

# GEXcel Work in Progress Report Volume IV

Proceedings from GEXcel Theme 1:  
Gender, Sexuality and Global Change  
Conference of Workshops  
22–25 May, 2008

Edited by  
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Centre of Gender Excellence – GEXcel

Towards a European Centre of Excellence in  
Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies: Dept. of Gender Studies  
Linköping University  
Centre for Feminist Social Studies, Örebro University



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# Centre of Gender Excellence, Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

## Towards a European Centre of Excellence in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

*Nina Lykke, Linköping University, Director of GEXcel*

In 2006, the Swedish Research Council granted 20 million SEK to set up a Center of Gender Excellence at the inter-university Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University & Örebro University, for the period 2007-2011. Linköping University has added five million SEK as matching funds, while Örebro University has added three million SEK as matching funds.

The following is a short presentation of the excellence center. For more info contact: Scientific Director of GEXcel, Prof. Nina Lykke (ninly@tema.liu.se), Secretary Berit Starkman (berst@tema.liu.se), or Research Coordinator: Malena Gustavson (malgu@tema.liu.se).

## Institutional basis of GEXcel

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University & Örebro University

The institute is a collaboration between:

Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University

Centre for Feminist Social Studies, Örebro University

Affiliated with the institute are:

Division of Gender and Medicine, Linköping University

Centre for Gender Studies, Linköping University

## GEXcel board and lead-team

–a transdisciplinary team of Gender Studies professors:

- Prof. Nina Lykke, Linköping University (Director) – Gender and Culture; background: Literary Studies
- Prof. Anita Göransson, Linköping University – Gender, Organisation and Economic Change; background: Economic History
- Prof. Jeff Hearn, Linköping University – Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities; background: Sociology and Organisation Studies
- Prof. Anna G. Jónasdóttir, Örebro University – Gender Studies with a profile of The Politics and History of Gender Relations; background: Political Science, Social and Political Theory
- Prof. Christine Roman, Örebro University – Sociology with a profile of Gender Studies
- Prof. Barbro Wijma, Linköping University – Gender and Medicine

## International advisory board

- Prof. Karen Barad, University of California, St. Cruz, USA
- Prof. Rosi Braidotti, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands
- Prof. Raewyn Connell, University of Sydney, Australia
- Prof. Em. Leonore Davidoff, University of Essex, UK
- Prof. Em. Kathleen B. Jones, San Diego State University, USA
- Prof. Elzbieta Oleksy, University of Lodz, Poland
- Prof. Berit Schei, Norwegian University of Technology, Trondheim, Norway
- Prof. Birte Siim, University of Aalborg, Denmark



## Aims of GEXcel

- 1) to set up a temporary (5 year) Centre of Gender Excellence (Gendering EXcellence: GEXcel) in order to develop innovative research on changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment from transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives.
- 2) to become a pilot or developmental scheme for a more permanent Sweden-based European Collegium for Advanced Transnational and Transdisciplinary Gender Studies (CATSgender).

## A core activity of GEXcel 2007–2011

A core activity will be a visiting fellows programme, organized to attract excellent senior researchers and promising younger scholars from Sweden and abroad and from many disciplinary backgrounds. The visiting fellows are taken in after application and a peer-reviewed evaluation process of the applications; a number of top scholars within the field are also invited to be part of GEXcel's research teams. GEXcel's visiting fellows get from one week to twelve months grants to stay at GEXcel to do research together with the permanent staff of six Gender Studies professors and other relevant local staff.

The Fellowship Programme is concentrated on annually shifting thematical foci. We select and construct shifting research groups, consisting of excellent researchers of different academic generations (professors, post-doctoral scholars, doctoral students) to carry out new research on specified research themes within the overall frame of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment.

## Brief definition of overall research theme of GEXcel

The overall theme of GEXcel research is defined as transnational and transdisciplinary studies of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment. We have chosen a broad and inclusive frame in order to attract a diversity of excellent scholars from different disciplines, countries and academic generations, but specificity and focus are also given high priority and ensured via annually shifting thematical foci.

The overall keywords of the (long!) title are chosen in order to indicate currently pressing theoretical and methodological challenges of gender research to be addressed by GEXcel research:

- By the keyword "transnational" we underline that GEXcel research should contribute to a systematic transnationalizing of research on gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment, and, in so doing, develop a reflexive stance vis-à-vis transnational travelling of ideas,

theories and concepts, and consciously try to overcome reductive one-country focused research as well as pseudo-universalizing research that unreflectedly takes e.g. “Western” or “Scandinavian” models as norm.

- By the keyword “changing” we aim at underlining that it, in a world of rapidly changing social, cultural, economic and technical relations, is crucial to be able to theorize change, and that this is of particular importance for critical gender research due to its liberatory aims and inherent focus on macro, meso and micro level transformations.

- By the keyword “gender relations”, we aim at underlining that we define gender not as an essence, but as a relational, plural and shifting process, and that it is the aim of GEXcel research to contribute to a further understanding of this process.

- By the keyword “intersectionalities”, we stress that a continuous reflection on meanings of intersectionalities in gender research should be integrated in all GEXcel research. In particular, we will emphasize four different aspects: a) intersectionality as intersections of disciplines and main areas (humanities, social sciences and medical and natural sciences); b) intersectionality as intersections between macro, meso and micro level social analyses; c) intersectionality as intersections between social categories and power differentials organized around categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age, nationality, profession, dis/abledness etc); d) intersectionality as intersections between major different branches of feminist theorizing (eg. queer feminist theorizing, Marxist feminist theorizing, postcolonial feminist theorizing etc.).

- Finally, by the keyword “embodiment”, we aim at emphasizing yet another kind of intersectionality, which has proved crucial in current gender research – to explore intersections between discourse and materiality and between sex and gender.

## Specific research themes for first 2,5 year period of GEXcel

The research at GEXcel will focus on shifting themes. The research themes to be announced for the first 2,5 years are the following:

Theme 1) “Gender, Sexuality and Global Change” (on interactions of gender and sexuality in a global perspective), headed by Anna Jónasdóttir

Theme 2) “Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities” (on ways to critically analyze constructions of the social category “men”), headed by Jeff Hearn

Theme 3) “Distinctions and Authorization” (on meanings of gender, class, and ethnicity in constructions of elites), headed by Anita Göransson.

Theme 4+5) “Sexual Health, Embodiment and Empowerment” (on new synergies between different kinds of feminist researchers’ (eg. philosophers’ and medical doctors’) approaches to the sexed body), headed by Nina Lykke and Barbro Wijma.

The thematically organized research groups will be chaired by GEXcel’s core staff of six Gender Studies professors, who make up a transdisciplinary team, covering humanities, social sciences and medicine.

Seven more themes are under planning for the second 2,5 year period.

## Ambitions and visions

The fellowship programme of GEXcel is created with the central purpose to create transnational and transdisciplinary research teams that will have the opportunity to work together for a certain time – long enough to do joint research, do joint publications, produce joint international research applications and do other joint activities such as organizing international conferences.

We will build on our extensive international networks to promote the idea of a permanent European institute for advanced and excellent gender research – and in collaboration with other actors try to make this idea become real, for example, organizations such as AOIFE, the SOCRATES-funded network Athena and WISE, who jointly are preparing for a professional Gender Studies organisation in Europe.

We also hope that a collaboration within Sweden will sustain the long-term goals of making a difference both in Sweden and abroad.

We consider GEXcel to be a pilot or developmental scheme for a more long-term European centre of gender excellence, i.e. for an institute- or collegium-like structure dedicated to advanced, transnational and transdisciplinary gender research, research training and education in advanced Gender Studies (CATSgender).

Leading international institutes for advanced study such as the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of California Irvine, and in Sweden The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies (SCAS at Uppsala University) have proved to be attractive environments and creative meeting places where top scholars in various fields from all over the world, and from different generations, have found time for reflective work and for meeting and generating new, innovative research. We would like to explore how this kind of academic structures that have

proved very productive in terms of advancing excellence and high level, internationally important and recognized research within other areas of study, can unleash new potentials of gender research and initiate a new level of excellence within the area. The idea is, however not just to take an existing academic form for unfolding of excellence potentials and fill it with excellent gender research. Understood as a developmental/pilot scheme for CATSgender, GEXcel should build on inspirations from the mentioned units for advanced studies, but also further explore and assess what feminist excellence means in terms of both contents and form/structure.

We want to rework the advanced research collegium model on a feminist basis and include thorough reflections on meanings of gender excellence. What does it mean to gender excellence? How can we do it in even more excellent and feminist innovative ways?

## Editors' Foreword

This work-in-progress report comprises short summaries of most of the presentations given at GEXcel's first research conference, which took place at Örebro University on May 22-25, 2008. The conference rounded off the main activities of GEXcel's Research Theme 1, *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change*, run from August 2007 through August 2008.

The conference was organized in workshop format around three sub-themes: 1) *Sexuality, Love and Social Theory*, 2) *Power and Politics: A Feminist View*, and 3) *Common and Conflicted: Rethinking Interest, Solidarity and Action*. Each workshop/sub-theme gathered around ten different senior and junior scholars from many different parts of the world. Summaries of the discussions in each workshop are included in this volume.

The reader of this volume should be aware that, since this is a work-in-progress report, the language of the papers contributed by non-native speakers of English has not been specifically examined.



# Introduction

*Anna G. Jónasdóttir*

As we spelled out in the call for papers, this conference was organized as a conference of workshops. It was as an important part of the research activities connected to the theme *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change*, the first of twelve research themes to be carried out during the five years of the Excellence Centre GEXcel. The conference was an integral part of the research theme and its three sub-themes: 1) *Sexuality, Love and Social Theory*, 2) *Power and Politics: A Feminist View*, and 3) *Common and Conflicted: Rethinking Interest, Solidarity and Action*. The visiting scholars who were selected as Fellows – either through application (in international competition) or by direct invitation – played an important role in the development of the research theme. During fall 2007 and spring 2008 Fellows visited Örebro University to work for shorter or longer periods. During their stay here they also gave seminars. Most of them – unfortunately not all – returned in May 2008 to present their contribution to the current research theme at this conference and have it discussed in wider circles than in the earlier seminars.

The Fellows from 2007 who returned for the conference were *Valerie Bryson*, Professor of Politics at University of Huddersfield, UK, *Cynthia Cockburn*, Professor of Sociology at City University London, UK, *Maria Törnqvist*, PhD in Sociology at Stockholm University, Sweden, and *Rajeev Kumaramkandath*, PhD Candidate at the Centre for the Study of Culture and Society, Bangalore, India. Unfortunately, three Fellows from fall 2007 could not come to the conference: *Michael Kimmel*, Professor of Sociology at City University of New York, USA, *Kate Hardy*, PhD Candidate in Geography at University of London, UK, and *Lene Myong Petersen*, PhD Candidate in Educational Psychology at Danish University of Education, Copenhagen, Denmark.

The Fellows from spring 2008 who attended the conference were *Ann Ferguson*, Professor Emerita of Philosophy and Women's Studies at University of Massachusetts Amherst, USA, *Stevi Jackson*, Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies at University of York, UK, *Kimberle Crenshaw*, Professor of Law at University of California Los Angeles and Columbia Law School New York, USA, and *Xingkui Zhang*, PhD Candidate at the Faculty of Education and Social Work at University of Sydney, Australia. The spring Fellow *Eudine Barriteau*, Professor in Political Economy and Gender and Development Studies at University of

the West Indies, Barbados, was deeply sorry that professional obligations prevented her from returning for the event.

Above I used the word “wider circles”. The point of arranging this conference – in addition to bringing together the two groups of GEXcel Fellows as a second step of their work process in the programme – was to invite more people to contribute to the current research theme, and join us in one of the three workshops organized around the three sub-themes. It was a great pleasure for me to greet all of those who applied and were selected to participate in the conference.

Also, I was happy to welcome the specially invited speakers of the first day’s plenary session: *Carole Pateman*, Charles Mills and Joyce Outshoorn. First, Professor Carole Pateman and Professor Charles Mills gave a dialogical presentation based on their book *Contract and Domination* (2007).

Professor Carole Pateman, originally from the UK, worked at University of Sydney in Australia for a number of years, but then moved to the Political Science Department at University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) in USA where she still has her position. For a couple of years (2006-2008) she was Research Professor at the School of European Studies at Cardiff University in UK. Professor Pateman’s main research interests are democratic theory, including participatory theory; early modern theories of an original contract; the sexual and racial contract and feminist theory; the idea of a basic income; and citizenship and the welfare state. She has published many books and articles. *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970) and *The Sexual Contract* (1988) are among the most well-known of her many books. Both are modern classics and have been translated into many languages. One of the most prominent political theorists of the world, she was the first woman political scientist to become president of the IPSA (the International Political Science Association). She was also the first scholar to be invited to occupy the honorable Kerstin Hesselgren Professorship of the (then existing) Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and the Social Sciences (1988-99).

*Charles Mills* is the John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at Northwestern University in Chicago, Illinois, USA. Originally from Jamaica, he took his PhD at the University of Toronto in Canada. He works in the general area of social and political philosophy, particularly in “oppositional political theory as centered on class, gender, and race”. In recent years he has focused on race. Professor Mills has published widely and among his works are award-winning books. His first book, *The Racial Contract* (1997), was directly inspired by Pateman’s *The Sexual Contract*. Later, he suggested that they should work together.



She agreed and out of that agreement – not to say contract! – came the very interesting book *Contract and Domination* (2007).

*Contract and Domination* has been praised as being “the most sustained intersectional analysis of race and gender to date, providing a theoretical and historical account of how these categories connect, overlap, mediate one another, and comparatively structure oppression”. Since intersectionality is a crosscutting theme of the whole GEXcel program, and since GEXcel is a Centre of Excellence, we simply wanted to get the best on this topic and we got it! Thank you both for accepting our invitation.

Related to Pateman and Mill’s discussion, a question can be raised about whether contract *only* “structure[s] oppression”, whether contract *is* domination in other terms, or not. This issue certainly ties in with the subject of our third speaker, Professor Joyce Outshoorn, who offered a presentation entitled *The Politics of Prostitution Revisited*.

Professor of Women’s Studies at Leiden University in the Netherlands, Joyce Outshoorn works in the Political Science Department. She took her degrees in Amsterdam, and teaches comparative politics and political philosophy. Her research interests include comparative studies of gender and social movements, policy-making on abortion and prostitution. Her most recent book is *Changing State Feminism*, co-edited with Johanna Kantola (2007). Among her many earlier publications is *The Politics of Prostitution* (2004).

Following these key-note presentations, discussion of papers in the three workshops on sub-themes took up the two following days. All papers had been distributed in advance to the workshop participants, and each paper was commented first by a discussant followed by a more general discussion. Each workshop was chaired by one person while another took notes for a report on the discussion at the last day’s plenary session. Valerie Bryson, Ann Ferguson, Lena Gunnarsson, Jeff Hearn, Kathy Jones, Nina Lykke and Joyce Outshoorn, thank you all for taking on these tasks and for performing them so well. All three reports from the workshops are included in this volume.

The Sunday morning plenary began with Bryson, Jones and Outshoorn presenting their reports and concluded with a general discussion.

The conference established a good foundation for future collaboration and further research on the subject. Out of the workshop sessions, a number of papers were selected to be considered for publication in one volume of a multi-volume series representing the work of GEXcel as a whole.



I. SUB-THEME 1  
SEXUALITY, LOVE AND SOCIAL  
THEORY





# Chapter 1

## Get Real: Love, Work and the Material Bases of Oppression

*Valerie Bryson*

My GEXcel presentation last year defended a radically reformulated, woman-centred version of Marx's historical materialism as a necessary starting-point if we are to develop effective feminist theory that can both understand existing gender relations and identify the sources of change that can form the basis of realistic political strategies. It also welcomed Anna Jónasdóttir's work on the exploitation of women's "love power" and the unequal exchanges of pleasure and care that this involves. While it did not deny the importance of ideology and culture, it insisted on the need to identify material, "real world" changes, opportunities and constraints.

This paper builds on these ideas by seeking to explore the shifting interconnections between the domain of political economy and the domain of love (Jónasdóttir) or (re)production (Bryson). However, rather than focusing on the intrusion of love power into the workplace identified by Jónasdóttir, the paper turns its focus around to explore the interconnections and contradictions that can arise when the reverse occurs—that is, when procreation, sex and care become part of the market economy. It also suggests that, although sexuality, procreation and care often overlap, they need to be seen as analytically distinct aspects of love power/(re)production whose inter-relationships can be opened up to scrutiny.

### **Love and work: Shifting boundaries and contradictions**

Today, procreation, sex and care are all increasingly and directly exploited as part of the global market economy. Developments in reproductive technology that facilitate paid surrogacy arrangements, so that one woman can be paid to give birth to another's biological child, represent the commodification of women's procreative power in extreme form; the selling of eggs and some forms of transnational adoption raise related issues. The selling of sex is of course a multi-billion dollar international industry that extends beyond overt pornography and prostitution (whether forced or "voluntary") into mainstream entertainment and the commercialised sexualisation of women's and young girls' bodies;

it is central to high levels of consumption needed to sustain economic growth, not only in terms of the sale of sexual services but also the use of sex to sell non sexual goods.

Paid care is also a major growth area in Western societies, as people increasingly live into frail old age while women's greater participation in the paid workforce makes them less available to look after their children or other family members. This care is often provided by migrant workers, displacing the "care deficit" onto their country of origin as they are unable to provide care for their own relatives (Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003, Datta et al 2006).

This commodification of love can be seen as a final stage of alienation. As Marx said, alienation is a feature of the capitalist workplace, where work is often an unsatisfying means to the end of making money that does not express human creativity or meet human needs. While Marx said that workers could feel human only in their private life, in the family, some feminists have argued that alienation for women extends into the home (see for example Foreman 1978). However, this has been a disguised form of alienation, not overtly mediated by money, and family relationships are widely expected to be motivated by love alone. This expectation runs counter to commercialised procreation, sex and care work – once these are for sale, there is nowhere left for us to live as human beings.

This extension of alienation may explain the opposition – often expressed as moral revulsion – to the selling of babies or sex. Such moral revulsion is less strong for paid care, but there is still a sense that this should not be well paid, lest people be attracted to it for the "wrong" reasons – that is, as a means to money, rather than freely undertaken for love. This means that the particularly low level of pay received by care workers reflects the gendered nature of the capitalist economy, which continues to benefit from the exploitation of women's love power. At the same time, the example of paid care also demonstrates the alienating effects of the intrusion of market values into interpersonal relationships, as complex physical and emotional needs are reduced to a tick-list of tasks to be performed, and considerations of cost efficiency override the need for human connection. I have argued elsewhere (Bryson 2007) that a key aspect of this is the imposition of an alien "time culture", as the time associated with caring for others (task-oriented, natural, cyclical, relational, "women's time") is increasingly subordinate to the time of the capitalist market economy (commodified, linear, quantifiable, clock, "men's time"), with negative results for the whole of society.

