwegian welfare system through its marginalized inclusion also forming the body of women and men living as irregular migrants? What effects does categorization as an irregular and subsequent limitation on legal health care access have on how the irregular migrant relate to her or his body when it comes to illness? How do irregular migrants respond differently depending on their gender to the constraints and marginalization of their sick bodies? What understanding of illness and relation to the body of the migrant is shaped in this dynamic? The paper will cast light on how the understanding of the body by irregular migrants, women and men, are shaped by their particular locations and embodied encounters with state processes and officials, and how the state manifests itself in their lives.

Panel 2: Between Sharia and Human Rights: Sudanese Women's Strategies for Legal Reform

Chair: Liv Tønnessen

Time slot: Day 1, 11.45-13.15

Room: Kongesal 5

The panel focuses on legal reform and Sudanese women's strategies for change in a country which has been in a state of perpetual conflict that stretches back long before its independence in 1956. The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 between the ruling Islamist National Congress Party (NCP) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), ended Africa's longest running civil war. In the wake of the CPA, women activists have particularly been preoccupied with legal reform. There is a range of Islamic laws codified during the last 23 years of Islamist rule in Sudan, particularly the Muslim Family Law (1991) has received a lot of attention. It regulates women's rights within marriage, custody, divorce and inheritance. It is regarded by Sudanese women activists as contradictory to human rights. The Islamist regime, which has been in power since a coup d'état in 1989, took away important women's rights in the 1991 law. According to the law, a judge can affirm a marriage for a minor of 10 amending prior legal marriage age of 18. Further, a woman needs a male guardian (wali) to validate the marriage. This follows the practice of Maliki school of law, and it thereby revoked a judicial circular from 1960 based on the legal preference of the Hanafi law school, according to which a woman can contract marriage herself without a male guardian. The Islamization processes did not only affect codified state law, but had major consequences for women's rights also in the traditional practices of family law. The panel explores shifting gender relations of power in emergent (re)interpretations/practices of Islamic law for and against the state. The papers look at opportunities and constraints for adapting legal reform from within the regime itself, women activists in opposition and women at the local level in east Sudan.

Governmentalization of women's rights in Sudan: Emerging reforms from within

Samia al-Nagar, Violence against women project at Ahfad University of Women, Sudan, and Liv Tønnessen, senior researcher at CMI, Norway

This article explores emerging divisions within the Islamist government in Sudan and further how this opens and/or closes opportunities for women to initiate legal reform within the area of women's rights from inside. With the Islamist coup d'état in 1989, Sudanese women assumed a central place in the Islamic national building project, a project which in some areas opened up new possibilities for women and in others severely restricted them. Women are now in majority at the country's universities. A 25% gender quota in the national and local legislative assemblies are put in place by this government and in the 2010 elections, a woman ran as a candidate for the Presidency for the first time in Sudanese history. Yet, women's movement and dress are restricted by law, presidential decrees and government policies. According to the family law a woman can only work outside of her home if her husband gives her permission. After the signing of the CPA in 2005 and the National Interim Constitution with a bill of rights, processes of harmonization of national 'Islamic' laws to international conventions were initiated by the government. This article investigates these government initiatives for legal reform with a particular focus on the efforts to criminalize FGM. Both the Child Rights Convention and Islamic arguments have been used by reformist women to criminalize FGM. The article looks at the arguments used by both the reformists and the conservatives/salafists within the government and thereby explores competing interpretation of Islamic law from within the ranks of Islamists. The paper is based on several fieldworks in Sudan with government officials, state organizations, parliamentarians, civil society actors, and women activists.

Muslim Family law reform in Sudan: Women's right to divorce between ideal and practice

Akram Abbas, PhD Candidate at Khartoum University, Sudan

The paper investigates Muslim family law in Sudan as it is practiced by the courts and as it is being contested by political actors. The Muslim family law in Sudan was codified in 1991 by the Islamist state and situated within a paradigm of *qawama* (male guardianship) and a gender ideology emphasizing equity (*insaf*) over equality. It took away rights previously enjoyed by Sudanese women in circulars which were issued by the Grand 'Qadi. The paper gives a history of the legal development of women's rights to divorce in Sudan and situates it within the current socio-economic and political context by looking at how the 'ideal' notions preached by Islamists are actually practiced by state courts. The paper analyses court cases of divorce that have been seen by the high court and combine it with interviews with state and non-state actors seeking to reform women's rights to divorce within the family law. The paper locates these arguments in an emerging polarization of "the woman question" whereby the government and civil society are presenting competing visions for Sudanese women. The paper concludes by discussing the mechanisms of law reform and advocacy tools used by the two positions, and evaluate the extent to which these alternatives for family law of equity and gender equality are supported or blocked by the government.