Commercial sex most frequently involves men buying services from women, and this can clearly involve overt and extreme exploitation of vulnerable women. Care workers, in contrast, are often employed directly or indirectly by other women, and the low pay attached to paid care work also means that it has become a source of entry level employment for migrant workers. This pattern at first sight runs counter to Jónasdóttir's claim that all women share a common structural position in relation to the production and exchange of love: although women who directly employ other women to care for their relatives are not driven by the need to maximise profits and expand their enterprise that drives the capitalist economy, they are involved in an employer/employee relationship, in which their economic interest is to extract as much work and love out of their employee for the lowest possible wage, and the realities of the gender pay gap means that most working women will necessarily seek to minimise their care costs. At the same time, however, both groups of women suffer from the gendered exploitation of their love power in economic systems that require women to earn money while condemning women who do not care for their own family members without pay, failing to recognise that "normal" employees (men as well as women) have families and caring responsibilities and assuming that male workers have access to women's love power. As a recent study of migrant care workers in London argues:

both sets of women are caught in a bigger game whose rules they have not written – one of global inequality in which wages earned as a nanny abroad outstrip those of a middle-class professional in one's own country, in which the gap between the rich and poorer nations is widening without any signs of change leading to people looking for private solutions to public problems, and in which two wages are often needed to maintain a household in the contemporary world.

(Datta et al 2006: 9)

## Conclusions

This brief discussion of some aspects of paid procreative, sexual and care services suggests a series of emerging contradictions, including those between capitalism's need to exploit women's traditional skills and attributes in the labour market and its need for their unpaid work in the family; between the profit motive and the provision of care; and between the human need to be valued for ourselves and the drive to commodify all human relationships. It also illustrates the fluid nature of

any distinction between work and (re)production or political sexuality and political economy, so that to understand the economy, it is necessary to look at the organisation of procreation, care and sexuality, while any investigation of procreation, care or sexuality has to see that these are increasingly part of the economy, as conventionally understood.

These interconnections necessitate a multi-dimensional approach to the understanding of the ways in which women's love power is exploited. Such an approach indicates that any political struggle over the material conditions of (re)production/love power is both important in its own right and entangled with conditions of production/political economy. In practice, this means that increasing women's sexual and procreative choices requires both that they have access to contraception, abortion and reproductive technology and that they can survive economically without access to a male wage. It also indicates that the satisfaction of society's caring needs requires not only a recognition of the human value of care and the skills it involves but also a radical reorganisation of conditions of employment to support a redistribution of care between the sexes.

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# Chapter 2

## Masculinities and Power in Contemporary China – Reflections on the Phenomenon of Bao Ernai (Keeping Mistresses)

*Xingkui Zhang*

The practice known in China as *bao ernai* (keeping mistresses) has attracted great attention in China in recent years. Literally *bao ernai* means “contracting a second wife”. Much research is now available about the liaisons between Chinese men outside the mainland Chinese border and mainland Chinese women (Shih 1998, So 2003, Yeoh and Wills 2004, Tam 2004, Shen 2005). Since the 1990’s, *bao ernai* has become an issue of concern in mainland China because local businessmen and government officials are now the predominant group of men who keep mistresses. This has become another kind of corruption that is closely related to economic corruption, as revealed from some high-profile cases involving high-ranking party and government officials. There are also the concerns about the moral-ethical impact such practice may exert on gender relations in contemporary China.

This paper mainly explores issues of masculinities and power in gender relations in contemporary China, based on an analysis of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995) and the hegemony of men (Hearn 2004). I analyze gender and sexuality in contemporary China as “a set of relations, activities, needs, desires, productive/reproductive powers and capacities, identities, values, institutions, and organizational and structural contexts” (Jónasdóttir 2008:16). It looks into the power asymmetry between the men and women involved in the phenomenon of *bao ernai* in three areas: class, region and political status.

### The issues of masculinity

In contemporary China, though women formally enjoy equal rights with men, men’s dominance is detectable in the distribution of wealth and power, opportunities in education and employment, gender division of labour, and discourses on gender and sexuality. The hegemony of both men and masculinities is reflected in the Chinese culture and in practices

which legitimize men's ownership of women's bodies, sexuality, love and caring, and reproductive capacity.

The development and distribution of wealth in different regions in China, however, are extremely uneven. The rigid household registration (*hukou*) system is still maintaining the urban-rural divide. As a result, there has been a pattern between the *bao ernai* men and their mistresses: men coming from more prosperous classes and regions, often older and established in their careers, and women from poorer classes and regions and much younger or in junior positions.

Research on Chinese men's multiples relations with women indicates that keeping mistresses in this particular fashion of "*bao ernai*" is a culture in the corporate world. The concept of "transnational business masculinity" (Connell 1998) seems to apply here. It is part of the "sexual play" and men have to conform to peer pressure (Shen 2008). Women have been objectified and commoditized when "sexual consumption of women is seen as an expression and display of the wealth, status, and manliness" (Shen 2008). Having mistresses demonstrates men's virility and economic status, and feeds into men's masculinized sense of self (Yoeh and Willis 2004). In this sense, *bao ernai* differs from the common extramarital affair in that men involved in *bao ernai* generally maintain their marital relations with their legal wives while keeping their mistresses as secondary wives or concubines. This may have been the legacy of traditional Chinese society where the rich and powerful could legally keep concubines.

## Objectification and stigmatization of ernais

The Chinese word *bao* (contract, having exclusive right over) in the term *bao ernai* is revealing in that it denotes an economic transaction. That is why some critics of the phenomenon call for criminalization of the practice by categorizing it under prostitution. This is just one example of the objectification in the discourse of gender relations in China today. The lower class and regional background of these women make them easy targets for media and folk portrayals of them as evil "gold diggers" that pose a threat to both the urban wives and their husbands. The sexual liaisons of Hong Kong, Singaporean, and Taiwanese businessmen with Chinese women in China are constructed by these three societies as dangerous to family harmony and national borders. In mainland China, rural migrant women are constructed by the state, the market and the intellectual discourse as second-class citizens who are sexually promiscuous, dangerous, and threatening. To some first wives who have a conflict of interests in relation to the *ernais*, the latter are seen as "thieves and prostitutes".

## The issues of power and women's agency

Most of the cases of *bao ernai* reveal that the main incentive for being an *ernai* is to be rid of poverty. Gender and class relations in China have been changing as part of the global change but what unique is China's urban-rural and east-west gaps. Gender relations should be studied on transnational, national and local levels. A sociological analysis of power relations between people from different regions of Greater China is adopted. There are three different layers in this analysis. First, businessmen from Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore and other parts of the world vs. mainland Chinese women. The former groups are superior in the global division of labor. The second layer is businessmen and party/government officials in the southeast coastal regions vs. women from interior provinces of China. The third layer is the urban men vs. rural women. Except for a few business owners on the southeast coast of China, rural women are the lowest of all social groupings. In such a structure, rural women in the central and western part of China are doubly vulnerable. Low levels of economic development in their own regions force them to migrate to the east coastal regional to seek employment and a better life, but there are various barriers for them to get equal opportunities and treatment in the new place.

Meanwhile, women can also still demonstrate their agency in fighting for their own rights. I cited a young woman who drafted a contract with a rich man for their relationship. There have been both individual women and women's organizations that strongly condemn men's *bao ernai* and call for establishing new laws to prohibit it. There are even former mistresses who are fighting for protection of their rights.

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# Chapter 3

## Journeys of Intimacy: Romantic Scripts and Love Ethics in the World of Tango Tourism

*Maria Törnqvist*

Romance and intimate relationships make up an area where different power regimes operate. Some of them have to do with norms on heterosexuality, others with gender regimes and racial and class-based structures. Referring to an example brought up in Carole Pateman and Charles Mill's speech at the GEXcel conference, history reveals cases such as state regulations against marriage and childbearing between black men and white women as a means of controlling intimate engagement over race-barriers (Mills and Pateman 2008). Today such examples seem horrifying. Still, similar scripts and norm systems structure who we marry, who we engage romantically with and who we fall in love with. For gender scholars this is evident. Still, romance is, at least in a general understanding, an area where we are believed to act spontaneously, emotionally, and outside of social norms. This makes it even more compelling for social scientists to explore how gendered, racialized and class-based layers structure romantic life.

In this paper my interest is the construction of romance within the specific context of western women around sixty travelling to Buenos Aires to dance tango and live adventures on and off the dance-floor with local men. I am concerned with how they make sense of their own and others' romantic encounters, and how they thereby engage in the production of scripts on how to do romance (its practices, emotional sensations, narratives etc.). As a first point, it seems evident that a gendered geography of desire is at play, which makes certain bodies attractive and available.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the attraction that is located within categories such as the Latin lover is often restricted to occasional sexual pleasure and not long term family making projects or marriage. The scripts (re)produced among the women I met, located and played out the

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1 A special thanks to Stevi Jackson for the term "gendered geographies of desire". The point is that different parts of the world are coded with a feminine and/or masculine sexual attraction, at least from western discourses. This implies that European men travel to Asia in search for sex and romance, whereas European women more often go to Africa or Latin-America.

exotified and romantic wishes in an abstract over there, separated from the everyday reality we call “at home”.

What seems at first to be rather naïve stories of adventures and impossible love on foreign ground, thereby turn out to contain moral devices on *how* and with *whom* to engage romantically. Some of the women talk of romances with local men in cynical terms (Ann: “you can have fun but don’t expect anything else”); some with a fear of becoming easily fooled gringos and not the “real women” they want to be together with these men (Rebecca); while others see relationships between western women and Argentine men as mere transactions where material goods are exchanged for intimate moments (Sarah).

All these women are negotiating the relation between romance and the importance of social orders. On the one hand, true romance is supposed to be based on difference (drawing partly from an incest-taboo, do not sleep with your sister). This is what we find in western cultural narratives of impossible love and also what is part of the fantasies of mysterious men on the tango dance-floor. On the other hand, the romance that the tango tourists search for (being loved for whom you are) is threatened by such differences. This is what the women express when they convey their fears of being seen as dollar bills in dating situations with local Argentine men.

On a more general level, their fear can be related to an unspoken norm saying that social orders between lovers should not be made *too visible*. Important to note, however, is that this is exactly a matter of visibility. Social orders do of course shape all kinds of relationships, but we only notice them under certain circumstances. When there is a balance, we no longer see love affairs as intertwined with factors such as economic interests, career ambitions and possibilities to reach a certain social status. In couples made out of people from the same social strata we rarely hear anyone saying that one person chose the other because of her money or looks – even though this is most likely the case. It is only when one part has less (money, social status etc.) that we rise our eyebrows asking what is really going on.

The examples also show something else, namely, that there is an exception to the rule. When it comes to gender relations a (power) imbalance is not only naturalised but, as in the examples I show, even asked for. Some of the women I talked with were drawn to tango partly because of the classic gender roles. Some of them pointed out that they wouldn’t want to live this difference drama in their ordinary lives, but here, in Buenos Aires, they wished to meet men who are real men, that is to say: strong, virile and potent enough to let them be women. I believe that this has a more general bearing. Returning to the differences and

inequalities regarded with scepticism, we find that age diversity awakes more questions than gender differences although we know from statistics that it is not older people who physically abuse younger (or rich people who beat poor), but men who beat women. In spite of this, gender difference is understood as an accepted and even desired foundation for romantic love, while diversities in economic resources, age and national belonging (ethnicity) are seen as possibly problematic.

This sheds new light on the western women's strong will to be acknowledged as *women*. While economic capital seems hard to add to the image of a "pure self" (and a means for being "loved as you are"), being a woman can undergo such transformation. In small-talks with the tango dancing women the joyful statement "He saw *me!*" doesn't mean that he saw her as a "pure subject", but rather as a woman. This evokes questions about the foundations of the romantic scripts (re)produced. Which differences do we accept as a basis for romance and sexual desire? Which opposites are supposed to attract?

Returning to the overall narrative of impossible love, the peak within the Hollywood versions is due to the point when inadequate differences (economy, family) are erased, by strengthening the gendered ones. How come? Because the distinction between woman and man is perceived not only as an acceptable but rather a fundamental difference needed for romantic love to appear at all. This might appear as evident and not much of a point to make. However, my wish is to use the examples in this paper to raise questions that intrigues us to reflect more carefully about the heterosexual basis for romance and how it intersects with other social layers. Once again, I want to state that looking at encounters taking place "over there" also tell us what is going on "right here". Thereby this paper wishes to break with the production of yet another image of victimised people from the south in cynical transactions with rich westerners. Rather my concern is to investigate the understandings that make certain but not other intimate encounters desired; narratives that also form what is normally known of as a naturalised place called "at home". With my work on tango tourism in Buenos Aires I thereby try to move along the lines of scholars such as María Lugones who states the importance of: "thinking about heterosexism as a key part of how gender fuses with race in the operations of colonial power" (2007:186), without losing sight of the diversity and complexity in all kinds of human relationships.

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# Chapter 4

## Materialist Feminism, the Pragmatist Self and Global Late Modernity

*Stevi Jackson*

Giddens (1991, 1992) and Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) argue that late modernity has given rise to highly individualized forms of self-hood and also to transformations in gender and sexual relations. Here I challenge both their conceptualizations of individualization and their ethnocentrism, in part through considering alternative, East Asian modernities. I also argue for a reconceptualization of the self, inspired by G. H. Mead (1934), which is sufficiently flexible to attend to culturally, historically and contextually variable forms of reflexive self-hood. While it is unable to deal with structural aspects of social relations, Mead's theorisation of the self as embedded in the actualities of everyday social practices is congruent with a broadly materialist perspective.

For Mead reflexive self-hood is the basis of all sociality, of *being* social and participating *in* the social. Reflexivity is the capacity to see ourselves as subject (I) and object (me), which rests on a dialogic interplay between self and other. It implies a capacity for agency and active *meaning-making*, but it is always both produced within and bounded by its social context in which the "I" is as much a social product as the "me". The self arises "in social experience" (1934: 140) through "taking the attitude of the other", locating oneself in relation to others. The self-other relation is not oppositional, does not necessarily imply defining oneself *against* the other, but rather involves locating oneself *in relation to* individual and multiple others and therefore allows for variable, contextual ways of being male or female.

Where Mead insists on the fundamental sociality of the self, theorists of late modernity envisage the individual, freed from traditional constraints, creating a "do-it-yourself biography" (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002) or fashioning a "reflexive project of the self" (Giddens 1991). Feminists have challenged these theorists' failure to recognise the unequal distribution of opportunities for reflexivity (Adkins 2002, Skeggs 2003), but in focusing only on forms of reflexivity associated with middle class male privilege they miss the relationality that is fundamental to the reflexive self. Subordinate groups may lack the resources for particular kinds of self-fashioning, but they do not lack reflexive capacities per se. Indeed they may need to be highly reflexive in

order to anticipate the whims of the powerful. Moreover, “traditional” feminine attributes associated with the work of care involve heightened relational reflexivity in response to others’ wants and needs. It is possible, therefore, to conceive of differing forms of reflexivity and reflexive self-hood, facilitated and constrained by social location and occasioned by both choice and constraint.

The changing conditions of late modern sexual self-hood exemplify this social ordering of reflexivity. Western late modernity has been associated with what Giddens calls “plastic sexuality”: the freeing of sexuality from reproduction facilitating new sexual identities and lifestyles and greater sexual autonomy for women. But the situation is far more complex than this narrative of progress implies. Young western heterosexual women, for example, are offered new scripts for autonomous, desiring sexual self-hood, yet face continuing anxieties about sexual dangers. Walking the fine line between not being sexual enough and being too sexual requires a high degree of self-reflexivity and self-surveillance. Reflexivity here is a product of both enablement and constraint, of balancing between opportunities for and restrictions on sexual self-making.

The individualization thesis and the supposed “transformation of intimacy” (Giddens 1992) have been critiqued by western feminists for underestimating the continued importance of social bonds and overestimating gender equality – and are even more problematic when assumed to be universal consequences of modernity. The idea of individualism has a long history in the west; we cannot assume that individualization means the same thing in societies that do not share this heritage or that they are simply “catching up” with the west. Superficially similar trends in the west and in modern East Asia (Japan, South Korea and Taiwan) – e.g. falling rates of marriage, rising divorce rates, falling fertility rates – conceal within them considerable complexity and variability. East Asian modernity had been built on different traditions and a different relationship between tradition and modernity, in part precisely because of the association between the “western” and the “modern”.

East Asian societies are not, in Giddens’ terms, simply “post-traditional”, but are involved in a “complex self-reflexive endeavour to position oneself for *and* against ‘European modernity’ and ‘indigenous tradition’” (Tanabe and Tokito-Tanabe 2003: 4, emphasis in original). One notable feature of the incorporation of tradition into modernity is the Confucian ethic, which survives in many social spheres and is embedded in Asian corporate culture. Confucianism privileges harmony, order and hierarchy, the needs of the collective over the individual, filial piety and women’s obedience to men. The form of self this engenders is profoundly relational – a self defined by one’s place in a hierarchical

order – particularly so for women. Yet women are also active agents in modernity, individually and collectively renegotiating their daily lives in changing conditions and constructing their own ideas of what it means to be modern selves (see Jackson, Liu and Woo 2008).

For example new sexual identities and cultures, including lesbian cultures, are emerging in Eastern cities, seen by Castells as evidence of the decline of “patriarchalism” and of “global trends of identity politics” (2004: 266). While he concedes that Asian lesbianism has been adapted to local cultural conditions, Castells gives insufficient attention to these specificities. In East Asia lesbianism challenges the foundations of a particular form of patriarchal family lineage where to eschew reproductive, marital relationships is to renege on the paramount filial duty of ensuring family continuity and to assert individual desires over the perceived needs of the collective. Being a lesbian in East Asia often means leading a double life. In South Korea this takes a particularly literal form in which lesbians adopt secret names within their own community, unknown to outsiders, while their lesbian friends do not know their “real” names – their names are particular to each of their separate lives (Jackson, Liu and Woo 2007). Here reflexivity operates under both conditions of choice *and* constraint, functions both in the process of being silenced by an oppressive homophobia and in finding a voice as a dissident self. Both selves are reflexively constructed in relation to separate communities of others through which it is possible to maintain a lesbian self and an implied heterosexual self.

Self-reflexivity is not, and cannot be, an entirely individualized project as the modernity theorists would have it. Seeing reflexivity as only a product of choice and freedom misses the relational dialogue between self and other at the heart of the reflexive process. Thus the oppressed can be, and often need to be, as reflexive as the privileged – albeit in different ways. Self-formation depends on its local social contexts and this is vitally important in understanding the diverse forms of gendered sexual selfhood emerging within global modernity. We also, however, need to take account of the dimensions of the social that Mead himself did not consider – in particular the material structural inequalities and broader cultural contexts that shape the forms of reflexivity available to the privileged and the oppressed.

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# Chapter 5

## Lesbian-ness/Gay-ness: The Prospects of Combining Macro and Micro Perspectives in Sexual Identities Research

*Katja Kahlina*

After the emergence of *queer* in the early 1990's as a new perspective on the ways social structures and relations are produced and reproduced, the concept of sexual identity as well as all forms of identity politics became serious targets of critique, since these were said to essentialize and sustain the existing social norms, categories and divisions that constitute the basis of the production and maintenance of social hierarchies. Identifying the category of sexual identity as an oppressive institution and part of normalizing practices, what most queer theorists propose is that we eliminate the whole concept of sexual identity and think about sexuality in terms of acts and erotic pleasures.

However, in the context of the multiplicity and pluralisms of late capitalism that surround the modern individual always in need to build a unitary and coherent "self" (Giddens 1993, Castells 1997) on the one hand, and the domination of a heteropatriarchy based on institutionalized heterosexuality as the only "proper" way of being sexual on the other, I maintain that it is of crucial importance for any critical inquiry not to ignore the persistent existence of lesbian and gay identities as a social reality. Hence, in this paper I combine different bodies of literature, such as materialist feminist perspectives on the social and the theories about the "self" as a reflexive self-narrative, in order to explore the potentials of an approach to sexual identities that rejects the essentialist view on identity as a given without completely abandoning the notion of sexuality-as-identity.

In order to argue for an approach that takes into account the persistence of the category of sexual identity as a product of the political and economic as well as the ideological order, I discuss the main assumptions of new postmodern approaches to subjectivities and language. I also present a critique of the rather culturalist queer view on sexuality posed by Rosemary Hennessy from her materialist feminist perspective (Hennessy 1993b, 2000). I then move to the middle ground theories of

identity, conceptualized as a product of individual self-reflexive practice while nevertheless bounded to a particular socio-cultural repertoire present in the given context, a conceptualization allowing us to move beyond the agency vs. structure divide (Borneman 1992, Somers 1994). Finally, I introduce Tamsin Wilton's (1995) concept of "lesbian-ness", defined as a social process situated in the interface between the social and the personal. I believe that Wilton's introduction of "lesbian-ness" instead of "lesbian" is an excellent example of a reassessment of sexual identity as a practice of identification, which enables us to account for the dynamics in relation to identification and be more specific about the processes we explore. By bringing the above debates together, I aim to endorse the intermediary approach to sexuality-as-identity beyond the essentialism vs. social constructionism divide, which opens up a space for exploration of the particular ways that non-heterosexual people handle the conflicting meanings of their actual social positions in the constant struggle to create a unitary "self".

More specifically, in my paper I propose an approach to sexuality-as-identity that is based on the two, in a way related, lines of reasoning, which I find crucial for carrying out historicized research about sexual identities. Firstly, my assumption is that sexuality is a social totality, which intersects with other social totalities in organizing people's lives in the particular historical moment. Following the logic of historical materialism, I maintain that in the sexual identities research it is important to expose the ways the dominant discourses of sexuality, together with their institutionalized forms, are informed by the political and economic forces present in a particular socio-historical context. By applying this view, we will be able to expose the specific mechanisms of production and maintenance of coercive heterosexuality as a dominant form of sexuality in global capitalism, as well as to think of subjects as multiply positioned, complex and contradictory but at the same time situated in systematically produced subject positions.

Secondly, my aim is to emphasize the conception of sexual identity as a product of the interaction between macro processes of social structuring on the one hand, and individual practices of applying the categories of "lesbian"/"gay" in the processes of self-understanding on the other. In this way, taking into account both the contingencies of identification processes and the relative durability over time that is the effect of the larger processes of social structuring, opens up a space to explore the particular ways and strategies that lesbians and gays employ in order to reconcile the contradictions of identifying as "lesbian/gay" in relation to other modes of belonging and identifications enacted in their daily life practices. In other words, combining the historicized

notion of sexual identities with a re-evaluation of identity in terms of practice of identification will allow us to conceive of an instability of identities without falling into a trap of “clichéd constructivism”, and to move beyond the Butlerian conception of identity as an intrinsically exclusionary practice.

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# Chapter 6

## Relations in Change? Love and Strain when Someone Close is Transsexual<sup>2</sup>

*Helena Bergström*

A lifetime comprehends changes, social relations are always in progress, and identity construction is an ongoing process. Most of the changes are parts of our life-course; continuity and change are two sides of the same coin. When something more radical happens, perhaps unexpected and disruptive or difficult to understand in a specific lived cultural context, the sense-making process will be more obvious. In social theory, that kind of experience in relation to health has been described in terms of “biographical disruption” (Bury 1982), and in relation to gender and sexuality in terms of coming-out stories (Plummer 1995). We always try to make sense of life, but when our situation is more complex and less common we have to do this in a more active or obvious way.

The categorization of people into two kinds of subjects, men and women, as well as the notion of gender as natural and lifelong, are predominant ideas in contemporary society. When gender categories are challenged, questions about identity arise. This is particularly evident for intimate partners of transsexuals, who are subject to dominant discourses of gender, health and close relationships, at the same time as they have their relationship to maintain.

The family, as well as love and partnership, has been widely problematized the last decades (Beck-Gernsheim 2002, Giddens 1992, Roseneil and Budgeon 2004). Social theorists, as Anthony Giddens (1991, 1992), state that specific for the late modern society is the significant meanings our relations have for our identity. Relations building on a choice, especially relations involving sex, strongly actualize dimensions of ethics and identity. In an earlier study I explored how relatives handle and make sense of their experience, when their partner, sibling or parent is transsexual (Bergström 2007). Part of this earlier research of mine forms the starting-point of this paper. It contributes to the GEXcel theme *Sexuality, Love and Social Theory* by presenting an example of how the complex relationship between gender, sexuality, health and kinship may come out in intimate partnerships.

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<sup>2</sup> This paper is to a large extent based on chapter 6 in my thesis *Kön och förändring: kontinuitet och normalitet i anhörigas relationer till transsexuella* (Bergström 2007).

## Variations and commonalities

An analysis of six interviews with individuals who have or have had an intimate relationship with someone transsexual shows a wide variation in ways of conceptualizing and understanding the partner, the relation per se and themselves as gendered and sexual subjects. It shows that different logics intersect in various ways.

One of them (female partner to mtf<sup>3</sup>) describes the process as a total change. She has difficulties in keeping up the relation. She cannot conceive of the transsexual partner with a new gender as being the same person as before, and at the same time she cannot go on with a relation where she is questioned as a heterosexual.

Another interviewee (female partner to mtf) resists the notion that she and her partner are same-sexed. She uses the argument that she is heterosexual. Still, she keeps up the relation; the reservation she does is that they are not same-sexed on a relational level.

For a third one (female partner to ftm) the problem is rather about dislogic between her identification with a lesbian identity and respect for the partner's identification as a man.

A fourth one (male partner to ftm) does not recognize any problem regarding his own identity at all.

The variation could be interpreted in terms of a heteronormative, feministic theoretical framework (Sedgwick 1985) and in relation to different discourses of identity and relations (Beck 2002, Beck-Gernsheim 1995, Giddens 1991, Jamieson 1998). Another aspect to it is that transsexualism in a relation actualises change, while the dominant discourse of gender as life-long does not. Bridging this contradiction requires strategies to reconstruct the common biography and thereby construct normality and the continuity of gender.

Despite the variation of strategies, the sense-making process follows a central notion of authenticity of the transsexual. But, authenticity is also a central notion in relation to the relative and to the relation itself, all in the context of modern society's idea of the "pure relationship" and friendship (Giddens 1992).

In relations where sexual identity is an issue, the sexual identity is obviously involved in the construction of gender. The dilemma is that the partner's own identification as a sexual subject does not follow the change in the gender constellation between the parts in the relation. To some extent, the question of health and love/care encourages the partner to follow the transsexual person's gender identification. The limit is set where the own sexual identification becomes questioned. The

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3 ftm=female-to-male and mtf=male-to-female

importance of the own identity, and its authenticity, is a dominant aspect in the process of gender construction.

## To summarize

A consequence of transsexualism in partner relations is conflict of sexual identity. The material shows a wide range of solutions, where some relatives change their former identification as sexual subjects, while others are unwilling to change their sexual identity and consequently holds on to the past gender of the transsexual. In one case, the relative did not experience any conflict and accepted the present gender of the transsexual while keeping the own former sexual identity.

The point here is that the relatives' own identifications have substantial bearing on how they understand the process of someone close being transsexual, which means that gender and sexuality are obviously constructed in relations. The close relatives' work to identify themselves as well as their partner and the relation is made in various ways. The demand for authenticity in their partners' process also applies to their own process and identity.

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# Chapter 7

## New Russian Women and Sexual Biographies

*Anna Temkina*

In this paper I summarize changes in the relationship between gender and sexuality based on biographical interviews collected in Russia in the 1990's and 2000's.

### Methodological outlines

Sexuality is analyzed as one of the dimensions of the multilevel gender order. Analytically the following structures are differentiated: power structures; division of labor or work in public and private sphere; sphere of cathexis or social construction of intimacy, emotions, and sexuality; symbolic relations (Connell 1987, 2000). The social organization of sexuality constitutes the basic level of gender inequality and imbalance: "The socio sexual system [...] must be explained in terms of itself rather than being reduced to something else" (Jónasdóttir 1994: 80).

### Sexual scripts: Three generations of Russian women

In order to reconstruct sexual biographies of the women of three generations (born in the 1940's, 1960's, and mid-1970's) in Russia, I use the concept of sexual scripts. Cultural and interpersonal scripts of sexual behavior (appropriate for a milieu, generation, age, status, and gender) frame the individual life stories about experiences of sexual life. Based on the material from biographical interviews, I found six main themes around which narratives about sexual life were organized in the mid-1990's:

- the *pronatal* script, where sexual life is described as reproductive/family life;
- the *romantic* script, where sexual life is interpreted as an expression of emotions and feelings;
- the *communicative (based on friendship)* script, where sexual life is described as a way of informal (e.g. intellectual or friendly) communication;

- the *approval of gender identity (achievement)* script, where sexual life is described as the means of women's self-realization.
- the *sensual (hedonistic)* script, where sexual life is interpreted as an orientation towards sexual pleasure;
- the *market instrumental* script (or *exchange of benefits*), where sexual life is described as oriented towards material or other benefits

Such scripts were reconstructed in the stories of all age groups, but we were able to define the generational changes according to the typical stories that emerged in different generations. Marital pronatal frames were characteristic of the lives of the older generation born in the 1940's. For the late Soviet generation (born in the 1960's), sex means "living by passion" (romantic script), "tusovka (milieu) and friendship" (communicative scripts) and gender identification (achievement script). Post-soviet women (born in the mid-1970's) report orientations towards pleasure (hedonistic script) as well as consumption (instrumental script) in their sexual lives.

All of these scripts are gendered. Women of the Soviet generations have a predominantly passive position in their narratives, and describe themselves as objects of male desire. Their sexual life is described as ruled by men, by nature and by conditions. Informants single out the following characteristics of these conditions: a limited access to contraception, a lack of sexual knowledge, a negative attitude towards sex, and lack of private space (Rotkirch 2000). The sexual lives of the women of Soviet generations are described as controlled by "fortune" (destiny) within the pronatal, romantic and achievement frames. In the late Soviet official discourse women were also represented as passive recipients of sexual activity, whereas men were described as active agents responsible for the quality of sexual life.

## The post-Soviet generation: New young women, gender strategies and gender boundaries

Beginning in the late 1980's a rapid change of the discursive and institutional situation with regard to sexuality took place in Russia. New cultural possibilities for the interpretation of sexuality appeared, and institutional reflexivity had changed. Knowledge about sexuality and contraception became available, limited sex education appeared, and official control of intimacy declined. We argue that in the 2000's gender practices are undergoing changes in contemporary Russia. Young women have become reflexive and active. Women with higher education, young professionals and residents of large cities are constructing their futures by mobilizing all the resources available to them.

According to our research, the current trend in the practices of the educated class of the younger generation is towards planning and control of sexual life and reproductive behavior, which includes the conscious choice of sexual and marital partners, responsible sexual behavior, and an informed choice of contraceptives. A new generation of post-Soviet women describe themselves as having agency in their sexual lives. Pleasure and orgasm have become the main articulated goals of sexual relationships. New sexual scripts are reported by the informants: the hedonistic script, oriented towards bodily pleasure, and the instrumental script, within which sex is oriented towards an exchange of benefits. Women also report that they still face structural constraints. They use elaborate special strategies to assert themselves.

In the biographies of young educated women in Russia, we found two types of gendered sexual strategies: “*sexual life as a project*” and “*sexual life as destiny*.” In the first case women became active and rational in the organization of their sexual and reproductive practices. They are no longer passive recipients within intimate and sexual relations. Women who view sexual life as an active “project” are oriented towards partnership in their relationships (communicative or hedonistic scripts). In the case of understanding sexuality as “destiny” women continue to imagine their sexual lives in the same fashion as their mothers did, describing this realm as something which does not depend on them, but depends on men, God, circumstances, etc. The Soviet legacy and a lack of resources and appropriate institutional support (education, medicine, contraceptives, etc.) present structural barriers which impede responsible practices in reproductive and sexual behavior. In this understanding of sexuality gender boundaries are perpetuated and the exchange of benefits becomes very important (instrumental and achievement script). Women often fail to establish egalitarian relationships. They do not receive support from their partners and prefer to focus on their own individual decisions and responsibility.

Nor is the institutional infrastructure conducive towards partnership. Gender polarization in Russia facilitates the interpretation of sexuality as a resource within the instrumental script. Women and men describe each other with the terms “use”, “consumption”, and “manipulation” and often consider sexual relations to be unequal exchanges. Women expect from men material support and their involvement in an instrumental role in return for sex and household services. Therefore they invest efforts in their appearance and sexual display in order to attract “appropriate men” who will follow their demands. Women do “the gender performance”, where their real possibilities are hidden under the mask of a helpless

person. They perform the role of those who need men's help, and their gender display demonstrates emphasized sexuality and weakness.

Russian women have access to the public sphere, but they lack resources and legitimate power within the symbolic order of cultural patriarchy. Women use an indirect mechanism of influence or "non-direct" power, which is situational and presupposes the flexible identity that can be used for the achievement of their goals. When patriarchy and gender traditionalism are reconsidered, as occurred in the late Soviet and post-Soviet Russia (through the interrogation of structural inequality, cultural patriarchy, and sexism in public discourse), women are forced to negotiate with their identities and to use their sexuality instrumentally, as a resource. At the same time, a hedonist discourse on sexuality and liberal practices forces women to be demanding to their partners. However, negotiation and partnership continue to be fragile without institutional support or the promotion of gender equality.

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## II. SUB-THEME 2 POWER AND POLITICS: A FEMINIST VIEW





# Chapter 8

## “How is it done?” On the Road to an Intersectional Methodology in Feminist Policy Analysis

*Malin Rönnblom*

My intention in this paper is to try to generate an outline for a more explicit methodology when doing intersectional policy analysis, and also to discuss how an intersectional thinking about power relations could both challenge and contribute to feminist policy studies. How to understand classism, racism, ethnocentrism and heterosexism in relation to sexism? Or how to understand sexism, classism, racism and ethnocentrism in relation to heterosexism?

In the context of intersectionality, one main question has been how different power relations should be related to each other. Could one dimension be given priority in relation to another? There are several texts that question the possibility of “joining all power relations in one and the same analysis” (see for example Yuval-Davies 2006). I want to draw attention to what I see as a creative input from feminist queer theory, and especially the ways that queer feminism refuses static identities and instead focus on the productions of (hetero)normativities. Through a genealogical approach and through seeing gender/sexuality in terms of performativity (see Butler 1990), as constantly in the making, it is possible to shift focus from specific “axes of domination” to how different subject positions are constructed and how gender/sexuality is/are recruited in this process. Following this approach gender in itself could be seen as constructed through other dimensions like ethnicity/race, sexuality, class and ability (see also Bredström 2006).

My main focus in this paper is how to handle intersectional ambitions in relation to *policy analysis*. Going through some of the literature I have concluded that most studies using the concept of intersectionality and/or combining several dimensions of power tend to use methods like interviews, participatory observations or other forms of more “close” case studies. Although there could be similarities between for example interview studies and policy studies regarding the use of discourse analysis or placing the study in a social constructivist tradition, there are also differences, differences which I to a large extent relate to how *context* play a role in research. My ambition here is to use space as a way

of contextualising policy analysis, and in that way give guidance to both how to look for and how to understand different power relations and their mutual production in an empirical material.

My suggestion is that the researcher needs to engage in creating imaginative places and spaces (see Massey 2005). By this I do not mean that the researcher should make up this her (him)self, but that there is a need of posing questions to the text in order to illuminate how place and space are being constructed. In this way it is possible to contextualise the subject positions which also are constructed in the same text. What kind of geographic imaginations are used in relation to the policy at hand? And what kind of political imaginations of space are constructed in the same policy?

Thinking of the relations between space, politics and power in policy analysis give, in my view, new possibilities to the intersectional dimension of the analysis. How are different subject positions constructed in a spatial manner? Who has agency in different constructions of political space? The studies of how space is constructed make it possible to see subtle tinges of the productions of power and also take several dimensions of power into account.

In her book *In a Queer Time and Space. Transgendered Bodies. Subcultural Lives* (2005) Judith Halberstam shows how dominant understandings of both time and space, for example in relation to reproduction and family, are heteronormative time/space constructs giving a particular way of doing reproduction and family live a privileged position. To highlight how time and/or space in themselves are normative constructions is in my view a useful methodology to actually do an intersectional policy analysis, because focus is placed on what most analyses regard as self-evident aspects of policy.

My suggestion is that using this understanding of space as an analytical point of departure gives the researcher the possibility to highlight how space itself is produced both “in the text and outside the text”, i.e. to include an additional form of contextualisation in the analysis. This could be summarised in three dimensions of contextualisation:

- How has this policy area been produced over the years? (contextualising the policy area in relation to the historical development, the more “traditional way” of contextualising an analysis)
- What kind of text is this? (contextualising the text as such; who has written it, in what purpose? etc)
- How is space produced in the text? (analysing the spatial dimension of the text, how space is produced within the text)

Through answering these questions the notion of contextualisation is expanded. This expansion increases the understanding of the text as a whole and places the constructions of different subject positions in a spatial context inside the text itself.

An analytical inclusion of space in policy analysis could also be understood as of way of situating the analysis, a way to understand knowledge productions that I find useful (see Haraway 1988). I believe that there is a great need for reflexivity in feminist research, not the least in relation to ourselves as researchers. It is important to scrutinize one's own routine thinking, one's primary concepts and theoretical understandings – and also one's own position as a researcher.