Shifting Gender Relations at the Local Level in East Sudan: Women Rejecting the Decision of Traditional Courts

Lamya Badri, PhD Candidate at Ahfad University for Women, Sudan

The article investigates the impact of Islamization on customary law through the Traditional Reconciliation Court in Doka Village in East Gallabat state in East Sudan. Customary law has historically had great impact on Sudanese women's situation with regard to marriage, divorce, custody and maintenance. The Traditional Reconciliation Courts has relied on plural legal sources, including customary law, common law and Islamic law. My findings suggest that during Islamist rule, these courts were connected to the state system in order to control it. The tribal authorities have been marginalized. The formalization of the courts has affected its role in defusing conflict and protecting women. Instead of being a dynamic court reflexive to changing local dynamics and needs, the courts have become static; its main aim has been to hinder family disintegration something which is a reflection of the state's Islamic project emphasizing Muslim families as the foundation of the Islamic nation. At the same time, gender relations have changed in the area, partly because of new possibilities within education and partly because of International interventions. Based on two ethnographic fieldworks in Doka in 2011 and 2012, the article argues that there is a discrepancy between the courts' decisions and women's expectations and understanding of the courts' role. Women have started to reject the courts' verdicts. Despite the courts' insistence on family integration even in cases of domestic violence and hardships within marriage, women decide to separate from their spouse despite the courts' refusal to grant them a divorce.

Panel 3: Women, conflict and representations

Chair: Torunn Wimpelmann

Time slot: Day 1, 15.15-16.45

Room: Kongesal 5

To be or not to be legit – representations of exile and oppressions in post-dictatorship Chile

Loretto Linusson, PhD Student, Uppsala University, Sweden

More than two decades after the fall of the Pinochet regime, there seems to be a general imperative of avoiding the issue of the dictatorship in Chile. The memories of the Pinochet regime have been consigned to memory sites and specific commemoration dates, such as 9/11, the date of the coup in 1973. The avoidance and the compartmentalization of topics even remotely touching the dictatorship has thus narrowed down the official – and unofficial – channels to voice experiences of political oppression. But also within the discourse of political oppression itself there are restrictions to what experiences are legit to tell and thus belongs to the repertoire of the oppressed.

In my research I ask who has the right to declare themselves victims of political oppression in the confined spaces that exist? People that have been imprisoned, tortured, wives that lost their husbands, fathers whose daughters' have disappeared and so on might voice out their grief. But the children's accounts are not recorded - children that kept living ordinary lives under un-ordinary circumstances, such as exile, remain silence. It is in this void that my research will take place, in the stories of the children of Chilean exiles.

In this paper I would like to discuss issues regarding legitimacy of representations of the Chilean exile. Who owns the right to “tell the story” of the Chilean exile, and how are these stories related to the larger narratives of the Chilean dictatorship, globalization and post-colonialism.

Gender, race and class in interwar Swedish Fascism

Beatrice Sjöström, PhD Student, Department of Historical, Philosophical and Religious Studies, Umeå University, Sweden

This paper deals with how the Swedish party National Socialist Labour Party (NSLP), active from 1933–1950, envisioned and legitimated a new political system, based on economical corporatism, the importance of a strong leader and racial purity, in contrast to the liberal democracy.

Key issues are:

What power mechanisms of implicit and explicit inclusion/exclusion – regarding race, class and gender – can be identified in the descriptions of a different political system? How were for example the relationships between the individual and the collective in general and the leader and the people in particular explained? What kind of normative subject was assumed? Would social structures based on class be totally abandoned in favor of racial hierarchies? Was there any awareness in the propagandistic voice of the party in how to address different categories, for example female voters, in order to gain political support?

The paper consists of results drawn from my ongoing phd thesis in history, that takes its point of departure from the overall and always current question: How did interwar fascists make their ideology intelligible? My main object of study is propaganda produced by NSLP, and I investigate representations of gender, race and class in NSLP:s revolutionary visions and interpretations of political realities. I analyse different levels in the propagandistic expression, for example definitions of core concepts as well as various kinds of illustrations. As a political party in the fringe of the public sphere NSLP had to situate themselves and their political message in relation to central contemporary political issues, socio-economical structures and cultural norms. There were all together a constant balance for the party trying to be responsive in how to create an appealing propaganda while at the same time maintaining the organizational unity and not abandon the ideological core

Panel 4: Gender quotas

Chair: Vibeke Wang

Time slot: Day 1, 15.15-16.45

Room: Kongesal 1-2

'Quotas are the last option.' Understanding the politics of quotas in the UK.

Henry Allen, University of East Anglia, United Kingdom

Debates around the lack of women represented in parliaments and on managerial boards are abound. In addition to the issues around democratic representation, there is empirical evidence to suggest that businesses with more gender-balanced managerial boards perform better than their unbalanced counter-parts. This is seen to be the case in many European countries and further afield. The EU commission has recently attempted to introduce legislation that would require companies to have a mandatory 40% representation on managerial boards, but which faced serious opposition from member states, principally from the UK. Prior to this, in the UK, quotas have been suggested to be the 'last option' in attempting to ensure equal representation of men and women. This is despite the fact that countries that are looked to as being exemplars of gender equality, and by extension gendered citizenship, have often achieved this objective through the use of quotas. This paper tackles the complex political arguments at the heart of the issues around quotas, using the broad hostility towards them in the UK as a case example. The aim of our paper is to look behind the discourse of hostility; asking what are the main sources of this hostility? We argue that debates often centre around classic issues of liberty – with both sides drawing upon discourses of freedom and empowerment to support their case. Those opposed to quotas seeing them as undermining liberty, and those in favor of quotas seeing them as enabling greater liberty. It is through identification and discussion of these sources, that opportunities to overcome the barriers imposed by current discourses surrounding quotas may be discussed, and in so doing confronting some of the complex issues around gendered citizenship.

Action Theory approach to State Feminism: taking the practices of policy-making into account

Siri Øyslebø Sørensen, PhD Candidate, NTNU, Norway

The theoretical concept of state feminism was coined some thirty years ago. Since then, the emphasize on equal representation, explorations of the various roles of the women's movement in policy making combined with a growing attention towards the many meanings of gender and gender equality have contributed to developing theories of state feminism. State feminism has been studied and theorized within the frames of political democracy theory, social movement theory - and is recently also widely studied from a discursive-politics point of view. However, the state feminist concept is still lacking a theoretical awareness of the practices of policy-making within the state institution. Gender theories have since the 1990s re-defined the understanding of the political, rather than developing novel approaches to government carried out by the state. What happens to the understanding of gender (equality) politics if we depart from the premise of institutionalized governance, and aim at combining the doing/undoing gender perspectives from feminist theory with an emerging action theory of policy making?

The theoretical discussion addressing this question will be informed by an empirical study of the Norwegian corporate board gender quota reform of 2003. I have studied the making of this most recent gender quota reform through in-depth interviews, document analysis and media analysis.

Alternatives to gender quotas? The public funding of women candidates experiment in the 2009 Malawian elections in comparison

Happy M. Kayuni, University of Western Cape, South Africa

Ragnhild L. Muriaas, University of Bergen, Norway

Why are more women getting elected to the national legislature in some African regimes with a competitive party system and single-member district electoral system than in other? This article studies the variation in strategies that governments can make use of to increase women's representation in national legislatures. In a range of countries governments have to find ways to comply with national laws and international treaties that promote gender parity in decision-making. The most well-known remedy to fast track women's representation is the adoption of electoral gender quotas. We argue that an additional strategy is available and in some contexts even more efficient; public funding of women candidates. The public funding strategy of the Malawian government's donor sponsored 50/50 gender parity campaign ahead of the 2009 was slightly more efficient in ensuring descriptive representation than the reserved seats system employed in the 2013 Kenyan elections, and considerably more effective than the 'hands off' strategy of the government in the Zambian 2011 elections. Yet, the Malawian experiment shows that although public funding might be efficient in getting more women elected to national legislatures, the strategy had several unintended consequences on the electoral process and it is expensive. Public funding does not stereotype women representatives once they are elected, but in the electoral process they are easily becoming foreigners in their own party. Particularly as the 'women candidates – government' connection seems suspicious to the opposition in a hybrid regime.

Panel 5: Women in the legislature

Chair: Ragnhild Muriaas

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Dræggen 8

What are the foundations of difficulties responsible for women's underrepresentation in the House of Commons and The Sejm of the Republic of Poland?

Dorota Opyd, University of Liverpool, United Kingdom

“There are very few jobs that actually require a penis or vagina. All other jobs should be open to everybody” (Florynce Kennedy¹ (1916-2000) cited in Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006: 8).

In modern politics, as early as in the 1970s, women's low presence in parliaments around the world has become an important issue among society (Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Wawrowski, 2007; Ballington 2009). However women's fight for civil and political rights have their roots in 1848, when the first women's movement has taken place in the US (Krolokke and Sorensen, 2006). For many years, feminist theorists incorporated gender under-representation and power by interlinking them with many aspects of political, sociological, cultural and structural factors (Norris cited in Dalton and Klingemann, 2007). However, the importance of women's role in legislative bodies has been acknowledged at the beginning of the 20th century (Lovenduski and Karam, 2002; King, 2005).

As statistical data suggests, the number of women's population varies around 50 per cent (BIS, 2011; Ruedin, 2010; Krook, 2010; Mediocre, 2011; UNSD, 2012), therefore the importance of equal access to decision making for women cannot be ignored (Ballington and Karam, 2005; Haffert *at el.*, 2010). Furthermore, according to Abdela (2010:18) “democracy is not democracy when over half the population are not fully represented”. This comparative in nature project carried out across two countries: UK and Poland, investigates the roots and foundations of gender inequality in national politics and also explores the ways in which these difficulties are experienced. The study illuminates the position, perception and backgrounds of society's thoughts on women's political careers and explores the reasons for gender inequality in the political elite across the House of

¹ Florynce Rae "Flo" Kennedy (February 11, 1916 – December 22, 2000), was an American lawyer, activist, civil rights advocate, and feminist.

Common and the Polish Sejm. This research would give indications of another way to promote women's political success, by establishing the foundations of barriers and by indicating how to overcome these in the future.

Transformations of the female subject in Finnish Parliament 1973-2013

Erkka Railo, Dr. Soc. Sci., University of Turku, Dep. of Political Science and Contemporary History, Finland

Transformation of the female subject in Finnish Parliament 1973-2013

My paper analyses the speech of female politicians in Finnish parliament in three years: 1973, 1993 and 2013. It answers the question, how did female politicians define their subject position in relation with the institution of the state and how have these definitions changed. This subject position can be understood as cultural citizenship in the sense that it is dependable on the cultural values and norms of the time which are also linked to the material and economic development of the country.