An important aspect of reflexivity is how we understand the meanings of the different categories and power relations at hand. To pose the right questions is one thing. To understand the answers is another. How do we understand the answers when we try to scrutinize how gender, ethnicity/ race, sexuality and class are constructed in a policy text?

In her article of travelling theories Gudrun-Axeli Knapp illustrates the different meanings of class and race in a German context related to an Anglo-American context showing how important it is to acknowledge the different connotations and usages of these concepts in order to understand one's material (Knapp 2005). She points to the necessity of avoiding to create some kind of static notions of different power relations. Both the meanings and the discourses of for example gender shift depending on context, not the least in relation to different national understandings.

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# Chapter 9

## “Why are You Doing This to Me?” Identity, Ideology and War-Time Sexual Violence

*Cynthia Cockburn*

In this article I examine sexual violence in war, its impacts and the relations of power between perpetrator and victim in which it occurs. Both war itself and wartime rape are, despite their extreme violence, social phenomena. Participants have purposes and their actions convey meanings. It makes sense therefore to ask sociological questions about war-time rape. What kind of relationship do perpetrators of this kind of sexualized onslaught, whether it is conceived of as a war strategy or as a desirable, legitimate, or tolerable accompaniment to war, envision themselves as having with the victim community and in particular with its women? It is at root, I argue, a question about identity. How do they see themselves, how do they see them?

As Lisa Price suggests, we should “look for the man in the soldier-rapist” (Price 2001).

Any individual or group can only understand themselves, or be understood by others, through “identifying” their positioning within relations of power. The dimensions of power are multiple, and mutually constitutive. They are intersecting. Certain dimensions or axes of power and powerlessness are of key importance in the social environments in which wartime rape occurs. Primary is gender. Power relations in patriarchy accord men, in certain contexts, entitlement to access to women’s bodies. A second is ethnicity – in which culturally-defined collectivities are located in relations of dominance and subordination. A further relevant axis is economic power – and a fourth is the power that derives from being part of the hierarchical military system itself. A huge sense of authority comes from moving among an unarmed civilian population, as a soldier, in a group, carrying a weapon. Thus, the positionality of the soldier, relative to the unarmed, ethnically “different”, often poor and female “other”, must be seen as potentiating the practice of military rape.

It is not at every moment of every war however that mass rape is possible. It is important to consider both opportunity and permission. In trench warfare or siege for instance the attacking army are not in direct

contact with a vulnerable population. In the advance of an invading army across enemy terrain, by contrast, there is plentiful opportunity for rape, as also in ethnicized civil war where the proximity of two groups in an ethnic power relation makes mass sexual violence eminently possible and likely. However, military commanders, and the national or military juridical regime that governs their engagements, do sometimes proscribe soldiers' raping, and even punish it – occasionally with the death penalty. While this sometimes reduces the prevalence of rape in a given campaign, it appears not to prevent it entirely (Bourke 2007, Brownmiller 1975).

A number of authors have gone on to ask the question why, when the opportunity exists and soldiers are not impeded by draconian injunctions against rape, rape does not always occur. Robert Hayden considers “rape avoidance”, suggesting that sexual violence is minimized when the two conflicted populations know they must continue to live in proximity after war (Hayden 2000). Elizabeth Wood examines several reasons for variation in the incidence of war-time sexual violence. She suggests that we should consider raping armies as complex organizations and examine their structure closely. She suggests a comparison of the working of ideological, religious or other cultural mores may be significant (Wood 2006).

Following this train of thought, anecdotal evidence, research on related themes and now one particular empirical study (Nitsan 2005) suggest that the Israeli Defence Forces are inhibited from raping Palestinian women, despite opportunity to do so, by a strong moral injunction that represents Jewish purity as defiled by physical congress with such women. Historical material suggests that the Vietcong army did not rape the Vietnamese village population suspected of supporting the USA and Government of S. Vietnam. Again a moral ideology was at work, effective, as in Israel, down to the level of the male-bonded battle unit, but this time a positive one of respect for the peasant masses (Giap 1974, Henderson 1979).

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# Chapter 10

## Bodies That Challenge: Paradigms of Immunization

*Fiorenzo Iuliano*

My research aims at analyzing the question of homonormativity as a biopolitical problem – it has been chiefly discussed in sociological terms so far – and at investigating the possible strategies capable of countering its homogenizing move along different and alternative re-communitarizing lines of flight.

A powerful key term I found in order to read the complex question of homonormativity is the notion of *immunitas* or immunization, theorized by the Italian philosopher Roberto Esposito. The notion of “munus”, from which the *immunitas* derives, stands for a socio-political obligation that every citizen is compelled to comply with; it follows that *immunitas* expresses the condition of being dispensed with the “munus”, with the duty that must be observed and accomplished on behalf of the community.

I am reflecting on the possibility of reasoning in terms of *immunitas* and *communitas* about mechanisms and dynamics of gender and power; on the other hand, I am investigating the possible reactions of the subjects and the bodies against which a strategy of immunization is waged, reflecting on the viability of possible, alternative ways of re-communitarization. The mechanism of the immunizing reactions has a circular configuration: it is important to react to the supposed enemy of the community in the same way as he or she has previously acted, breaking the same rules and social connection he or she is accused of breaking. In other words: instancing a dynamics of sanctioning the anomalous behavior through the prevention and anticipation of its very fault, namely, the breaking of a given social or communitarian pact.

Is it possible to look at the recent gay politics in terms of a similar cautionary and schizoid mechanism of immunization? How does homonormativity affect both material lives of queer people and their (self)perception and representation?

The liberal celebration of the principles of universal citizenship, through its tolerant approach to subjects, regardless of their constitutive differences, obliterates the urgency of destabilizing any normative regime, so strongly felt in the past by feminist organizations and queer movements. Homonormative political attitude, for its part, tends to

completely blot out the sexual divide among persons as a differentiating factor, asserting the need for laws and norms capable of granting rights to persons without explicitly referring to their sexual identity or orientation, and thus entirely erasing the problem of sexual difference and its strong ethical impact and historical force.

Thinking of homonormativity and its possible translation in terms of legislative norms and ethical instances of subjectivity could lead us to even more complicated impasses, if we are confronted with single instances of law that, rather than simply recognizing gay and lesbian positionalities as unproblematic sexual identities, in a broader, undifferentiated range of sexual possible orientations, try to valorize or protect gay and lesbian people against external assaults or discriminations. In this case, besides the disputable problem of homonormativity in all its nuances, the issue of immunity reappears, complicated by the strong linguistic implications of queer thought.

I would like to examine a particular case study to start from. In the last term, Italian parliament was about to pass a law about homophobia: it would have been the first time an Italian institution had discussed a law that would punish homophobic assaults.

If we accept Esposito's theory, according to which biopolitical power operates through immunization strategies, we should put the anti-homophobic claims under the homonormative, which means, biopolitical, rubric, and reject it for this reason. In so doing, however, a paradoxical conclusion should be inferred: the queerest of positions (the anti-homonormative one) would be as strong in criticizing the anti-homophobic law as the liberal (that is to say, neutral), or even the conservative (that is to say, homophobic) ones, reaching the same assumptions and acting in the same ways as the traditional enemies of queer movement. That would be the case in which, by way of political radicalism, a conservative position would be instanced.

There could be, for instance, a linguistic limit in the constitution of a queer agency that is based on a different, if not opposite, understanding of the common function and usage of language and of linguistic tools. And such a difference could pave the way for unexpected and destabilizing conclusions, since it would question, for example, the very constitution of gay and lesbian subjectivity, including the articulated cobweb of relations given by the psychic mechanisms of identification and refusal that are impossible for the law to manage. If we consider a Lacanian theory of the process of subjectification, the immune power of the law immediately shows its authoritarian stance and its capability to destroy what it declares to protect, doing that, paradoxically, through the very act of its protection. Also from this perspective homonormativity turns

out to be one of the manifold aspects of biopolitical power, since it installs its power in the linguistic fields of identification, grasping the sphere of the imaginary, in which the constitution of the subject takes place, and reshaping it according to the standardized paradigms of its fundamental laws. Biopolitics, thus, would affect not only the material lives of the bodies, but also the realm of the imaginary, namely, the very moment in which a subject defines itself in individual terms through a process of regulatory identification.

Furthermore, the very act of sanctioning a behavior through the law amounts to its inscription in a regime of discipline and regulation that would be, as such, normative. From this point of view, the anti-discrimination laws should be termed as homonormative simply because they are part of a disciplining paradigm that uses the force of the law to create a clear and well defined order among queer bodies and behaviors and their potential offenders; they would show, thus, their intrinsic complicity with the liberal inclusive assumption of right and law.

The laws against homophobia, through the very act of naming the gay and lesbian subject for the first time in Italian legislative and juridical tradition, on the one hand preserve these very subjects, evaluate them, and state that they have to be recognized as political subjects and natural bearers of rights; but, on the other hand, they succeed in arresting that linguistic productivity that constitute the pivotal kernel of queer and queerness, so deploying its subversive stance and arresting its infinite and indefinite performative potentialities. This question, in my opinion, must not be underplayed, since the effect of the law, once transferred into the actual and daily experience of queer persons, would prove all its contradictory, embarrassing value.

For instance, what role has to be ascribed to the norms that sanction discriminating expressions against gay and lesbian persons if we consider the cases in which the offensive term is willingly assumed in order to defy the traditional configuration of the subject? Literally taken, the very use of the word “queer” would need sanctioning from the perspective of an anti-homophobic law, because of its originally negative connotation.

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# Chapter 11

## The Making of a Political Woman

*Gunnel Karlsson*

“I don’t notice that I’m a woman” she [Margaret Thatcher] once remarked, “I regard myself as the Prime Minister”.

(Genovese 1993)

In June 1956 the English Queen Elisabeth II visited Stockholm together with her husband. When the queen arrived by boat she was greeted by the Swedish government; all cabinet ministers including Ulla Lindström, the only female minister, were waiting at the quay together with 200.000 spectators. When the queen disembarked all the representatives of the Swedish government bowed politely. Afterwards, a British journalist interviewed Ulla Lindström, asking why she did not make a curtsy to the queen. She explained this was not a custom in Sweden; reverences were done only by those belonging to the court. But the Swedish royal princesses had been curtsying, the journalist objected. Lindström explained again: they were part of the court, she was not, and since she met the king every week without curtsying she did not find it appropriate to curtsy for a much younger royalty from another country – no matter her charms. A veritable quarrel broke out in mass media and the papers wrote that Ulla Lindström was given “boxes on the ear” in the English press for her scandalous misbehaviour. In her diary Ulla Lindström wrote that a war had broken out between those who were in favour of a curtsy and those against (which, to simplify, turned out to be royalists against anti-royalists) (Lindström 1969).

The Lindström family got lots of telephone calls and letters filled with hate and contempt, mostly from strong royalists. Ulla Lindström found it a very frightening experience to meet all the reactions on this “stupid question of etiquette”, as she wrote in her diary (Lindström 1969: 105). To her critics, however, it was a much more serious question than one of etiquette. Did she think she was superior to the queen?

The episode is interesting in terms of gender performance: as a woman Ulla Lindström was expected to make a curtsy, as a cabinet minister she bowed. What her critics found most upsetting was the fact that she, being a woman, did not show subordination. Of course her

male colleagues never experienced a similar dilemma, the bow for them being a “natural” gesture.<sup>4</sup>

The opening quotation about Margaret Thatcher is, together with the “curtsy incident,” chosen to illustrate some of the paradoxical situations occurring when women enter a political domain created for and dominated by men (the “manliness” being invisible or taken for granted). The (in this male dominated setting) “deviant” female body is present but not recognized, neither Margaret Thatcher nor Ulla Lindström are actually performing gender. Dressed like women they seem rather to be performing a ministerial role, a role that is gendered, marked by masculinity. What is the implication of the necessity to behave like a politician when you are a woman and the role as politician is coded as masculine? Will you try to create a third alternative, i.e. starting the process of making or acting as a “political woman”? But what is a political woman? The concept of “political man” is well known, but what/who does it stand for? Should it be understood as a theoretical concept signifying humankind, or does it actually include concrete men and women? If there is a “political man”, is there also a “political woman”?

Originally it was the reading of Toril Moi’s book *Simone de Beauvoir: The Making of an Intellectual Woman* that inspired my first questions on the making of – not an intellectual – but a political woman (Moi 1996). Toril Moi investigates how Simone de Beauvoir created herself as an intellectual woman in a society where the role as an intellectual was designed for men only. When I, in the 1990’s, was writing the history of the Swedish Social Democratic Women’s Federation, I had the opportunity to study both Inga Thorsson, chair of the women’s federation, and her friend and colleague, cabinet minister Ulla Lindström, and their mutual efforts to be regarded as “political women”, i.e. persons who went into politics as subjects with the ambition to have an impact on the policy of the party (Karlsson 1996).<sup>5</sup> What I found most striking was their insightful way to handle the resistance they met in the male dominated party. The women really made the most of their rather limited action space.

When I looked for an answer to the question why the action space seemed limited, I turned to Toril Moi and to the Swedish political scientist Maud Eduards. In *The Making of an Intellectual Woman* Toril

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4 Ulla Lindström did however get support from Prime Minister Tage Erlander and foreign minister Östen Undén. Erlander, who was anti-royalist, made a short comment in his diary noting the “curtsy crisis” had given Ulla Lindström welcome publicity and in his diary Östen Undén wrote that he found it ridiculous if the female cabinet minister should start curtsying the Swedish king at the weekly cabinet meetings (Erlander 2002: 97, Undén 2002: 522).

5 Ulla Lindström was cabinet minister for the Social Democratic Party 1954-66.



Moi emphasizes de Beauvoir's way of theorizing the gender difference in *The Second Sex* (Moi 1996: 206). What is special for women living in patriarchy is, according to de Beauvoir, the conflict between women's status as free and autonomous human beings and the fact that they are socialized into a world where men look upon them as others, as objects for their subjects. Maud Eduards has formulated it somewhat differently when she says that according to de Beauvoir the core of the oppression of women lies in the fact that women are denied both the ability to act for themselves and an action space (Eduards 2002). Applying this way of thinking to Ulla Lindström and Inga Thorsson, one could say that their way of seeing themselves as autonomous political actors collided with the gendered expectations then prevalent among men (both within and outside of the Swedish Social Democratic Party) regarding women's role in politics. Inga Thorsson and Ulla Lindström did not, however, accept the limitations of their action space and it is their construction of themselves as "political women" that I will focus on in my investigation.

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# Chapter 12

## Sexual Politics and Globalization: Triangulation of Relationships among Boss, Wife and Women of Taishang

*Bih-Er Chou*

This paper attempts to address the relationships between gender and globalization by examining the changes and dynamics in the division of labor between the husband and wife of the Taiwanese business family, Taishang<sup>6</sup>, resulting from the relocation of the family business to China. Specifically, this paper tries to answer the following questions: What changes in the roles of boss-wives<sup>7</sup> in the production, reproduction and private spheres when the family business is relocated transnationally? How do the boss-wives cope with the changes and negotiate their new identities?

Based on the findings of previous research of boss-wives and family businesses in Taiwan and insights from studies of globalization and sexuality and international division of labor, this paper extends the concept of the division of labor or production relation to a three-dimensional framework. Gender relations are examined in production (public), reproduction (domestic) and sexual intimacy (private) in order to capture more fully the sexual politics in the negotiation between wife and husband of Taishang families and among Taiwanese wives and Chinese women, called the triangulation of sexual politics.

The subjects of this study are mainly the boss-wives of Taiwanese businesses in Dongguan, a coastal city in south-eastern China. The data for this analysis came from a questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews with boss wives conducted from winter through spring 2007. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about the socio-demographic backgrounds and the history and experiences of relocation of the boss-wives. The in-depth interviews with a selected sample of ten boss-wives currently residing in either China (eight) or Taiwan (two)

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6 Taishang = Taiwanese businessmen who own factories or run businesses in China but of whom the majority still have their residency and family in Taiwan

7 boss-wife = the wife in a medium or small family business formally owned by the husband but where the wife often plays the role of managing behind the scene, by taking care of the daily tasks of both the family and the business (except for the production)

were conducted to obtain detail information about the decision-making process and the experiences of their relocation. Questions about the extra-marital sexual liaisons of Taishang men and how the women coped with it were also included in the interview.

These are some major findings.

(1) In contrast to popular impressions, transnational relocation of family businesses *did not* alter very much the employment status and productive profile of the boss-wives. Not only did almost all of the boss-wives maintain the same, if not more, active productive role; they also got a more visible and formal position after the relocation. Expansion of the production scale, complete overlapping of the factory and the family's living space, and the husbands' excessive pursuit of sexual pleasure were reasons suggested. Although there was no overall decline in their collective productive profile, when the organization of the relocated business was transformed from sole ownership to equal partnership ownership, the boss-wives were usually required to withdraw from active and formal participation in the organization.

(2) The low cost of women's labor in the relocation area and the expansion of the family business and its resultant accumulation of profit contributed to benefit the boss-wives by relieving them from domestic/reproduction duties and improving their class position from middle class (in Taiwan) to upper class (in Dongguan). This in turn seemed to widen their roles in the public sphere beyond production to social participation in voluntary organizations, community services and charity work.

(3) As to the sexual effect of globalization as manifested in the dynamics of intimate relationships between Taiwanese business men and wives in China, it is commonly observed that extra-marital, casual sexual liaisons between Taiwanese business men and young local Chinese women are common and inevitable, especially among the earlier wave of Taishangs. Affordability and easy accessibility of sexual entertainment and services provided by the commercialization of sexuality in coastal Chinese cities were believed to be the main reasons, although the separation from the family gave these men additional excuses.

(4) Various defensive, rather than offensive, strategies were employed by Taiwanese boss-wives to negotiate their positions in the new context of sexual politics. For example, using the principle of "seeing is believing" as the criterion for judging their husbands' loyalty; weighing economic security and power against intimacy when contemplating marriage options; performing "exaggerated femininities" when interacting with husbands to "become more feminine" in private and to give men "a face" in public. Finally, Taiwanese boss-wives were advised "not [to] emphasize family too much", to go beyond the confines of marriage/

family and expand their social contacts in order to build up social capital and better negotiate their position in the new context of sexual politics.

## Conclusions

Globalization of capital via relocation of Taiwanese family business in China produced different effects on husbands and wives. For husbands, the expansion of production and accumulation of profit, in conjunction with the new economy of intimacy, reinforced the sexual freedom and facilitated an emergence of a hegemonic masculinity among these new transnational business men in globalizing cities. For wives, the structural expansion of production and the intensified overlapping of family and factory life often resulted in their activity and visibility in production. They were relieved from domestic responsibilities by hiring low cost labor from local Chinese women and thereby created an international division of domestic labor.

However, in the private sphere of sexual intimacy, the international division of female labor is not necessarily in the same order. The exaggerated femininity embodied by local young Chinese women has caused serious challenges to Taiwanese wives. The power dynamics in sexual intimacy were not always in favor of the wives in the new ecology of sexual politics. Although the sexuality of young Chinese females was denounced, a sense of insecurity and a feeling of powerless were nevertheless created in the minds of the Taiwanese wives. Various approaches and discursive strategies were developed to negotiate their new sexual identities in everyday life. Is this an indication of a development of a new type of global femininity? It is a question worth closer examination in future research.

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# Chapter 13

## Sexualized Interactions in the Workplace in Modern Russia: By the Example of Sexual Harassment

*Olga Yaschenko*

I consider that there is a very thin line between flirting and harassment in modern Russia. Northern Americans and Europeans are stricter than Russians when they interpret certain behavior as sexual harassment. Workplaces in modern Russia have more eroticism to it in male-female friendships; flirtation, for example, is very common among co-workers. As I see it, flirting as an erotic type of behavior is the most indicative action in this Russian/abroad discussion.

According to western (American in this case) definitions unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment. Verbal remarks are included in this list too. But in post-Soviet sexual culture these are interpreted as essential elements of inter-personal communication. So, the main question of this paper is about borders between flirting and sexual harassment, about definitions of sexual harassment both by law and by respondents' opinions, and about young Russian women's reactions to sexual harassment.

I consider that in a sexualized conflict situation in the workplace, women try to manage both their own and the man's feelings to avoid conflict (I define sexual harassment as a conflict situation). They use manipulative strategies because of an absence of formalized protective rules.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze sexual harassment in the workplace in modern Russia within the framework of communication and emotional management. Therefore, I will answer two research questions: *In what way do women do negotiation and relational and emotional work when they are in a sexualized conflict situation in the workplace? What is the main point of this work? Which forms does this emotional work take? And why does it take these specific forms?*

Anna Temkina and Elena Zdravomyslova (2007) analyze "power of the weak" and "power of the strong". The researchers maintain that in patriarchal society "women's power" is "power of the weak" ("power of weaks"). This power exists in the sphere of cathexis (R.W. Connell

1987) (or in family and intimate relationships), where authority positions take an important place. As for sexual harassment, power positions in conflicted sexualized interactions are unequal and women lack legitimate power. In that case they actively use emotional management and relational skills (or they do emotional work).

Arlie Hochschild (1979, 1983) maintains that emotion can be and often is subject to acts of management. Emotional management is the type of work it takes to cope with the rules of feeling. Hochschild asserts that both men and women do emotional work, in private life and at work. But emotional work for men and women is important in different ways. Women are a subordinate social stratum, and this has four consequences.

As Michael Kimmel (2000) has put forward, sexual harassment is one of the chief ways that men resist gender equality in the workplace. I definitely think that sexual harassment is a source for creating and determining power positions. In my opinion there is not a substantial legislative base to define sexual harassment and discrimination in modern Russia. Therefore, there is lack of knowledge of the legality of different forms of this behavior.

Hypothesis: If in a conflict situation in the workplace sexual harassment incidents take place and women feel a lack of legitimate power, if they do not have a possibility to solve this conflict by using formalized rules, they solve the conflict by doing emotional work: they use their negotiation and relational skills which are, in point of fact, manipulative activities.

My empirical material includes 14 semi-structured interviews and four focus groups. I collected this data with my colleague Olga Snarskaja in a project titled *A Survey of Young Russian Females on Gender-Based Discrimination*. This project is conducted in collaboration with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (principal investigator Dr. Sarah E. Mendelson, co-investigator Dr. Theodore Gerber).

20- to 30-year-old Russian females with university or college education took part in the research. Their main activity was studies, work or both. There were no essential differences in the women's opinions on incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace.

The respondents offer the following answers to incidents of sexual harassment in the workplace (some of them have own experiences, others know about the problem from their friends).

The first way to handle sexual harassment I identify as *settling the problem in a friendly way*. The women avoid conflict by means of using "polite" and "peaceful" strategies of negotiation with a harasser. The women's capacity to manage feelings and to do "relational" work is

an important resource. The women do an emotional work where the main point consists in an action – “to have a talk with boss”, “to talk to the point of peaceful agreement”. Women more often react to gender subordination by making defensive use of relational skills.

Secondly, women can react to sexual harassment by locating the problem to the “joke level”. To disguise the problem is another way of solving the conflict. On one hand, the problem is thereby located to the joke level, but on the other hand it is nonetheless pronounced. In other words, the woman wants to articulate the problem to solve it, but since she lacks legitimate power she cannot seek to solve the problem openly. Instead, she draws a veil over the problem. This is a kind of manipulative strategy.

The third way I identify as “boyfriend strategy”. These actions on the whole do not relate to emotional work. But they are very prevalent when women feel their lack of legitimate power. The “boyfriend strategy” is something like a demonstration or self-presentation: I’m not able to interact sexually with you. I want to, but I can’t because I’m married or have a boyfriend. This is manipulation too. It is a symbolic way of demonstrating men’s protective power.

Finally, I want to analyze a situation of sexual harassment where emotional work is not effective, where the “negotiation strategy” does not work. What do women do in that case? Firstly, they can react to the harassment by fighting or using rude words. But in this case the harasser is always a colleague, never a boss. Secondly, the women can use the “leaving work strategy”. When women use these more rude strategies right away, while bypassing the “negotiation strategy”, they are often characterized as masculine.

My hypothesis was corroborated by the analysis of the collected data. In situation of sexual harassment in the workplace women feel a lack of legitimate power. They do not have the possibility to solve the problem by taking recourse to formalized rules. Women solve the conflict by doing emotional work; they use their negotiation and relational skills which are, in point of fact, manipulative activities. They use the following strategies: *settling the problem in a “friendly way”*; *to locating the problem to the “joke level”*; *“the boyfriend strategy”*; *using rude words or fighting*; or *“the leaving work strategy”*. Since these strategies are manipulative they can be seen as representing “the power of the weak”. This power becomes apparent in the area of emotionalized relationships.

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# Chapter 14

## Feminist Purism and the Question of “Radicality” in Contemporary Feminist Theory

*Jonathan Dean*

The premise of this paper is that a systematic formulation of what it means for a feminist politics to be “radical” is a worthwhile and potentially productive exercise within feminist theory. However, I argue that one continues to find a latent “purism” within contemporary feminist understandings of “radicality”. This manifests itself in the tendency to think “radicality” as a function of the inherent properties of particular types of political spaces and subjectivities. Against the tendency to think “radicality” in purist terms, I aim to move in the direction of furnishing a clearly articulated, yet nonetheless malleable and formalised set of criteria for how we might think the “radicality” of a feminist politics in a manner that avoids the temptation of purism.

Within Anglo-American feminist theory, I argue, there are two key means through which “radicality” is thought: one, as an inherent property of a particular mode of autonomous feminist politics (often temporary situated in the “seventies”) (Gelb 1989: 4, Lovenduski 1995: 128, Rowe 1982: 542, Pugh 2000: 319); and two, as a function of a particular subjective disposition called “radical feminist” (Walby 1990, Bell and Klein 1996, Pugh 2000). What is problematic about these formulations is that the signifier “radical” has a necessary relation to certain types of political practices and subjective dispositions. This is made palpable by the way in which, within feminism, the signifier “radical feminist” is, in many respects, a noun. Consequently, the evaluative quality of the signifier “radical” has come to be lost, given that it has largely come to signify a topographically definable domain for feminist politics. Therefore the task here is to extract and reinvigorate its adjectival and performative character, foregrounding its capacity as a tool for analysing and evaluating political practices, rather than thinking it as having a necessary relation to particular political spaces.

Formulating a notion of “radicality” through an engagement with feminist politics, I claim that “radical” feminism, or, rather, a feminism that is “radical”, describes the character of a political action (implying situatedness and relations to others), rather than an inherent quality of a

political practice or subject. To flesh out this claim, I begin by looking at Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's decisive critique of Marxist purism. Here, I argue that their notion of equivalence (Laclau and Mouffe 2001: 128) is integral to a theorisation of a non-purist conception of "radicality". More specifically, following Laclau and Mouffe, we can say that a political demand becomes radical at the point at which it becomes incorporated into a broad counter-hegemonic equivalence, rather than simply being addressed in its particularity. For example, a woman may experience sexual harassment at work, and may complain to her bosses who may then (if she is very lucky!) take disciplinary measures against the offending individual. Given that her grievance is solved within the existing institutional structures of the company, she has no need to formulate a radical agenda: she can simply "carry on as normal". If, however, her grievance is not addressed, she may then alert her colleagues to the injustice she has suffered, which may serve as a starting point for the construction of a broader struggle against the company's practices. Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe, we can say that the moment of radicalisation occurs at the point where linkages – equivalences – are established between her grievance and other grievances with the company's practices – this is the point at which the social space becomes dichotomised into two factions with divergent interests.

However, Laclau and Mouffe's insights on this matter would benefit from further fleshing out and, to this end, I argue that Linda Zerilli's recent work provides a useful supplement to this view of radicality (Zerilli 2005). Strongly resistant to a feminist purism that sees radical politics as an inherent property of a (lost) object, Zerilli contends – drawing heavily on the work of Hannah Arendt – that the radicality of feminism pertains to the extent to which it foregrounds a freedom-centred political practice which highlights the contingency and unpredictability of political action. Of critical importance here is Zerilli's notion of "political imagination", which – alongside the Laclauian notion of "equivalence" – is integral to a non-purist conception of "radicality".

The notion of political imagination in Zerilli's work foregrounds the way in which the radicality of a feminism inheres in its capacity to bring into existence new ways of seeing and understanding the world. It is thus opposed to the overly "epistemological" character of certain forms of feminism. Here, Zerilli offers a trenchant critique of the presumption that the main task for feminism is to advance its cause through the articulation of knowledge claims. This position is most cogently expressed in her discussion of intersexed bodies: that is, bodies showing intermediate sexual characteristics. She claims that citing evidence of the existence of bodies which do not fit within a two-sex frame is not sufficient to

challenge that frame, as such bodies continue to be subsumed under the “rules” of the binary sex system. What is additionally required, she argues, is the capacity to imagine new frames which go beyond the binary sex system (Zerilli 2005: 9). According to this perspective, the vibrancy and radicality of a feminism is not grounded upon the articulation of knowledge claims or upon any particular mode of feminist politics, but on the extent to which a feminism seeks to articulate what Cornelius Castoriadis has called a “figure of the newly thinkable”, a new figure or model with which to instantiate new modes of understanding of particular objects or phenomena. Consequently, an imaginative, freedom-centred politics, Zerilli argues, is a “world-building exercise” whereby political actors act together in ways which bring into existence things and ideas which did not exist before. The experience of freedom is therefore very closely tied in with moments of novelty, newness, inauguration.

From this view, the term “politics” is taken to refer to the process of building relationships between things which have no intrinsic or necessary link. Political relations are thus “external to their terms: they are not given in objects themselves, but are a creation” (Zerilli 2005: 23). Politics thus necessarily has an imaginative element, “the ability to see or to forge new connections” (Zerilli 2005: 162). In contrast to a feminist purism, no particular issue, object, or space can be seen as having a necessary relation to radical politics. Thus, the radicality of a politics is given in the process of imaginatively constructing new ways of seeing the world, rather than being given in the objects themselves.

Thinking radicality in these terms allows us to reactivate the potentiality of the signifier “radical” to assume a strong critical and evaluative function. In addition, casting it in these terms opens up the possibility of radical practices emerging unpredictably in a diversity of contexts. Consequently, if we view radicality in more dynamic terms than that offered by purist perspectives, then perhaps a more complex picture of contemporary sexual politics may emerge than that offered by existing purist conceptions of feminist “radicality”.

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III. SUB-THEME 3  
COMMON AND CONFLICTED:  
RETHINKING INTEREST,  
SOLIDARITY AND ACTION





# Chapter 15

## Global Gender Solidarity and Feminist Paradigms of Justice

*Ann Ferguson*

There are two key problems for feminists who are working for global gender justice for women: the justice problem and the solidarity problem. The first concerns what goals and principles of justice, that is, what paradigm of Justice, are viable cross-culturally to assess the situation of women in different societies to decide which societies promote gender justice. The second concerns a political question, which is this: if we reject essentialism and acknowledge that women have many power and privilege differences which will enter into their political priorities and frame their interests, how can women, and their feminist male allies, unite across these differences to challenge patriarchal social structures that promote gender injustice?

In this paper I address the justice problem first and then the solidarity problem, and because I am using a feminist historical materialist approach which rejects idealist approaches to ethical and political normative questions (cf. Mills 2004), I defend the Solidarity principle of Justice that I outline below against the two other Justice paradigms from the Western Liberal tradition, on the grounds that historical changes due to globalization are now creating the material conditions for solidarity coalitions against global injustices of various sorts, including gender injustice, to be created with the pre-figurative social relations necessary for people to accept the radical solidarity principle of justice.

The two main camps defending the justice of capitalist democracy as a political economy, Neo-Liberals and Social Democrats, both have their roots in the classical liberal thought of Western Europe. Both of them are based in the human rights and social contract approach to understanding individuals' duties of justice to other individuals as well as their obligations to nation states and, conversely, their claims against that state and other citizens. They disagree on whether to prioritize individual Freedom or Equality when there is a conflict between them in the operation of a capitalist democracy, with the former camp emphasizing freedom and the latter equality. Neo-liberals argue that political and civil liberties are best promoted by giving individuals strong property rights, and argue that this requires a minimal state which has divested itself of any public property and lets the capitalist market operate on its own with

minimal regulation. Social democrats argue that the social and economic rights necessary for the minimal equality of citizens and their positive freedom requires a welfare state which provides minimal safety nets so as to guarantee an adequate standard of living, health care, housing and education for all. However, even social democrats promote corporate capitalism, although limited by progressive income taxes.

Radicals critique both of these paradigms of justice, arguing that no form of capitalism is able to deliver its own values, either freedom or equality, to the majority, and hence that capitalist democracy does not meet its own internal criterion for social justice. International competition for cheap labor and the need to cut corporate taxes to reduce capital flight abroad has meant that most capitalist nations have cut their welfare state spending to avoid amassing huge deficits and turned to neo-liberal economic policies: cutting corporate taxes and privatizing national resources, in a context where loss of jobs and trade unions due to corporate globalization has caused the real wages of the popular classes to fall in many countries. Families have only been able to keep up with the rising cost of living by having more and more mothers working full time in wage labor in addition to their unpaid housework and caring labor. Corporate globalization also creates a theoretical problem for both welfare liberalism and neo-liberalism, since they are based on social contract theories of justice that only apply to nation states. Thus principles of justice developed from their frameworks do not really apply to global issues since they are outside the social contracts of national governments.

Given the failure of these two classic paradigms to deliver a viable vision of global justice, I claim that the time is ripe for a new progressive feminist Solidarity paradigm of justice that supersedes the classical liberal debates between Libertarian (Neo-Liberal) and Welfare State Paradigms of Justice. But rather than looking to the academic debates to discover such a paradigm, I argue that anti-corporate globalization, feminist and labor movements, among others, are developing this paradigm because of the new social relations that are being formed politically in what has been called the solidarity economy and its related politics. The concept of a solidarity economy includes a self-understanding of these movements which came to the fore at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, and has recently been extended to the US after the US Social Forum in Atlanta in 2007 (Allard, Davidson and Matthaei 2008). The principle of Solidarity Justice is the one Marx outlines in *Critique of the Gotha Program* (Marx 1977) “From each according to ability, to each according to need”.

While Marx critiqued this principle as utopian and idealistic in the 19th century context of the German social democratic movement, I claim that the alternative political and economic spaces resisting corporate capitalist and traditional political logics have created new social relations in which this principle is operating. I outline as an example of how a solidarity ethico-politics is developing in feminist movements the case of the movement from the neo-liberal Freedom model of abortion rights to the social democratic Equality model of reproductive rights to the Solidarity model of reproductive justice (Fried 1990). Other examples include workers' economic cooperatives, participatory political democracy rather than mere representational democracy, fair trade networks, sustainable agricultural farm-consumer networks, and labor union solidarity for factory takeovers to establish worker-owned shops. I compare the notion of a feminist solidarity ethics and politics to that of a feminist ethics of care (Robinson 1999, Held 2006). Although there are overlaps in the two approaches, the latter is more individualist and less politically oppositional than the former.

With respect to the problem of global gender solidarity for feminism, I argue with bell hooks (1984) that given social differences between women which create unjust domination and oppression relations (based on race/ethnicity, religion, class, sexuality and nationality), we must develop a transformational notion of solidarity (Ferguson 1998) rather than an essentialist notion such as that of Robin Morgan (1996) or a work-focused one such as that of Chandra Mohanty (2003). Such a position suggests that women can create a sense of their common good and interests across differences, but only through dialogue and common struggle linked to specific issues, where trust is developed through a coalitional commitment based on a sense of collective connection and obligation to each other's welfare. The sense of global responsibility that Iris Young advocates we should feel toward all others affected by institutions we take part in, such as the capitalist market of consuming goods or hiring labor (Young 2004), is increasingly being developed by those involved in solidarity economic and political networks that social movements have created, and suggests that another vision of global justice is possible than the two classical liberal models I have outlined. However, the ideals of human rights to freedom and equality are incorporated as well in the solidarity paradigm of justice, but with a more radical critique of what is necessary to achieve them than occurs in the classical liberal tradition.

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# Chapter 16

## Sex Work, Sexual Regulation and Autonomy

*Cheryl Auger*

In response to organizations fighting to see the end of the sex industry the U.S. government passed a series of legislation that seek to eliminate sex work and spuriously link all sex work with trafficking (Kempadoo 2005, Weitzer 2007). The paper argues that the U.S. government's global anti-prostitution position, as exemplified by the Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) passed in 2000 and updated in 2003 as the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act and the 2003 United States Leadership Against HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Act (AIDS Act), is a form of sexual regulation that create and reinforce overly simplistic and binary categories of "good" and "bad" women, rely on stereotypical notions of femininity, and reflect a refusal to recognize women's agency and the complexities of their experiences. A brief overview of the impact these policies have had suggests that they actually seem to be doing more harm than good by criminalizing and stigmatizing already marginalized groups as well as placing human rights and health in jeopardy.

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) of 2000 defines sex trafficking as "the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act" and defines severe forms of sex trafficking as "sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age"; while sex trafficking does not involve force or coercion legal sanctions are only reserved for severe forms of sex trafficking. The TVPRA reinstates the TVPA definition but requires organizations that receive USAID to explicitly declare that they do not promote, support or advocate the legalization of prostitution. Similarly, the Global AIDS Act includes the stipulation that organizations that receive USAID must have a policy explicitly opposing sex trafficking and prostitution.