The analysis employs the idea of Michel Foucault on the relationship between institution and subject. The speeches of female politicians in Finnish parliament define both the institution of the state as well as the subject position of women in relation with it. The hypothesis of the study is that during the intensive construction of the welfare state in the 1970s the subject position of women was justified with the need for increased workforce. In the 1990s the subject position of women was based upon the idea of male and female politics which were in opposition to each other and complementary. The institution of the state was defined as a “male” state that had paid too much attention to economics and now female type of politics was need to supplement the deficiencies of the “male” politics.

In 2013 the subject position of women is defined in relation to the neo-liberal state that has embraced the goal of global competition. The position of women in politics looks equal to men on the surface, yet their position is actually dependent upon their ability to keep up the appearance on national unity so as to enhance the competitiveness of the nation state, Finland.

The Quest for Women's Political Representations: Lessons from the Nordic Countries

Syeda Lasna Kabir, Associate Professor, Department of Public Administration, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

Hasan Muhammad Baniamin, MPhil Researcher, Department of Administration and Organization Theory, University of Bergen, Norway

The value of political equality is central to the normative theories of democracy which considers that women are equal citizens and therefore should share equally with men in public decision making. But this objective is yet to achieve across the globe. In modern time, the first wave of democracy began in the early 19th century when suffrage was granted to the majority of males in the United States. From that point to date, women's rights on voting are established even to reach at the top most positions. But the net visibility of women is still very low in many countries. Globally women's under representation is attributed to many factors like lack of education, economic inability, family responsibilities, religion, stereotypes in society, election system, party ideology, psychological (lack of assertive power, low self-esteem) etc. Most of the developing countries are struggling to remove these barriers. But in the developed west, many of such barriers have already successfully addressed. Like, most of these countries can provide the access to education to increase personal competence of the women can ensure increased level of women participation in economic activities especially inclusion in the formal workforces or remove the electoral barriers. In spite of these impressive achievements, statistical analysis of those countries shows a dismal situation in terms of women representation in maximum of the developed countries like USA 17%, France 19%, Italy 22%, UK 22%, Canada 25% and Australia 25% of women representation in parliament. But the Nordic countries are exceptions from these trends. They showed an impressive level of women's representation compare to other western countries. According to the World Economic Forum (2012) the representations in the Nordic countries are: Sweden 45%, Finland 43 %, Norway 40 %, Iceland 40% and Denmark 39%. Now the question is what could be the determinant factors for the women's higher representation of these Nordic countries while couples of important variables like education, economic empowerment, electoral system, religion etc. are more or less same. The answer may be embedded in the cultural barriers. The Nordic countries may transform their cultural system successfully so that it may create a supportive environment for the women. Most of the western countries indicate that success of

removing the economic and institutional barriers may important but may not be sufficient to ensure women's political representations. This study is designed to explore the probable reasons for such under representation mainly among the developed west from the cultural perspectives. It tries to explore the cultural differences and their tentative effects on these countries based on G. Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

Legislating Marriages: Family law reform in South Africa, Tunisia and Uganda

Vibeke Wang, PhD Candidate, Dept. of Comparative Politics and researcher, CMI

Women's rights and obligations within marriage are one of the key components of family law and is a highly sensitive political area of intervention across the globe both historically and presently. Despite massive pressures from feminist movements across the world, family law has been surprisingly stubborn to change. While family laws in many countries have undergone reform, other countries have upheld patriarchal family laws. The latter include many postcolonial states with legal pluralism (statutory, customary/indigenous, and/or religious law). In many of these countries there is an array of different family laws catering for women's rights and obligations within marriage according to ethnic and/or religious affiliation. As such women within the same country have different rights within family laws. This paper explores to what extent transitions from authoritarian rule open up the political opportunity space for groups who fight to ensure women's equal citizenship rights by harmonizing marriage law with liberal principles of justice. By analysing policy processes related to family law reform in post-transitional settings in South Africa, Tunisia, and Uganda we investigate the type of marriage reforms that are acceptable in different settings as well as what kinds of reforms that meet the most resistance. Our preliminary finding is that although democratization represents a political opening where women are able to put their concerns on the agenda, democratization equally opens up the playing field for forces that are opposed to marriage reforms, such as religious and traditional leaders. Furthermore our study demonstrates that neither women are a homogeneous group, they are as we know divided along religious, political, and class lines, and this helps explain why similar aspects of family law remains problematic independent of regime, legal tradition, and ideological leaning of the national government.

Panel 6: Space, place and representations

Chair: Hilde Danielsen

Time slot: Day 2, 11.00-12.30

Room: Kongesal 5

An Appropriate Assimilation: Exploring Narratives of Body, Beauty and Citizenship in the Asian-Indian Diaspora

Sailaja Neel-Ganti Joshi, Candidate for Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology, Northeastern University

An Appropriate Assimilation explores the ways in which Asian-Indian American (AIA) women use their body as a tool to understand, social, cultural, and political meaning. This unique research explores the topic of citizenship and assimilation through the lens of beauty; examining the ways in which beauty becomes a tool through which AIA women understand their gendered roles as citizens and members of a community. Building off the scholarship of authors such as Yuval-Davis (1997), Puri (2008), and Entwistle (2000) *An Appropriate Assimilation* helps bring together conversation of citizenship, gender, and beauty. Using ethnographic work gathered from a 2011 study, this research weaves theoretical literature alongside personal narratives of body and beauty to help illustrate the challenges that AIA women face when it comes to gaining (in)visibility as citizens in the United States.