Though sanctions are reserved for violators of severe sex trafficking, the result of the first definition of sex trafficking in the TVPA is the conflation of all sex work with trafficking. In a pamphlet produced by The Department of State, *The Link between Prostitution and Sex Trafficking*, prostitution is considered inherently harmful and "Prostitution and

related activities – including pimping and patronizing or maintaining brothels – fuel the growth of modern-day slavery by providing a facade behind which traffickers for exploitation operate” (U.S. Department of State 2004). According to the same pamphlet, 80 percent of trafficked people are women and hundreds of thousands of these women wind up in prostitution each year.

While there is no denying that many people, men and women, who migrate for work are lied to about the conditions of the work they will perform, that there are people who are lied to about the type of work they will be doing, and that there are some people who do end up in slavery-like conditions, there are a number of reasons to be cautious and resist making overly broad statements like the above example (Doezema 2000). One reason for caution is that there is very little evidence in terms of the scope of the problem (Agustin 2007, Kempadoo 2005). In fact, evidence of trafficking is often based on unverifiable sources in part because of the illegality of the activity. Then when statistics are available they sometimes collapse the number of migrant domestic workers and sex workers into statistics on trafficking. Alternatively, statistics on trafficking might over-represent the sex trade. David Feingold (2005: 26) points out that in Thailand men cannot qualify as trafficking victims which means men are excluded from trafficking statistics.

Abolitionist arguments and policies that portray all sex workers as victims no matter how or why they work in the sex trade, rely on universalist constructions of sex work based on traditional understandings of femininity where women are perceived as passive and weak. In this vision of sex work, women’s agency is rendered virtually non-existent by the overwhelming structural constraints posed by patriarchy and/or capitalism. Yet there is evidence to suggest that many women in the sex trade, like women in other service industry jobs, are not simply victims but are agents making decisions in the face of constraints. For example, Joanna Busza’s (2004: 38) study of Vietnamese women migrating to Cambodia to work in the sex industry found that in some instances women “exhibited remarkable ambition, deceiving their parents who they suspected might resist their plans”, while others felt pressure from their family or due to their economic situation. The ambitious women in Busza’s study are hardly the passive and weak victims that appear in abolitionist rhetoric and policy.

The rhetoric of women as victims is based on a false understanding about the varieties, complexities, and diversity in the sex industry. For example, Mark P. Lagon (2008), Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, recently stated, “To emancipate those enslaved in prostitution, rented over and over to johns and pedophiles,



as a nation, we must decide that it is not ok to buy a body – buy a fellow human being –for 30 minutes.” However, many sex workers and their allies argue that women are not actually selling their bodies but are selling sexual services that include intimacy, touch, and companionship (Durbar Mahila Samanwaya Committee 2005). The idea that women are selling their bodies relies on a sexist and essentialist assumption that equates women’s humanity with their sexuality.

Overly simplistic abolitionist arguments have led to problematic policies on sex work. While the U.S. government claims that the TVPA offers a “victim centred approach” to trafficking, there is evidence to suggest that the law has been used to justify harsher immigration policies and deportation. For example, migrants who go to the US for sex work are more likely to be deported than those who go to work in “sweat shops” (Ditmore 2002). That said, all trafficked people, like all other illegal migrants, are at risk of arrest and deportation from the United States (Kempadoo 2005). Tightening borders in the combat against trafficking is not only an American response, however. In Burma, law stipulates that women under the age of 26 cannot visit border areas unless they are with a husband or parent. However, this law has not deterred women from crossing the border. Instead, they are more reliant on facilitators and prices for boarding crossing are higher (Feingold 2005).

The “victim centered approach” is closely connected to rescue and rehabilitation efforts that see the police playing a prominent role in “saving” victims of trafficking. In accordance with US policy, the police and some non-governmental organizations raid brothels and other places where suspected victims might be. While the U.S. government encourages police and NGOs to minimize the number of non-trafficked people involved in these raids, they also note “this must not preclude efforts to free every victim, who, by definition, is in clear and present danger of physical harm. There should be no safety zone in which traffickers can abuse their victims without fear of law enforcement” (Department of State 2005). While the U.S. government focuses on law enforcement as a solution to trafficking there is little evidence to suggest it is really working. As of 2005 less than 500 people were awarded T visas which are the special visas given to victims of trafficking for their cooperation with police. Between 2001 and 2003 only 110 traffickers were prosecuted and of those only 77 were found guilty (Feingold 2005).

Policies emphasizing law and order do not seem particularly effective but more problematically they can actually harm sex workers and migrants by violating their rights. Empower, a sex workers’ rights organization in Thailand, reports that many police and NGOs cannot

tell the difference between victims of trafficking and migrants, due to their inexperience and lack of contact with sex workers. For example, in May 2003 Traftord with the support of the International Justice Mission “rescued” 28 women from a brothel in Chiang Mai, Thailand. These women had their belongings taken from them and believed that they were under arrest. The women were locked up and detained against their will yet none of them were actually victims of trafficking – they were all over 19 years old, earned a decent salary, were free to leave, and none had arrived against her will (Empower 2003). These types of rescue missions frequently violate women’s rights to privacy, liberty, and security of person as well as the right against arbitrary detention.

This paper argues that the U.S. anti-prostitution policies, including the TVPA, the TVPRA, and the Global Aids Act, tend to conflate trafficking with migration for sex work, over simplify sex workers’ experiences and as a result they reinforce binary divisions between good and bad women. In addition, these policies are supported by law and order responses that are problematic because they are used to justify making women’s migration more difficult, and they can actually harm sex workers by violating their rights. I am not suggesting that sex work cannot be dangerous or damaging nor am I suggesting that all women who work in the sex industry are happy with how they make money; what I am suggesting is that we develop policies based on nuanced arguments that do not rely on essentialistic, universalist, and simplistic understandings of women’s experiences. Successful policy would begin from the ground up by starting with the real life experiences and aspirations of sex workers in order to identify the harms they experience. Working with sex workers rather than against them would help to ensure policies do not violate human rights and dignity.

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# Chapter 17

## The Politics of Prostitution Revisited: Trends in Policy and Research<sup>8</sup>

*Joyce Outshoorn*

What prostitution is, is at the heart of all debates on the topic, whether they are debates in policy arenas at various levels ranging from the local to the supranational, in women's movements, in academia, in feminist theory or women's and gender studies. Generally it denotes the exchange of sex or sexual services for money or other material benefits. In the words of Julia O'Connell Davidson, it is a social institution which "allows certain powers of command over one person's body to be exercised by another" (1998: 9). It concerns sexual demands, and most of these are heterosexual exchanges, with men buying the sexual services of women, within a set of social relations implying unequal power relationships between the sexes (Outshoorn 2004: 3). It is also an institution that states have tried to control in many historical periods, and today most states have some kind of prostitution policy, even if it is not formally written in law, or enforced when it is. The definition of the issue determined the goal of state intervention: to maintain law and order, guard morals, prevent the spread of STDs or "protect" women from exploitation (Outshoorn 2004: 6).

The current debates about "prostitution" and "trafficking of women" are therefore not just academic, but intensely political. Politics and policy-making are always about conflicts of meaning; issues only make it to the political agenda when they are defined in such a way that they merit government attention and survive the competition between issues about which are the most important ones for governments to address. Problem definition is about allotting blame and responsibility: who is to blame for a problem, who has the say over it and who has to solve it? It also determines the direction of the solution of the problem and who will gain control over the policy. Many actors have a stake in the issue of prostitution and aim at making their definition – framing of the issue – hegemonic. Actors can be politicians, civil servants, interest groups and social movements, such as women's movement groups. And the latter are deeply divided on the issue.

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<sup>8</sup> This is paper was not presented in the workshop but in the plenary session on the first day of the conference.

This paper examines the major trends in prostitution politics over the last decade in North America, Europe and Australia/New Zealand, showing that there has been a distinct move towards decriminalization of prostitution, with a broader acceptance of the framing of the issue as *sex work*. This trend is occurring despite acrimonious debates at the UN and EU level about prostitution, and its relation with sex trafficking. Traditional abolitionists and radical feminists want to eradicate prostitution, which would also end trafficking. Those advocating decriminalisation, including feminists who make a distinction between forced and voluntary prostitution, see the latter as a strategy of women to survive or better their economic position (Outshoorn 2004). Many following the sex work approach prefer to do away with the term “trafficking of women” altogether, arguing that much of it is actually labour migration and that excesses – which are not denied – can best be redressed by measures against *forced labour*.

National and supranational debates and policies are driven by the growth of a multi-faceted sex industry and international sex tourism since the early 1970s. This has been accompanied by the perceived increase of “trafficking of women”, the migration of women sex workers from Latin America, Africa, and Asia to Europe, the smuggling of humans, “child prostitution”, and a host of seemingly related issues such as commercial marriage brokerage and cross-border marriage. The role of the internet is also breaking down borders, undermining national regulation of sex work as well as broadening the market of buying and selling sex. Authorities dealing with prostitution are faced by a diverse market – making effective policies extremely hard.

The states considered here have widely ranging “*prostitution regimes*” – sets of laws and practices shaping prostitution in their jurisdictions in distinctive ways, making for more or less repression of the women selling sexual services and the possible prosecution of other concerned parties, such as clients, entrepreneurs of sex work facilities and pimps (Outshoorn 2004: 6). There is a proliferation of terms in the literature to name these; I use abolitionism to refer to the position that prostitution should be banned and third parties criminalised, with the sex worker herself not liable to state penalties. (She may be seen as an object of rehabilitation though, in which case she will be faced with state intervention in her life.) Prohibition makes all prostitution illegal and all parties liable to penalties, including the sex worker. Regulation is an overall term denoting state intervention in the running of prostitution. This can be done in a variety of ways: allowing brothels, designating red light zones, forbidding street prostitution, subjecting the sex worker

to compulsory medical check-ups or requiring them to register with the local authorities.

From the data gathered (Outshoorn 2004, TRANSCRIME 2005) the paper shows that since the mid-1990s more states are turning away from prohibition and abolitionism, preferring to regulate the sex industry and in some cases accepting prostitution as sex work and granting sex workers social rights. However, the legal situation can diverge from the actual practices of prostitution and regulation does not mean the end of pimping, criminality or stigmatisation of sex workers.

This paper also takes a closer look at the European Union and the UN. While human trafficking falls within the jurisdiction of the EU, this is not the case for prostitution, which falls under the jurisdiction of the national member states. The EU has developed a firm anti human trafficking policy, including a Council anti-trafficking Framework and several programs aiding victims of human trafficking, but is resisting efforts by abolitionists and feminists to deal with prostitution. The UN was committed to abolitionism in the past, but those in favour of decriminalisation of sex work were able to insert a call for fighting forced prostitution (thus allowing for voluntary prostitution) and trafficking in the 1995 Beijing UN Women's Platform for Action. In 2001 the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime was agreed on in Palermo, which includes a Protocol on Trafficking and Migrant Smuggling. It is hotly contested in how far it allows for sex work or whether it commits states to abolitionism. Given the strong US backing of the latter position, it is unlikely that future UN policy will move into the direction of EU policies, with its disconnection between prostitution and sex trafficking.

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# Chapter 18

## “Circumcision of Young Girls is Illegal”: Race, Sexuality and Nation in Danish Debates over Migration

*Serena Maurer*

The Danish Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs publishes a booklet entitled *Citizen in Denmark: A Manual for New Members of Danish Society*. On page one hundred and fifteen a bright blue background frames a photograph of two brown-skinned women wearing dark clothing. Black scarves are tied around their necks and over their heads. Bolded text next to the image informs the reader: “Circumcision of young girls is illegal”. It explains:

Circumcising young girls is a serious mutilation of the body and may cause infections, sterility, lifelong pain, psychological problems and a wide range of other health problems. Female circumcision is prohibited by law and therefore a criminal offence.

Male circumcision is subject to special rules. Contact your general practitioner for further information.

In this paper, I explore the ways in which this text and image and the booklet of which they are a part reproduce Denmark as a modern liberal democratic nation-state that is defined over and against immigrant cultural difference. I argue that the state constructs immigrant difference from the nation-state by figuring “female genital circumcision” as a crime that exemplifies backward, traditional, primitive and violent Muslim African immigrant culture. It signals difference between this culture and the Danish nation-state through representations of Denmark as grounded in a set of democratic values of tolerance and “mutual respect and understanding”. The booklet’s condemnation of those who practice “the circumcision of young girls” as criminals highlights the contradictions between the state’s representation of Denmark as difference-welcoming and the constructions of racial, religious, gender and sexual difference on which the interdependent projects of reproducing the national “imagined community” (Anderson 1983) and Denmark’s increasingly neoliberal agenda rely. The booklet negotiates this contradiction by redirecting

potential citizen anxieties about a loss of national identity and social democratic values in the face of the state's neoliberal turn away from neoliberalism and its proponents/beneficiaries and onto the immigrant, who is figured as embodying a cultural difference that threatens to erode the very "fundamental values" that have historically defined the Danish nation-state.

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# Chapter 19

## A Comparative Analysis of Integration Policies in Bologna and Malmö (2002-2007) through the Lens of an Ethics of Care

*Sarah Scuzzarello*

This paper sets to conduct a cross-city, diachronic comparison that aims to identify some of the normative narratives that underpin migrant integration policies in two local contexts. In analysing policy papers and interview material gathered in the municipalities of Malmö (Sweden) and Bologna (Italy), I focus on two main research questions. I ask what the problem of migrant integration policies is represented to be in Bologna and in Malmö between the years 2002-2007 (cf. Bacchi 1999). Second, I try to map how the subjects, i.e. majority society and migrant minority groups, are conceived of and constructed in the material. Here I focus primarily on what defines the good citizen, and how majority and minority groups are defined in relation to one another. In analysing my material, I rely on the so-called second generation of an ethics of care (Hankivsky 2004), thus drawing from the work of Joan Tronto (1993), Selma Sevenhuijsen (1998, 2000, 2003), Fiona Robinson (1999), Olga Hankivsky (2004), among others.

The empirical findings presented in this paper show similarities between the ways of presenting and defining the issue of migrant integration. In both cities, the representation of integration policies relies on and reproduces a *narrative of culturalism*. Culture is a key-concept in the documents studied and it is understood in static terms, where on the one hand the majority society's culture is conceived of as having a specific set of values to which migrants have to line up. This, I argue, is a symptom of a widespread understanding that considers morality as abstract and universal. On the other hand, migrant groups are depicted as having "their" cultures (seldom described in plural) which are interpreted in a contradicting way. They can signify the source of an existential threat to the majority society's cultural characteristics (cf. Huysmans 1995, 2000, Kinnvall 2004). At the same time, however, they are also represented as a source of enrichment for the majority society (cf. Simmel 1950). Furthermore I have identified a common *narrative of*

*responsibility*. Both municipalities express a concern for discriminatory structures and argue that they need to function as role models for the rest of societies by adopting e.g. personnel policies that reflect the ethnic composition of the city.

In the municipality of Malmö, a *narrative of wage work* showed to recur often. According to *Välfärd för alla*<sup>9</sup>, access to paid work is a crucial area that migrant integration policies should address, since it is the key premise for self-sufficiency, housing and safety (2004: 6). From the perspective adopted in this paper, the unilateral emphasis on paid job as the key to integration reproduces a narrative that sees paid work and independency as overarching societal principles (see Williams 2001). This narrative reproduces a norm by which paid work is a route out of dependency into independence and economic self-sufficiency; the solution to poverty, bad housing, lack of integration, improved language skills; the glue that binds society together; and the ultimate responsibility of citizens (Williams 2001: 474). The migrant who is integrated is therefore a “real worker” who is part of the public domain as “he” engages in paid work and who is seen as self-sufficient (cf. Hankivsky 2004: 111). “His” participation in the labour market is presented as normal social participation, while unemployment is not. This approach leaves little space to those who are not employed, either because they cannot access the labour market or because they chose not to, such as for instance women. In relation to the emphasis on paid work, a narrative of competitiveness has grown stronger in Malmö over the recent years. It presents ethnic diversity as a competitive feature that could make Malmö more attractive to international investors and to potential new residents. Migrants’ access to other cultural codes and their knowledge of other languages is therefore interpreted through the lenses of a *narrative of competitiveness* that very much echoes an argument based on human capital, i.e. the economic necessity of integrating migrants into the labour market and employing the capacities that they possess *qua* migrants.

Turning to the issues of citizenship and social cohesion, I argue that through language training and civic courses, migrants are introduced to the recipient society and its mores. While language training is fundamental for migrants to become part of the society they decided to settle in, language does not only play a utilitarian role; the one-eyed emphasis on language and citizenship education reflects a renewed Andersonian perception the “imagined community” (1983) that calls for homogeneity of values and conducts, if not ethnic homogeneity. Language becomes a symbolic foundation of the imagined nationhood to

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<sup>9</sup> Eng. *Welfare for Everyone* – one of the measures taken by the City Council of Malmö in order to come to terms with ethnic segregation.

which migrant minorities do not belong. Another narrative that showed to be important in the material I have analysed is a narrative of political participation. The importance of participation and representation of migrants in the public sphere is emphasised by the Municipalities of Bologna and Malmö. However, given the different voting rights given to migrants in Sweden and in Italy the *narrative of political participation* is obviously different in the two local contexts.

The Province of Bologna has since many years operated to extend resident migrants' political rights. The analysis of the migrant integration policy documents shows a continuous emphasis on the importance of the representation and participation of migrants in the public domain. Considering the structure provided by the national legal framework, the activities developed in this sense have mainly concerned the establishment of consultative bodies and in 2007 *Consiglio Provinciale dei cittadini stranieri e apolidi residenti in provincia di Bologna*, was established. It is a consultative body whose members, foreign residents, are elected by other residents of migrant background, aged 18 or more, who have been resident in the city for at least one year. The approach to migrant minorities' political rights adopted in Sweden is more in line with an ethics of care, as it – at least formally – provides them with the possibility of accessing the public sphere. However, the figures of the turnouts at local elections, as well as of the percentage of elected representatives with migrant background tell another story. Across the country, foreign nationals' participation in local elections is very low, recent statistics showing a difference compared to the native Swedish population of over 40 percent (Benito 2005: 27).

I argue that both approaches rely on a liberal understanding of equality based on an idea of sameness, i.e. that all human subjects are identical to each other, that there is a uniform human subject that can serve as a starting point for normative reasoning (Sevenhuijsen 1998: 42, 59-60, 132-135). Albeit appealing to feminism, this approach to rights that follows from contractarian thinking and that is embedded in Western legal systems, conceives of people as if they were equal (Pateman 1988). Unequal characteristics are considered as less relevant deviations from this fundamental equality. In line with several feminist scholars I argue that this understanding of equality conceals a masculine, Eurocentric, middleclass, able-bodied bias and permits the reproduction of societal norms based on masculinity and men's needs (e.g. Okin 1989, Lister 1997).

I conclude this paper by calling for new directions as to how to understand social cohesion and citizenship in multicultural contexts. Here I argue for a deliberative approach to multiculturalism that

acknowledges the existence of several and more personal conceptions of community that are usually glossed over by traditional, Unitarian and static understandings of the (national) community. Finally this “caring multiculturalism” would pay serious attention to the psychology of citizenship construction. This opens up for an understanding of what it means to belong to a community that goes beyond a formal contract between the state and the individual. It requires “a sense of ownership of the issue, that *one defines oneself as a member of a group* or as a holder of particular beliefs” (Haste 2004: 433, emphasis added).

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# Chapter 20

## Hegemonic Principles: (De)constructing the Hegemony- Domination Nexus

*Richard Howson*

The idea of a “globalizing world” (see Beasley 2008) appears as fraught as its partner concept: globalization (see Showstack Sassoon 2001: 7, Weiss 1998). Nevertheless, globalizing and/or globalisation as concepts, if not practices, are important to the way we explain the organisation of power in the contemporary world, because they suggest a process whereby the diversity of ideas and practices are being re-articulated or homogenized within and around certain physical and ideological centres. A particularly important physical and ideological centre is gender. Further, within gender, masculinities are of particular importance to understanding the globalisation of power. However, in this context theorizing masculinities as multiplicity through globalisation is really a counterintuitive exercise, because it requires a shift from the individuality of a man’s masculinity to masculinities as sets of identities and configurations of practice that express levels of homogeneity (Connell 2005: 72). In this way analysing masculinities in global context requires us to engage in “ethnographic” analyses of the intra, that is, local, regional and even national levels and then project and extend these into ethnographies at the international and even transnational levels (see Connell 2005: 71, Hearn and Pringle 2006).

This is because, if we take seriously the idea that very large scale institutions operating at the intra level, such as states and corporations, are gendered, understood as “gender regimes”, then their aggregation produces a national “gender order”. But further, we must also recognise that the subsequent aggregation of national gender orders at the trans level will produce a “world gender order” (Connell 2005: 72). Thus, globalisation suggests *inter alia* the transnationalisation of gendered power that has been argued to reflect the West’s hegemony and be expressed through a “global hegemonic masculinity” (Kimmel 2005: 415). However, moving between national, international and transnational levels of ethnographies of gender power requires us to maintain the connection between the “hegemony of men” (see Hearn 2004) as the

force within the globalising moment and hegemony's "ideal" expression: hegemonic masculinity (see Connell 1995).

This brief paper will attempt to develop the operation of hegemonic masculinity in the hegemony of men by putting at the centre of analysis the concept of "hegemonic principles" (Howson 2006). Further this paper applies hegemonic principles as a way of explicating the nexus between hegemony or, more specifically, the hegemony of men and domination, in an attempt to identify the ontological conditions for the latter. The emphasis on the hegemony of men has been an important attempt to move the focus of hegemony in gender from masculinity to men or from what we might understand as from the symbolic ideal to the real. This, Hearn (2004: 59) argues, better enables analyses to focus on the "ordinary" but very often "taken-for-granted accepted dominant constructions, powers and authorities of men". Further, deconstruction of the "dominant" and the "obvious" aspects of the social category of men, remains an "urgent" task for the Critical Studies of Men (CSM) (Hearn 2004: 59). As such, this paper represents a theoretical development of concepts that can be applied to the important ethnographic work that addresses the globalising world.

It will begin with a brief discussion of hegemony in which I will show the complex nature of hegemony and the operation of hegemonic principles in the emergence of a "dominative hegemony". From here I will apply these to a discussion of hegemonic masculinity to show that, although the very real but taken-for-granted actions of men are important, we can better understand their significance by recognising that hegemonic principles frame these actions. And because hegemonic principles are the constituting moments of hegemonic masculinity, deconstructing the latter and analysing its constitutive principles is crucial to getting a better grip on the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and the hegemony of men in a globalised setting. To do this I will draw primarily on postmarxist theory, because as a contemporary theory that is based on the theory of hegemony it is well equipped with the conceptual tools needed to elucidate the operation of hegemonic masculinity and develop the nexus between domination and the hegemony of men.

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# Chapter 21

## The Construction and Remembrance of a “Homogenized Home”: Shifting Patterns of Hegemony and Purging out the Deviant Bodies in Keralam

*Rajeev Kumaramkandath*

The reduction of sexual desire to merely that associated with the body, as part of animal nature and appetite, has been understood as the main function of the discourses of sexual morality within modern regimes. Such a discourse also serves the purpose of separating sexual desire from rationality and erotic love (Scruton 1986:12-20). In order to generate its broader connotations in terms of its implications and impact upon the formation of sexual subjects, albeit in a third world context, I shall endeavour here to render sexual morality with a broader meaning. Such a rendering includes the wider political and cultural contexts within which the discourse occurs through its various apparatuses, ranging from law and philosophical discourses to popular literature. Such rendering also makes it possible to see how the values and codes embedded within the concept of sexual morality are converted into practices that are closely associated to body and desire in order to construct selfdisciplined individual subjects prepared to embark upon the possibilities that modernity offer.

This paper maps some of the tensions and anxieties embedded within the late 19th-early 20th century discourse on sexual morality to the current Keralam, where there is a hue and cry on behalf of marginalized bodies and desires in the society. The homologies and heterologies of the basic values, norms, notions and related practices of the concept as it exists at two time periods, and the purposes embedded within the wider contexts that such discourse serves, are looked at. In order to locate these similarities, recurrences of concerns and contradictions emerging out of them, I shall look specifically at articles that have appeared in Malayalam<sup>10</sup> magazines during the late 19th-early 20th century period and in contemporary Keralam.

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10 Malayalam is the language spoken by the inhabitants in Keralam.

In an edited volume about changing discourses on desire and morality in the Ottoman Empire from 1500 to 1900, Dror Ze'evi shows how the spectrum of sexual practices and relations during that period was restricted by religion and other social beliefs, although very few of its variations were seen as inherently flawed. The ideas of sexuality that circulated during the period did not reveal “*our* fixed, rigid boundaries distinguishing heterosexuals from homosexuals and almost no sense of *deviation from a compelling norm*” (Ze'evi 2006: 167, emphasis mine). What makes the modern age different from preceding eras is the intensity with which adherence to such norms in day-to-day lives is made compulsory; the ways adherence and non-adherence are rewarded, punished, taken account of and brought under strict surveillance; and the change of the premises for such norms and values, from religion to other authorities such as science and medicine.

In most colonial societies the transformation from the pre-modern epoch to modernity has coincided with colonial capitalist interests. The transformation is demarcated by colonial values considerably altering the geo-political landscapes in these colonies, with remarkable impact upon their culture. Alongside the changes it caused in the material realm through the introduction of modern forms of science and technology, modes of production, statecraft and education (Chatterjee 1986, 1989, 1989a, Prakash 1999), the colonial mission also considerably altered the attitudes about gender relations and sexuality in the colonies (John and Nair 1998, Latamani 1998, Devika 1999, 2002, Kodoth 2001, 2002).

In order to perform their civilizing mission and redress the “degenerate” conditions in the colonies, the colonizers sought to alter the traditional customs, habits, practices etc., through a range of apparatuses including law and state policies of education, all through interpolations in, and interpretation of, the cultures that existed there (Tharakan 1984, Stoler 1989, Shaw 1995, Mathew 1999, Kodoth 2002). In the context of India, nationalists responded to colonial dominance by maintaining their “spiritual and material” realms separate (Chatterjee 1989, 1989a). While changes in the material realm were accepted as a way of improving the competence of the society and thereby better match the colonial power, the spiritual realm was preserved from external influence. Chatterjee identifies this spiritual realm as represented in the female body, since women were thought of as the bearers of tradition and culture. By bringing in such a clear division between the home and the outside (*Ghar/Bahar*, material/value or spiritual realm), the nationalists effectively postponed the “woman’s question” that had been so actively raised from the beginning of the 19th century until the attainment of political freedom (Chatterjee 1989: 630-632).



This paper attempts to show that the changes in the material realm were a definite indication of adaptation to an emerging value system that had deep-rooted and far-reaching implications for gendered subjectivities. The present discussions on deviance in Keralam – a state in the southern part of India – are analyzed in relation to its colonial backdrop and the civilizing mission from late 19th to early 20th centuries. The reform discourse in Keralam was premised upon, and carried forward, the colonial ethnographers’ and missionaries’ perceptions of the habits and practices deeply rooted in Malayali culture as immoral (Kodoth 2001: 361-62).

This discourse combined the ideas about moral degeneracy with nationalist concerns about the material incompetence of the society, through the prescription of an alternative value structure that would help in both overcoming moral degeneracy and attaining material progress. This value realm essentially focuses upon the evolution of a new body and self, suitable for an emerging modernity with desirable levels of desire. The adaptation to this new value order is presented as an essential element for individual selves wanting to exploit the possibilities that modernity offer and contribute to social progress.

Through various conceptual shifts, the society and the heterogeneous communities inhabiting its cultural spaces have internalized this new value realm, referred to in this paper as *a new sexual morality*, during the different moments of the 20th century (Devika 2001, 2002, Kodoth 2001, Vanitha 2002). Such internalization makes it possible for the current discussions on deviance to address, problematize and advocate the moral values prescribed and propagated during the colonial period as a cognitive element regulating and determining the individual self and desire.

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# Chapter 22

## Global/Transnational Gender/Sexual Scenarios

*Jeff Hearn*

Though most approaches to globalisation and transnationalisation remain ungendered, many gendered studies of these processes have attended to questions of male-dominated transnational governance of multinational companies; impacts of transnational neo-liberal policies on nation-states; gendered patterns of migration, refugee movements, expatriation and repatriation; gendering of global symbolic systems; and global and regional expansion of the sex trade. Developing critical gendered perspectives on globalisation and transnationalisation means explicitly gendering both women and men.

### **Contradictory gender scenarios in processes of transnationalisation**

If we consider gender relations in relation to possible gendered future(s) of gendered men and women, different scenarios can be noted based on differentiations of, first, gender equality and inequality, and, second, gender similarity and difference (homogeneity/heterogeneity) between women and men. Thus four scenarios can be considered through intersections of gender equality/inequality and gender similarity/difference (Hearn 1998).

In the doomsday or global patriarchy scenario, men become more divergent from women and with greater oppression and inequality. Men's difference from women is asserted, coupled with impacts of trends towards inequality stemming from neo-liberalism. The bi-polar scenario also sets out greater divergence of men and women, but now with greater gender equality. In this scenario traditionalism is combined with gender equality, and perhaps "human rights" orientation. This might be best represented within a rather static "social democratic" welfare state model.

The postgender scenario is characterised by more convergence of men with women and with greater equality. In this, gender antagonisms are transcended, whether through economic imperatives, political action, virtual realities or utopian change. The postmodern or late capitalism scenario also involves men becoming more convergent with women,

but with greater oppression and inequality. Capitalist, imperialist social relations overwhelm gender relations, with “pure capitalism”, caring not for the age, gender, racialisation or sexuality of workers, consumers and exploitation.

## Contradictory sexual scenarios in processes of transnationalisation

Not only is globalisation gendered, it is also “sexuated”, that is having meanings and needing to be understood in relation to sexuality. So, what happens if we relate gender scenarios and potential gender changes discussed above to sexuality. Again, we may consider *sexual or gender/sexual equality and inequality*, and *sexual or gender/sexual similarity and difference*. There are pressures towards both unequalising (e.g. capitalist commodification) and equalising (e.g. emancipatory sexual movements) sexual differentiations (e.g. segmentations, identifications) and sexual de-differentiations (e.g. collectivisations, blurrings) at the global, transnational levels. As with gender scenarios, sexual scenarios might be understood as operating in various permutations and with various contradictions.

In the *sexual violence* or *global heteropatriarchies* scenario, greater *sexual or gender/sexual difference* is coupled with greater *sexual or gender/sexual inequality*. Dominant sexualities, especially dominant men’s sexualities, are likely to continue much of the same way as now. This includes the pervasive dominance of various masculine heterosexualities, as well as the associations of some of those heterosexualities with invocations of violence. The *sexual diversification* scenario involves both greater *sexual or gender/sexual difference* and greater *sexual or gender/sexual equality*. In this, diversification of sexualities, especially LGBT sexual identities, become more apparent, influential and even accepted in places, geographical and social. Diversification may also proceed through the ageing of populations and ageing of sexualities, including both relatively dominant and relatively subordinated sexualities. There is likely to be a growth in the age-conscious naming and claiming of older, ageing sexualities, including more focus on the intersections of ageing, disabilities, illness and disease.

This theme has been taken up in terms of the complicated and fracturing life course dynamics of the identities and subjectivities of ageing amongst older men and men with disabilities. Ageing sexualities may challenge bodily (hetero)sexual normativity, and highlight greater discussion and practice of *adult* intergenerational sexual relations. The *sexual blurring* scenario is similar in recognitions of diversity but can be

characterised as combining greater *sexual or gender/sexual similarity* and greater *sexual or gender/sexual equality*. Proliferation of sexual identities is likely to increase problematisations of (hetero)sexual normativity. This may promote blurring of sexual categories, and the homo/hetero binary, as well as growth of bi-curious and changing sexual practices. These might include more public discourses and sexual practices that drift in quite opposite directions regarding sexual power and inequalities.

Crip theory may elaborate on intersections of theory and practice on disability, sexuality, ageing and dying. The *environmental, postmodern* or *late capitalism* scenario (greater *sexual or gender/sexual similarity* and greater *sexual or gender/sexual inequality*) might arise from two routes. First, late modern or postmodern sexual commodification may reduce sexuality to similarity of (economic) function, even with market diversification (and differentiation and de-differentiation). Sexual commodification can have both differentiating and de-differentiating tendencies, suggesting different scenarios, just as queer perspectives can lead to both autonomous sexual identifications or sexual blurrings, with their associated scenarios. Apparent differences arising from the same social processes can be seen as differences between “more surface” and “deeper” structures.

The interplay of these different tendencies is key. Another route is through impacts of environmental change, climate change, water shortage, drought, poverty and hardship. These, coupled with imperialist adventuring, are likely to ferment wars and conflicts. Some experts predict that mass global plague-type disease is very likely in coming decades, made difficult to control through travel, migration and greater transnationalisation of sexualities. “Having sex” along with disease may become more common throughout the world, not only in areas of high HIV/AIDS infection.

## A significant coda on socio-technology: Towards postsexualities?

Cutting across these scenarios are variable global impacts of socio-technological change. A key aspect here is the interrelations of sexualities with information and communication technologies. These profoundly complicate global/sexual scenarios, with many possible, often contradictory tendencies. They may elaborate all or any of the gender/sexual scenarios outlined. Moves to and interplays of virtualities and surveillances, along with specific changes around (cyber)sexualities and non-direct physical contact mediated by “new” technologies, constitute major historical changes with profoundly contradictory

implications for sexual citizenship (Hearn 2006). These are likely to bring new transnationalisations, transpatriarchies, imperialisms and neo-colonialisms, with virtual imperialist/neo-colonialist exploitation flourishing alongside and supportive of direct non-virtual imperialisms/neo-colonialisms, as in uses of ICTs to facilitate sex trade.

Together, these scenarios are likely to produce significant changes in what is meant by sexuality. They exert effects on what sexuality is; sexualities, as political-economic-cultural, are likely to be reformulated. Sexuality categories may become defined in more complex ways and blurrings, in interrelations with other social categories and intersectionalities, and in deconstructions, transnationalisations and reformulations of those categories, even with scenarios of postsexualities. Thus, we may speak of sexual transsectionalities, within more general moves to social transsectionalities (Hearn 2008).

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## IV. REPORTS FROM THE WORKSHOPS







# Chapter 23

## Report from Workshop 1

### – Sexuality, Love and Social Theory

*Valerie Bryson*

It is impossible to do justice to all the ideas that were generated during the discussions and debates. Therefore, while this report identifies some key themes, it does not claim to provide a definitive account; many other versions, identifying other themes, could be equally valid.

All the papers discussed in this workshop raised theoretical issues to some degree. Many papers provided a rich source of empirical data – from the “tango tourism” of 60-year-old white US women in Argentina, to new patterns of mistress taking in contemporary China, to the changing sexual attitudes and expectations of different generations of Russian women, to the shifting patterns of sexual identities available to people in Croatia or Korea, and to the impact of a transsexual’s sex change on the sexual identity of their partner. Other papers were primarily theoretical, focussing on issues around Marxist theory and Anna Jónasdóttir’s concept of “love power”, on Judith Butler’s queer theory and its limited potential for contributing to emancipatory political programmes and on the questions of self and identity that also recurred in more empirically-inclined papers.

Bringing these concerns together, this report identifies six interconnected themes that ran throughout our discussions.

1. *The nature of heterosexual love*, and the shifting meanings of and boundaries between love, care, romance, sex, pleasure and desire.
2. *What happens when money intrudes into loving, caring, sexual and romantic relationships* – is romance destroyed even as it is purchased? Are men who take mistresses seeking to buy an emotional relationship rather than simply sex? How should we reward those who care for children and disabled or elderly adults? We discussed whether people providing various forms of paid “love” are experiencing a form of alienation, and the complex and gendered effects of economic power on personal relationships; here we agreed that while men’s possession of economic power intersects positively with other dimensions of masculinity, it has more negative implications for heterosexual women.

3. *What we mean by identity* – of the self-reflective individual, of groups, of institutions. We agreed that a key problem with Butler was her denial of the ontological basis of individual or group identity. We also agreed that although identity is not fixed or essential it does exist as a *process*, so that there is a “doer behind the deed” and sexual identity frequently has a social reality. We discussed the ways in which sexual identities can be discursively, culturally and materially constructed, and more or less consciously imposed or denied; we also found that the processes of identity formation can also involve self-creation, involving both reflexivity and everyday practices. While, as part of an ongoing social reality, sexual identity is often reinforced by experience and social interactions, some papers showed how it can also be disrupted. The experience of the partners of transsexuals provides a particularly dramatic example of such disruption (the identity of someone who sees herself as a heterosexual woman is challenged when the body of the person she loves, and with whom she continues to have intimate relations, changes from that of someone with muscular arms and a penis to someone whose arms are soft and whose penile skin has been used to help create a vagina). Dissonance between different aspects of her self-identity and behaviour is also experienced by someone who wants an Argentinean man to like her *for herself* – that is (she feels) as a desiring, desirable woman, or a fairy-tale princess, rather than as a source of income or a US citizen; on the other hand, a wealthy Chinese man can see his money as a part of his identity as a man. Combining macro and micro-level analysis, we can see how the processes of state formation in Croatia impacted upon the availability of lesbian and gay sexual identities (in the 1990s, as the state struggled to assert its existence against the Serbs, Croatian nationality depended on the assertion of militarised masculinity and to be gay or lesbian was simply to be a traitor, a Serb; from 2000, the nation was increasingly seen as part of western Europe, and ideas of toleration and diversity made it possible for someone to identify themselves as both Croatian and lesbian or gay). Another set of processes appears to be in play in Russia, where many young women now see themselves as sexual persons, entitled to seek sexual pleasure in a highly instrumental fashion; for older women, sex was something that was done to women, or that was an accompaniment to romance, rather than a part of their identity.
4. *Globalisation and the movement of people and ideas*. Some papers addressed globalisation directly; others were quite culturally specific. However, discussion usually raised issues around globalisation and global difference (for example, transsexualism has very different meanings in different cultures). In particular, we looked at how increasing geographical mobility creates new sexual opportunities

(for Chinese men working away from home, for north American women seeking romance, for a Korean woman discovering a lesbian identity in Britain), and how western heterosexuality erotises different ethnic groups of men and women in different ways. We also looked at the globalisation of “sexual scripts”, particularly the impact of western sexual consumerism and ideas of sexual pluralism on more sexually repressive societies (so that taking a mistress is increasingly a source of status rather than shame for a “respectable” Chinese man; unlike their mothers and grandmothers, young Russian women have the language to express their sexual wants, and the acceptance of homosexuality is becoming part of a newly European-oriented Croatian nation).