This work then diverges from the prevailing literature in that it complicates the notions of immigrant and assimilation by addressing issues racialized ethnicity, which are complicated by class dynamics. Ultimately, *An Appropriate Assimilation* helps to address the complex issues of (in)visibility which is experienced by immigrant women as they attempt to navigate social, cultural, and national spaces. This work argues that the molding and shaping of an immigrant woman's body is not simply about conformity, rather it is about gaining (in)visibility as a citizen and demonstrating the ways in which she has become the best "achieved self" thus helping to ensure an appropriate assimilation. This work provides a unique space in which to investigate and challenge ideas of how gender is represented in public spaces, specifically examining ways in which immigrant women understand prevailing notions of femininity alongside notions of nationhood and belonging.

Engendering Familial citizens: Television, gender and civic engagement in urban India

Mahalakshmi Mahadevan, Dr., University of Westminster, India

Traditional ideals of family and womanhood are central to the popularity of television soap operas among middle-class women in urban India. In anthropological and sociological critiques of South Asian popular culture, attempts have been made to unpack the various ways in which gender works with and through categories such as caste, class and nationalism. This paper attempts to extend this traditional critical trajectory and examines how representations of the patriarchal family and womanhood mediate middle-class women's engagement with civic spaces and citizenship. Through ethnographic insights gathered over six months across two Indian cities, this paper argues that the ways in which differentially located women engage with these popular narratives of idealized family and womanhood suggests certain specific gendered ways in which television mediates women's discursive engagement both with the family, television's principal arena, and the civic space. The contemporary Indian soap opera narrative, in many ways, helps extend the ideal of a familial womanhood on to the civic space, circumscribing women's access to these spaces to the condition of familiarity and ultimately limiting their access to oppositional forms of civic engagement and citizenship.

Symbolic violence and sexualised violence

Bodil Pedersen, Associate Professor, University of Roskilde, Denmark

I has been suggested, that Bourdieu 's concept of symbolic violence is useful in explaining gendered phenomena of late modern western societies, which can no longer simply be understood as classic patriarchies (B. Kraus 1993). In these societies, and in spite of the existence of gendered sexualised phenomena such as rape and prostitution, it is often assumed that full equality of the sexes has been achieved.

The concept of symbolic violence implies the participation of both men and women in aspects of discourses and other social practices related to gendering and thus to gendered sexualised violence. It deconstructs the dualisation of gender in gendered phenomena that contribute to the dualising/blaming controversies concerning responsibility and guilt common in discourses, activism and research pertaining to this field. Furthermore the use of the concept makes it possible to do so without individualising and pathologising gendered sexualised violence and personal difficulties connected hereto, consequently disregarding the important involvement of gendered and gendering societal processes (S. Ronkainen 2001). Also, its focus on the symbolic points to the central position of mass media in these processes.

Therefore the use of an analytical approach to diverse forms of sexualised violence drawing on the concept of symbolic violence coupled with a conduct of everyday life approach, may enrich further analysis of the continuing existence and changing forms of diverse kinds of gendered sexualised violence in western societies.

Panel 7: Inclusion and exclusion in transnational settings

Chair: Cathrine Egeland

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Dræggen 8

(Re-) occupying marginal space: contemporary perceptions and practices of 'citizenship' among Palestinian women activists in Israel

Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, United Kingdom

This paper investigates how Palestinian women citizens of Israel who identify themselves as 'feminists' experience, conceptualise, and practice 'citizenship' and analyses the extent to which these processes challenge current citizenship discourses in Israel. This endeavour is based on an apparent gap between the structured theoretical citizenship discourses in Israel (that can be sub-divided into two discussions based on the models of 'liberal democracy' and 'ethno-centricism') and feminist micro-level cultural analyses of Palestinian women in Israel.

Due to their frustrations with both the national and local systems of government, Palestinian feminists are virtually absent from conventional forms of political participation in Israel. Yet, there is a massive and ever-growing mobilisation of Palestinian feminist activists within Israel's civil society that strives to advance Palestinian women's status within Palestinian communities as well as Israel as a whole.¹ In a context in which the artificial constructions of public/private spheres are insufficient units of analysis as Palestinian feminists constitute real political actors, a conceptual gap appears between existent analytical categories put forward by political scientists and sociologists and real citizenship activities on the ground.

¹ This feminist movement differs from its counterparts in the OPTs in the way in which it conceives women's liberation within Palestinian communities as a first step and, in fact, a necessary precondition of Palestinian national liberation, thereby turning Palestinian feminist priorities in Gaza and the West Bank upside down.