5. *Power.* We seemed to agree in rejecting the kind of “flat” concept of power found in the work of Foucault and Butler. However, although we recognised that power is structured, and that societies are male-dominated, we also found that those who are dominated are also actors rather than simply victims (so that, for example, we need to explore the motivations and choices made by women who become mistresses).
6. *The need for multi-dimensional, multi-faceted approaches.* We agreed that empirical and theoretical research must inform each other: empirical data has no meaning without an organising framework, and theory that cannot cope with the messiness of empirical data has little worth. We found that a range of theoretical approaches had value, but that none had all the answers. Thus material conditions are important, but so are discourse and culture; even if Butler has a liberatory message, this complements other approaches rather than providing all the answers; our selves and identities are materially, socially, discursively and culturally produced, but we also create ourselves; there is a self, but it is not stable; micro and macro analysis need to be combined...

While the above account identifies some areas of agreement, these were not formally identified in the sessions; it may be that some participants do not fully share these views.

It is also important to note that, while workshop discussions were wide-ranging, some key issues were underdeveloped. As a participant pointed out in the final workshop session, many of the papers appeared to equate sexuality with heterosexuality, simply assuming that women want or desire men and that men want and desire women, without asking why this might be (we didn’t ask why a white north American woman looks to an Argentinean man for romance or passion, rather than to an Argentinean woman or her woman neighbour back home; we didn’t ask why a Chinese businessman needs an attractive young

woman rather than a young man on his arm to enhance his status at a company dinner, or why young Russian women apparently seek sexual satisfaction only with men). Although class and economic inequality were mentioned in some papers, the dynamics of economic exploitation and global capitalism were not really explored. And although we discussed domination and the erotic attraction of different kinds of men for women, we didn't discuss sexual violence, the eroticisation of male power and female submission, or the construction of sexualities through the global pornography industry.

# Chapter 24

## Report from Workshop 2

### – Power and Politics: A Feminist View

*Kathleen B. Jones*

At the end of the workshop, we asked the participants to express, in a few words, what they “take away” from the workshop; what they gained from it; what it supported? Responses varied, but stressed the kind of “learning” that can come from sustained, critical conversations across disciplinary, cultural, national, and ideological boundaries in a “friendly” context that take each researcher’s work “on its own terms” but also enable linking with other research perspectives and paradigms to open up possibilities for seeing a topic in new ways.

After Foucault, what can be said now about power and sexuality and interconnections between them? What contributions can these conversations about power/sexuality make to feminist “ethico-political” social theory? Can dialogues between and among different modes of theorizing, e.g. queer feminist, post-structuralists, historico-materialist, and intersectional, create new perspectives?

Each of the papers in this workshop took up one or more of these questions, either implicitly or explicitly. And the workshop itself came to embody the “dialogue among/across modes of theorizing” prompting reconsideration of different perspectives which the sub-theme itself had posed as a “strategy in question”.

We reached no consensus on approaches to theorizing power or strategies designed to challenge various structures and discourses of power, but consider that a strength. Taken together, the papers provoked examination of ideas and data in each other’s work in new ways.

Several themes recurred in our discussions:

1. *Power as inside/outside problematic.* In different ways, each of these papers considered how to theorize gender and sexuality in relation to “location” of power and resistance to hegemonic power. Perhaps this emerged most clearly in the conversations (both explicit and implicit) between Jonathan Dean’s paper challenging the idea that radicality inhered in any particular feminist ideology (did “radical feminist theory” have a monopoly on radical feminist politics or was there a radical dimension to interventions in state power?); Fiorenzo Iuliano’s paper on the queerness of queer theory (queer agency, he argued, required an

insistence on sexual difference, and a resistance to “homonormativity” or an opposition to the normalizing of gay/queer identities under sanctioned legalistic/judicial paradigms, as in struggles for “rights”); Gunnel Karlsson’s exploration of the biography of women “inside” the state; and Ulrika Dahl’s articulation, reconfiguration and recuperation of femininity through a cultural anthropology of “femme” visibility in queer theory (raising the possibility of a feminist project with, not against, femininity, where, as a kind of “outsider within” femininity, “femmes” signal a “new femininity” and where this reconfigured femininity is not antithetical to agency). But it was also at play in Bih-Er Chou’s paper on the changing roles and experiences of boss wives among family businesses following the move from Taiwan to China, and in Olga Yaschenko’s paper on Russian women’s strategies for dealing with conflict sexualized interactions in the workplace in the absence of legislative remedies for addressing what is called, in other political contexts, “sexual harassment”.

2. *The relationship between ideology and power.* Papers explored this in various ways, both as a subject within feminist theory – ideologies of femininity, radicality, empowerment – and for feminist theory and practice – Cynthia Cockburn’s paper on what role ideology plays in war as an inhibitor to rape; the transportation of a particular ideology of equality across national, ethnic and other boundaries and its impact on defining feminist questions; Olga Yaschenko’s paper on sexualized interactions in the workplace in Modern Russia and the issue of “sexual harassment”; Noemi Kakucs’s examination of the circulation of an ideology of equality in Hungary through transnational political arenas and local women’s and ethnic organizations; and Malin Rönnblom’s discussion of space as a dimension of policy analysis needed to understand the impact of the elaboration of different equality and regional development policies.
3. *Globalization and power.* This theme was most directly taken up in Bih-er Chou’s paper on moving family business from Taiwan to China. But it also emerged in our discussion of language and terminology in feminist theory – gender and sexuality as terms are not easily moving across languages and political boundaries.
4. *Research and writing strategies of reflexivity in connection with feminist research on power.* Several papers, and our discussions, frequently touched on the “why” and “how” of research – what is the research for? Should it be connected to political strategies for undoing hegemonic power? We discussed GEXcel’s location within institutions of power – the university. Is it enough to announce the “socio-political” position of the researcher and her/his ideological positioning? Or do we need other modes of reflexivity in writing – in doing what Maria Törnquist has called “carnal ethnography” – on feminist theory itself?

# Chapter 25

## Report from Workshop 3

### – Common and Conflicted: Rethinking Interest, Solidarity and Action

*Joyce Outshoorn*

Despite a set of disparate topics and diverse approaches, ranging from policy analysis of Swedish shelters for battered women and US prostitution policy to the Obama/Clinton contest and teasing out hegemonic masculinity, a number of themes have kept recurring.

1. *Solidarity*. How is it possible to create and sustain it while accepting diversity and heterogeneity, in situations of conflicting interests? How do we “do” intersectionality in our analyses, also in our historical research? And how are different groups “doing” it in their politics? Gendering analysis is familiar to all of us, but we did find that sexuality tends to be subordinated in the papers, and in our debates. Looking back, this also goes for religion and religious identities.
2. *The importance of an historical approach* and historicizing categories and concepts, also when traditions are being re-invented. In this context we discussed how nationalism uses gender in constructing and maintaining boundaries between insiders and outsiders. Gender becomes a marker of ethnic differences in the re-invented discourses and in defining what the good citizen is, as we saw in the papers on Sweden/Italy. This also is the case when a pre-colonial past is invoked to construct sexual morality (Keralam); or to reconstruct a post-revolutionary one (Cuba) going beyond pre-revolutionary Catholicism. We see that the past weighs heavily on the present in the US where white feminists have continued to privilege gender above race in the period of the First wave, in their opposition to the 15th amendment to the US constitution, and this is repeated in the Obama/Clinton contest for the Democratic nomination for the presidency. The historical approach is also crucial to downsizing sweeping statements about globalizations and claims about phenomena being new or unprecedented; many authors showed the importance of situating effects of globalization in local and national contexts, and showing continuities and disruptions.

3. *The representation of Second Wave feminism.* The need to clarify what Second Wave feminism is, also emerged from our discussions. There seem to be misunderstandings about it. What are its core assumptions and concepts? What constructions of Second Wave feminism are being made by later academics and feminists and by younger ones who have not personally experienced the early decades of the movement(s)? Can it be reduced to three positions: liberal, radical and socialist feminism? What happened after the “dip” in the 1980s (United States) and the 1990s? Are we seeing a reconstruction of the movement(s)? Is there a need to take into account national differences, as on the Continent movements show a different life cycle? What about “waves”, should we not be getting rid of this metaphor? It makes us look for resurgences all the time, overlooking continuities.
4. *Bringing men and class back in.* We should not just be looking at masculinities, but also real existing men and their practices. We discussed different types of masculinities, such as militarized masculinities (Cuba) and hegemonic masculinities. The latter need to be investigated empirically, “researching up” by looking into top elites and see in how far there are regional differences in the capitalist and financial elites worldwide. The importance of class also needs to be re-asserted and brought into our analyses, as a crucial fundament for interest formation, moving away from sheer identity politics, but showing how it intersects with ethnicities/gender. Class also stratifies the work, such as in the sex industry, creating new categories of work. The neo-liberal revolution has fundamentally altered class, but what are its post-neo-liberal manifestations?
5. *What do we expect from the state?* It is one of the areas in which the difference between the US and Europe manifests itself (I also see this difference in the preference of talking about race or ethnicities, and in trajectories of women’s movements). At the minimum we expect protection (e.g. of victims of wife-battering) and regulation of excesses, as in sex work. How are states dealing with migration? What could an ethics of care mean for migrants and authorities, and can it make the latter more responsive and responsible, and enable migrants to live a decent life?



# Notes on the Contributors

**Cheryl Auger** is Ph.D. student at the Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, Canada.

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**Valerie Bryson** is Professor of Politics at University of Huddersfield, UK.

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**Jonathan Dean** is Postdoctoral Research Fellow at London School of Economics, UK.

**Ann Ferguson** is Professor Emerita of Philosophy and Women's Studies at UMass Amherst, USA.

**Jeff Hearn** is Professor of Gender Studies at Linköping University, Sweden, and co-director of GEXcel.

**Richard Howson** is Postdoctoral Researcher at the School of Social Sciences, Media and Communication, University of Wollongong, Australia.

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**Kathleen B. Jones** is Professor Emerita of Women's Studies at San Diego State University, USA. She is also member of GEXcel's International Advisory Board.

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**Nina Lykke** is Professor of Gender Studies at Linköping University, Sweden, and director of GEXcel.

**Serena Maurer** is Lecturer in Cultural Encounters at Roskilde University, Denmark, and Affiliate Assistant Professor in Women Studies at the University of Washington, USA.

**Joyce Outshoorn** is Professor of Women's Studies at Leiden University, Netherlands.

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# Appendix

**GEXcel Conference of Workshops**

# **Gender, Sexuality and Global Change**

**Örebro University  
May 22–25, 2008**

**Introduction – open to everyone  
Thursday May 22  
Bio, Forumhuset, Örebro University**

13.00–13.20 **Welcome**

13.20–15.00 **Carole Pateman, Professor of Political Science,  
UCLA, USA, and Distinguished Visiting Professor at the  
School of European Studies, Cardiff University, UK**

**Charles W. Mills, Professor of Moral and Intellectual  
Philosophy, Northwestern University, Chicago, USA  
*'Contract, Gender and Global Change'***

15.30–16.30 **Joyce Outshoorn, Professor of Women's Studies,  
Leiden University, Netherlands  
*'The Politics of Prostitution Revisited'***

**GEXcel: Center of Gender Excellence  
[www.genderexcel.org](http://www.genderexcel.org)**



# Conference Programme, May 22-25, 2008

## Örebro University, Sweden

Thursday May 22

11.00-13.00 Registration

### Plenary Session

*Location: BIO, Forumhuset*

13.00–13.10 Welcome to GEXcel's first thematic conference, by Prof. **Nina Lykke**, Director of GEXcel

13.10–13.20 Presentation of the conference theme "Gender, Sexuality and Global Change", by Prof. **Anna G. Jónasdóttir**, theme leader

13.20–15.00 "Contract, Gender and Global Change", by **Carole Pateman**, Professor of Political Science, UCLA/ University of California, USA, and Distinguished Visiting Professor at the School of European Studies, Cardiff University, UK, and **Charles W. Mills**, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy, Northwestern University, Chicago, USA

15.00–15.30 Coffee

15.30–16.30 "The Politics of Prostitution Revisited", by **Joyce Outshoorn**, Professor of Women's Studies, Leiden University, Netherlands

Evening Dinner

Friday May 23

### Workshops in three groups arranged by sub-theme

See schedules below

Evening Dinner free for everyone to arrange

Saturday May 24

### Workshops in three groups arranged by sub-theme

See schedules below

Evening Dinner and entertainment

Sunday May 25

### Plenary Session

*Location: BIO, Forumhuset*

10.00–11.00 Reports from workshops

11.00–12.00 Discussion

12.00 Lunch

## Workshop 1: Sexuality, Love and Social Theory

Coordinator: Anna G. Jónasdóttir

Reporters: Valerie Bryson and Lena Gunnarsson

### Friday 23 May Room F 105

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Introduction</i>	
9.10-10.10	Valerie Bryson	From Making Tools to Making Love: Marx, Materialism and Feminist Thought	Helen Lindberg
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Xingkui Zhang	Bao Ernai in China – a Contemporary Form of Polygamy or Sexual Exploitation of Women?	Stevi Jackson
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Helen Lindberg	The One-Dimensional Woman in Neo-Materialist Feminist Social Theory	Valerie Bryson
14.00-15.00	Maria Törnqvist	A Market of Emotions: The Case of Tango Tourism in Buenos Aires	Stevi Jackson

### Saturday 24 May Room L 142

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Practical matters</i>	
9.10-10.10	Stevi Jackson	Materialist Feminism, the Pragmatist Self and Global Late Modernity	Anna Temkina/ Xingkui Zhang
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Katja Kahlina	The Prospects of Combining Macro and Micro Perspectives in Research on Sexual Identities	Helena Bergström
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Helena Bergström	Relations in Change? Love and Strain when Someone Close is Transsexual	Katja Kahlina
14.00-15.00	Anna Temkina	New Russian Women and Sexual Biographies	Maria Törnqvist

## Workshop 2: Power and Politics – a Feminist View\*

Coordinator: Nina Lykke

Reporter: Kathleen B. Jones

### Friday 23 May Room P 105

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Introduction</i>	
9.10-10.10	Malin Rönnblom	On the Road to an Intersectional Methodology in Feminist Policy Analysis	Jonathan Dean
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Noemi Kakucs	Help from Above? Do EU Institutions Empower Gender and Ethnic Minority Groups in Hungary?	Suruchi Thapar-Björkert
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Cynthia Cockburn	“Why are <i>You</i> doing this to <i>Me</i> ?” Identity, Positionality, Power and Sexual Violence in War	Fiorenzo Iuliano
14.00-15.00	Fiorenzo Iuliano	Bodies that Challenge: Paradigms of Immunization	Cynthia Cockburn
15.00-15.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
15.30-16.30	Suruchi Thapar-Björkert	Politics of “Sheltering”: Honour Related Violence in Sweden	Noemi Kakucs

### Saturday 24 May Room L 144

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Practical matters</i>	
9.10-10.10	Gunnel Karlsson	The Making of Political Women – Inga Thorsson and Ulla Lindström in Swedish Politics	Ulrika Dahl
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Ulrika Dahl	Femme as Figuration: Rethinking (Queer) Femininity	Gunnel Karlsson
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Bih-Er Chou	Boss’ Wife of TaiShang: Wife or Boss, Before and After	Olga Yaschenko
14.00-15.00	Olga Yaschenko	Sexualized Interactions in the Workplace in Modern Russia	Bih-Er Chou
15.00-15.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
15.30-16.30	Jonathan Dean	Feminist Purism and the Question of “Radicality” in Contemporary Feminist Theory	Malin Rönnblom

\* This schedule was rearranged since Suruchi Thapar-Björkert had to cancel her participation.

## Workshop 3: Common and Conflicted – Rethinking Interest, Solidarity and Action

Coordinator: Jeff Hearn

Reporter: Joyce Outshoorn

### Friday 23 May Room P 114

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Introduction</i>	
9.10-10.10	Ann Ferguson	Global Gender Solidarity and a Feminist Paradigm of Justice	Richard Howson
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Cheryl Auger	Sex Work, Sexual Regulation, and Autonomy	Gun Hedlund
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Serena Maurer	“Circumcision of Young Girls is Illegal”: Race, Sexuality and Nation in Danish Debates over Migration	Sarah Scuzzarello
14.00-15.00	Sarah Scuzzarello	A Comparative Analysis of the Integration Policies in Birmingham and Malmö through the Lens of an Ethic of Care	Serena Maurer
15.00-15.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
15.30-16.30	Gun Hedlund	The New Swedish Politics of Women’s Sexual and Bodily Integrity	Cheryl Auger

### Saturday 24 May Room L 146

Time	Author	Paper	Discussant
9.00-9.10		<i>Practical matters</i>	
9.10-10.10	Richard Howson	Hegemonic Principles: Unpacking the Nexus Domination and Hegemony	Ann Ferguson
10.10-10.30		<i>Coffee</i>	
10.30-11.30	Kimberle Crenshaw	The Curious Resurrection of First Wave Feminism in the US Elections: An Intersectional Critique of the Rhetoric of Solidarity and Betrayal	Jeff Hearn
11.30-13.00		<i>Lunch</i>	
13.00-14.00	Silje Lundgren	Revolution and Heterosexualization	Rajeev Kumaramkandath
14.00-15.00		<i>Coffee</i>	
15.00-15.30	Rajeev Kumaramkandath	The Construction and Remembrance of a “Homogenized Home”: Shifting Patterns of Hegemony and Purging out the Deviant Bodies in Kerala	Silje Lundgren
15.30-16.30	Jeff Hearn	Global Gender/Sexual Scenarios	Kimberle Crenshaw