Transnational Feminist Sociology and the State. Some Reflections through the Case of Afghanistan

Torunn Wimpelmann, Researcher, Chr Michelsen Institute / PhD candidate, SOAS, Norway

This paper attempts to contribute towards a theorization of how transnational processes shape and transform statehood, and the implications for gender and feminist politics. Drawing upon ethnographic research on practices of regulating gender violence in Afghanistan, the paper unsettles the notion of the national state as a unitary, self-contained unit of reference and guarantor of claims, clearly distinguishable from 'the global'. Instead it proposes a framework of transnationally constituted and multiple assemblages, which in various and sometimes contradictory ways define and govern the field of gender violence. Such a framework allows for an exploration of how certain state capabilities have been reorientated towards more global projects. For instance, how the global works through the national became particularly clear in the case of a new Afghan law on violence against women. Although formally adopted and enforced by Afghan government institutions, its promulgation and implementation was propelled by international funds and pressure. However, as the paper shows, this process of reconfiguring the national by the global was always partial and contested; neither 'the global', nor the 'national' can be understood as a singular force or project, instead making up shifting and competing agendas and alliances. Finally, the paper discusses the impact of these contending configurations on gender relations and feminist politics in Afghanistan. It suggests that transnational politics simultaneously empowered and constrained Afghan activists; allowing for a more radical gender order to be articulated somewhat autonomously from national politics, but at the same time circumscribing its reach.

Lived Citizenship: Insights from a multi-dimensional approach

Sevil Sümer, Senior Researcher, UNI Rokkansenteret, Norway

In this paper we will propose a theoretical framework for analysing gender and citizenship departing from a multi-dimensional approach to lived citizenship. We conceptualise citizenship both as public rights and duties that are claimed by and/or attributed to citizens as markers of recognition and belonging, *and* as practices and identities chosen, constructed and performed by citizens in their daily lives (Halsaa, Roseneil and Sümer 2011; 2012). Our proposal will be grounded in the empirical work that was carried out through the international research project FEMCIT: *Gendered Citizenship in Multicultural Europe; the impact of contemporary women's movements*.² FEMCIT proposed that strategies for ensuring women's participation and full citizenship need to take into account the way political, social, economic, multicultural, bodily and intimate facets of citizenship are woven together in the everyday lives of European citizens. Based on selected findings of the FEMCIT project we will argue that full citizenship requires attention to at least these six dimensions and that the analytical dimensions of citizenship are intertwined in everyday life in complex ways.

Beatrice Halsaa was the Scientific Director and Sevil Sümer was the Scientific Coordinator of the FEMCIT project.

References:

Halsaa, B., Roseneil, S. & Sümer, S. (eds.) (2011) FEMCIT Final Report, available online <http://femcit.org/publications.xpl>

Halsaa, B., Roseneil, S. & Sümer, S. (eds.) (2012) *Remaking Citizenship in Multicultural Europe: Women's Movements, Gender and Diversity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

² FEMCIT ran through 2007-2011 and was funded by the EU FP6. We acknowledge the contribution of all the FEMCIT partners and researchers to the ideas presented in this paper. See www.femcit.org for details on the project.

Panel 8: Tracing gender in Aid and Development: Global – local dynamics

Chair: Haldis Haukanes

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Kongesal 5

Gender equality and women's rights have become key issues in international development and aid policies, including the 'Millenium Development Goals' and more recent strategies. Feminists' efforts to put gender equality on the global development agenda have thus seemingly been a success, although critiques of gender in development point to problems of instrumentalism and de-politicization of the gender agenda as it is being promoted by the big development actors. Another important concern is the ways that the global policy aims are implemented in specific contexts, and the articulation between those aims and locally developed understandings of gender equality and women's rights. This panel will focus on the processes of translation of policy goals into practice, and the encounters between globally developed aims and actors on the ground, be it "translators" or "recipients" of policies. We are also interested in exploring the role of NGOs in relation to the 'governance' paradigm that over the last two decades has evolved to become a dominant ideology within development theory and practice. A central characteristic of this political system is the replacement of the state with civil society actors, typically non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as social service providers. As part of this trend, donors have since the early 1990s sought to build strong civil societies through extensive support to NGOs in the global South. This will therefore currently be a central contextual backdrop for most development policy implementation issues.

Mediators of development? Experiences with gender and aid among gender experts in Ethiopia

Astrid Blystad, Professor, University of Bergen, Norway

Located within current feminist and other critical approaches to gender and development, this article examines of the ways that members of the gender experts in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia relate to “global” gender policies, and to current approaches to the “problem of gender” in their country. Our material indicates a high level of convergence between global policy aims and our informants’ opinions on key target areas and approaches. The study participants, however, moved the discussion beyond the frames set by the transnational agenda. The “local” framing of gender issues in particular emerged through reflections on the challenges facing them in their work, through the problematizing of the scope, relevance and outcomes of the many initiatives, and through reflections on the increasing politicization of the field of “gender work.”

Gender and Governance: The role of NGOs in Tanzanian policy making

Siri Lange, Senior Researcher, CMI, Norway

In the global South, “governance” has over the last two decades evolved as political counterpart to the neo-liberalist economic system. A central characteristic of this political system is the replacement of the state with civil society actors, typically non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as social service providers. As part of this development, donors in Tanzania since the early 1990s have sought to build a strong civil society through extensive support of NGOs. Elite-based NGOs in Dar es Salaam have in practice come to represent an overwhelming share of such actors. This article explores the central NGOs in the Tanzanian gender field, their self-understanding as civil society actors, and their role in relation to government sector decision making. Processes related to the formulation of a new gender policy and a recent controversy on gay rights serve as illustrating cases in relation to decision making dynamics.

Maernet biqaglsi, equality through struggle: some notes on the Tigrayan context, Ethiopia

Thera Mjaaland, Associate Professor, University of Bergen, Norway

When the Norwegian Government wants to be 'a fearless champion' of women's rights and gender equality in development cooperation, and is criticised for the missionary thrust of this aim, both these positions seems to oversee that these concepts might already have entered local discourses as something groups of women have thought it worthwhile mobilising for on their own premises; as was the case in the student movement in Ethiopia in the 1970s. Being involved in their own revolution within the revolution for equal rights, the women, who participated in the Tigrayan armed struggle (1975-91), further emphasise their contribution to a gender-sensitive Constitution in Ethiopia as well as Family Law. Gender (read 'women') being mainstreamed into Ethiopian policies and plans, the prevailing state discourse on gender encompasses both equality and rights. As to whether aid should address these issues, a more pertinent question in the Ethiopian context might be to what extent the *premise*, which the Tigrayan women risking their lives for a more gender-just society, had to accept – that poverty has to be eradicated before equal rights can be accomplished – can shed light on the general lack of a potent civil mobilisation on these issues today.

Panel 9: Universal suffrage

Chair: Cathrine Holst

Time slot: Day 2, 13.30-15.00

Room: Kongesal 1-2

One man, one rifle, one vote': gender, military obligations and political rights

Fia Sundevall, PhD, postdoctoral scholar, Dept. of Economic history, Stockholm University, Sweden

Citizenship and military service are closely related concepts as well as deeply gendered such. In modern history, the duty and obligation to defend the nation has repeatedly and in numerous countries been linked to the acquisition of citizen rights. E.g. in early 20th century Sweden the slogan “one man – one rifle – one vote” aptly summarized socialist and liberal opinions that those who fulfill military obligations to the nation should accordingly have the right to vote in the nation’s elections. Unlike many other countries, the linkage of political rights to military obligations in Swedish suffrage debate did not rest at the level of discourse. In 1909, when the vote was extended to practically all adult men, fulfillment of military service was introduced as a formal requirement in order to practice one’s political citizenship.

How was this discursive, and later legislative, association of conscription and suffrage dealt with by those who were not conscripted – or for that matter refused to perform military service?

Drawing on a wide range of sources, including periodicals and newspaper articles, political pamphlets, minutes of parliament proceedings and unprinted material, I explore the debates among the women’s suffrage movement on one hand, and antimilitarist men on the other. The purpose is to address matters of gendered citizenship and explore how those who opposed the relationship between political rights and military obligations negotiated and managed the linkage while yet insisting on their right to vote.

From economic to political citizenship. The history of women's vote in Norway.

Eirinn Larsen, PhD / postdoctoral fellow, Centre for Business History, Norwegian Business School, Norway

Lars Fredrik Øksendal, assistant professor, Department of economics, Norwegian School of Economics, Norway

The parliamentary election of 1915 was the first national election in Norway after all women were enfranchised in 1913. However, this was not the first time that women had cast their vote. A considerable number of women had already taken part in local elections, commencing in 1901 and with an increasing participation for every local elections until local government suffrage became universal in 1910. At that point, literally hundreds of women had served their political apprenticeship as elected members of local councils. On the national level, the breakthrough for women as a political resource in Norway was the parliamentary election of 1909. A total of 295 000 women had gained voting rights according to a law enacted two years earlier. This reform, in effect applying the existing criteria for local voting rights to women also to the national level, granted suffrage to women who had a taxable income – either in their own or their spouse's right – above a certain threshold. As much as 163 000 of the newly enfranchised women cast their vote, a participation that was decisive for the election outcome, victory for the conservative parties, for two reasons. First, women tended to vote more conservative than men. Second, this tendency was even more pronounced in middle and upper strata of women who received political citizenship on a national level for the first time.

This paper aims at discussing “the forgotten female elections” in Norway prior to the introduction of universal female suffrage on June 11 1913, in light of broader political and economic processes. We suggest that women's political mobilization was closely linked to their economic mobilization in the previous decades. The liberalization of the Norwegian economy from the mid nineteenth century onwards integrated a considerable number of women into the market economy. The changing role of women in the urban economy, partly fostered by government reform, partly by transformation in the real economy, is important for understanding why the elections prior to universal suffrage are characterized by very high turnouts among city women. The paper suggests that more knowledge about the female elections before 1913 challenge the established

historical narratives of the female suffrage in Norway, narratives that have been made with the universal suffrage of 1913 as the point of departure. Indeed, 1913 was the year when the Norwegian parliament granted political citizenship to *all* women, but at that point women had in fact already exercised decisive influence in parliamentary election.

"*History of Women Suffrage (1881- 1922)*: women's suffrage as a transatlantic, rhetorical project.

Tone Brekke, Post doctor, University of Oslo, Norway

This paper will discuss the transatlantic exchange of the discourses of women's rights and suffrage in the nineteenth century. A central focus will be the textual cultures that constituted the frameworks for the debates on suffrage and the textual practices developed by central participants in the suffrage movement.

The rhetorical aspects and implicit interpretative models represent a significant part of the monumental work, the *History of Women Suffrage (1881- 1922)*. These strategies can be considered as essential to the international suffrage-movement's attempt at self-legitimation. By placing selections of classical texts on the questions of political rights in a dialogue with pamphlets and contemporary writings, the editors, Elisabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, develop a feminist and teleological model of history in which the European philosophical tradition of political rights and the American anti-slavery movement is seen as manifesting itself in women's suffrage. In this sense *History of Women Suffrage* presents a revised political-philosophical canon that consists of a mixture of "male" theoretical writings with both classical and lesser-known feminist tracts, clippings from newspapers, pamphlets associated with the religious dissent, and minutes and reports from suffrage-meetings and conferences in both the U.S. and Europe. A significant, additional rhetorical strategy is also the textual showcasing of the practices of women's involvement in political, public meetings: against the stereotypical charge of the hysterical political woman, the minutes from the suffrage meetings reported in the *History of Women Suffrage* emphasize the orderly, rational procedure and rhetorical abilities of the women delegates.

The Norwegian suffrage movement should perhaps also be understood as a part of such an international, transatlantic textual culture. Norwegian writer and feminist Camilla

Collett was one of several Norwegians who contributed to the *History of Women Suffrage*. Collett's participation might in this sense represent a perspective on the relations between the literary, textual field and the social, political movement represented by the transatlantic battle for women's suffrage.

Appendix

List of Speakers

STRAND 1: GENDER AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Panel 1: Media minorities? Journalism, sexuality and gender (p.11)

Elisabeth Eide
Liv Iren Hognestad
Else-Beth Roalsø and Elisabeth Eide

Panel 2: Image, text, literature (p.14)

Zita Karkla
Birgitte Possing,
Asher Boersma

Panel 3: Gender in the online public sphere (p.17)

Ricarda Drüeke and Elisabeth Klaus,
Gilda Seddighi
Susan Jackson

Panel 4: Women's associations in the history of the public sphere (p.20)

Bente Blanche Nicolaysen
Anne Holden Rønning
Åsa Bengtsson

Panel 5: Gender and the Politics of Memory (p.24)

Pauline Stoltz
Monica Lindberg Falk
Mikako Iwatake
Karin Ask

Panel 6: Constructing citizenship in journals and magazines (p.28)

Laura Saarenmaa
Birgitte Kjos Fonn

Panel 7: Climate, nature and spatiality (p.30)

Seema Arora-Jonsson
Synnøve Marie Vik
Johanna Overud

Panel 8: Women pioneers in media and culture (p.33)

Raghild Mølster
Kristoffer Jul-Larsen

Panel 9: Challenging the Difference Engine. The discursive construction of Otherness in the Media (35)

Anna Roosvall
Ernesto Abalo

Mahitab Ezz El Din
Johanna Stenersen

STRAND 2: SEXUAL CITIZENSHIP

Panel 1: Heteronormativity and Nation (p.38)

Alexander Kondakov
Ivana Prazic

Panel 2: Politics of Reproduction, Family and Work (p.40)

Bente Rosenbeck
Heike Kahlert
Ann-Katrin Hatje

Panel 3: Dealing With Gendered Violence (p.43)

Helle Rydstrøm
Silviya Serafimova
Azra Rashid

Panel 4: Discourses of Resistance (p.46)

Liv Helene Willumsen
Trine Rogg Korsvik
Mervi Patosalmi

Panel 5: An ambiguous vigilante: The meaning of the condom in private and public sex (p.49)

Synnøve Jahnsen
Ida Kock
Sunniva Schultze-Florey

Panel 6: Postcolonial Citizenship and the Figure of Woman: The Case of the Hottentot Venus (p.52)

Željka Švrljuga
Jorunn S. Gjerden
Kari Jegerstedt

Panel 7: Challenging Discourses on Rights, Belonging and Diversity (p.55)

Resa-Philip Lunau
Doris Rosenlechner-Urbaneck
Randi Gressgård

Panel 8: Dealing with Sexual and Cultural Diversity (p.58)

Tanti Noor Said
Baukje Prins and Siela Ardjosemito-Jethoe
Christel Stormhøj

STRAND 3: REPRESENTATION, DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

Panel 1: Intersectionality and the state (p.61)

Cathrine Egeland
Christine M. Jacobsen
Synnøve Bendixsen

Panel 2: Between Sharia and Human Rights: Sudanese Women's Strategies for Legal Reform (p. 64)

Samia al-Nagar
Akram Abbas
Lamy Badri

Panel 3: Women, conflict and representations (p.68)

Loretto Linusson
Beatrice Sjöström

Panel 4: Gender quotas (p.70)

Henry Allen
Siri Øyslebø Sørensen
Ragnhild L. Muriaas

Panel 5: Women in the legislature (p.73)

Dorota Opyd
Erkka Railo
Syeda Lasna Kabir and Hasan Muhammad Baniamin
Vibeke Wang

Panel 6: Symbolic violence and sexualised violence (p.77)

Sailaja Neel-Ganti Joshi
Mahalakshimi Mahadevan
Bodil Pedersen

Panel 7: Inclusion and exclusion in transnational settings (p.80)

Kim Jezabel Zinngrebe
Torunn Wimpelmann
Sevil Sümer

Panel 8: Tracing gender in Aid and Development: Global – local dynamics (p.82)

Astrid Blystad
Siri Lange
Thera Mjaaland

Panel 9: Universal suffrage (p.86)

Fia Sundevall
Eirinn Larsen
Tone Brekke

