

Reimagining Gender and Politics: Transnational Feminist Interventions

Goethe University Frankfurt, Campus Bockenheim,
27th/28th November 2010

Keynote:

Malathi de Alwis (Colombo)

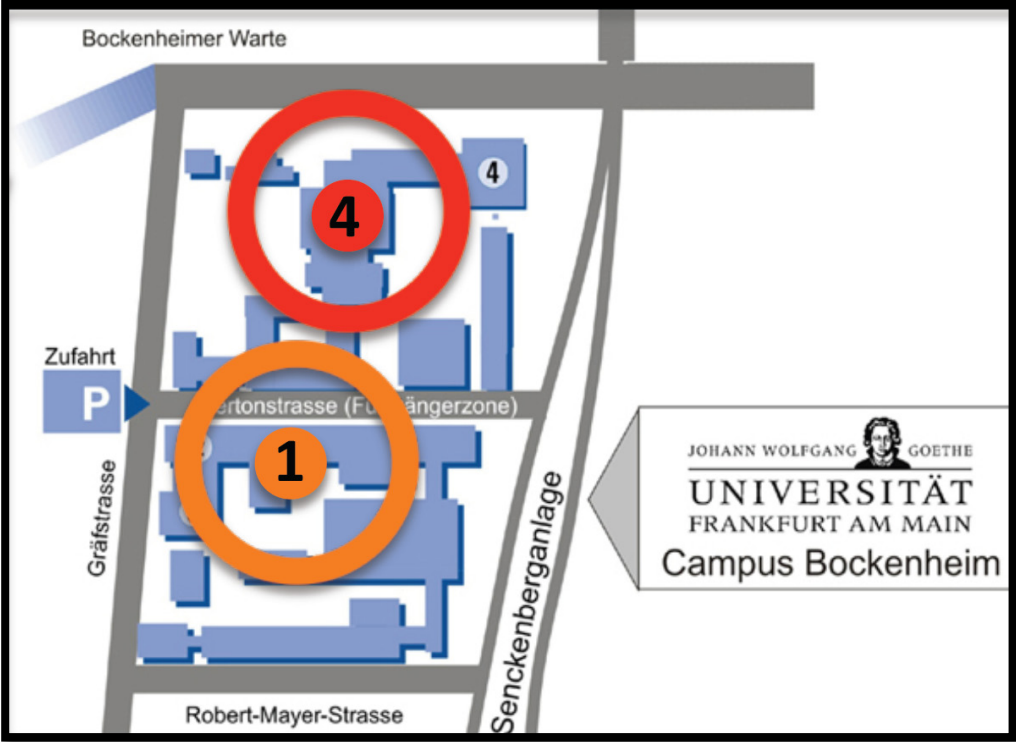
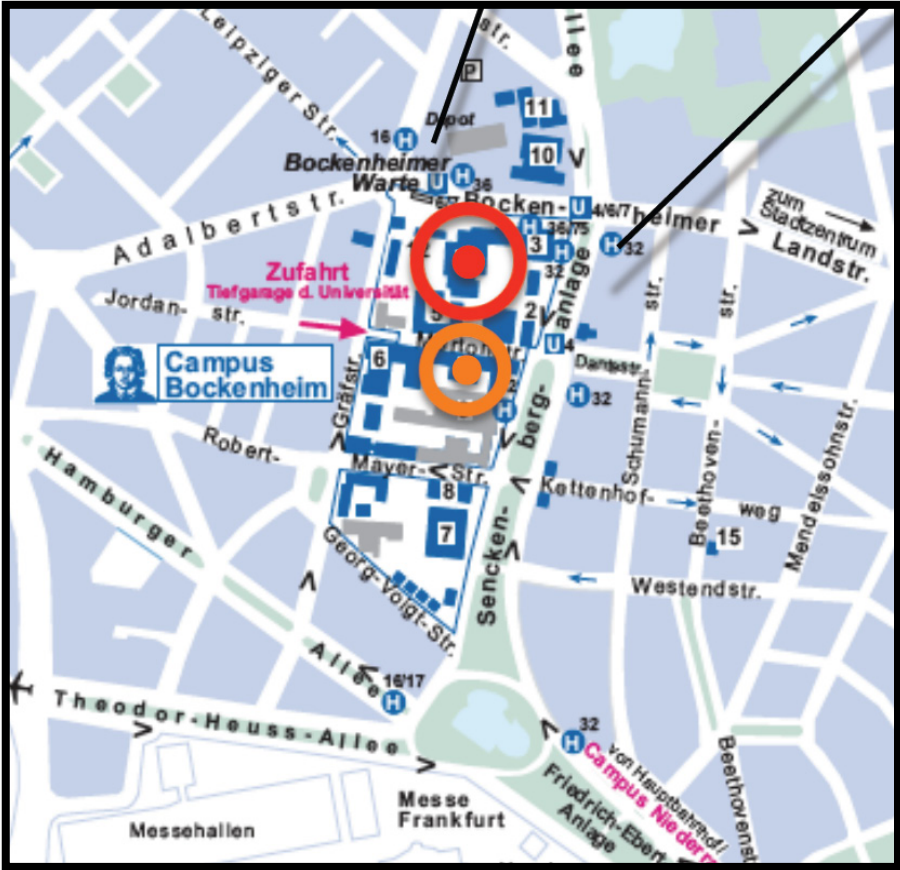
“The ‘Apparition of Rape’ and the ‘Sisterhood’ of International Feminists”

Panels:

Human Rights and Justice
Transnational Spaces and Migration
Multiculturalism and Citizenship
Perspectives from ‘Other’ Worlds
Civil Society and Governmentality
Religion in Transnational Feminist Politics
Women's Political Activism, Islam and Societal Transformation
Negotiating Feminist Normativity in Transnationality
Transnationale Soziale Bewegung
Dimensionen transnationaler Geschlechterpolitik
Feministische Theorie überdenken

www.politik-und-geschlecht.de and www.frcps.uni-frankfurt.de

Map (Campus Bockenheim)



Keynote: (1) Hauptgebäude, ‚Jügelhaus‘, Hörsaal HB
 Panels: (4) Neue Mensa, Sozialzentrum (1st Floor)

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MAP (CAMPUS BOCKENHEIM)

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MAP (RESTAURANTS NEAR CAMPUS BOCKENHEIM)

About the Conference Organizers

Arbeitskreis ‘Politik und Geschlecht’, German Association of Political Science (DVPW)

The working group ‘Politics and Gender’ (Arbeitskreis ‘Politik und Geschlecht’) of the German Association of Political Science (DVPW) exists since 1991. It was an initiative of a group of female political scientists, who sought to overcome male dominance and promote women’s participation and feminist perspectives in political science and in politics in Germany and also internationally. The aim was and is to facilitate research and networking amongst feminist academicians and activists in political organizations, institutions and projects. Moreover, by bringing together theoretical research with practical work, the goal is to highlight the epistemological and methodological relevance of feminist perspectives within political science and politics. The annual conference provides a platform to exchange research ideas and advance networking especially amongst feminist political scientists. It also serves to expand awareness and understanding of feminist theory and politics.

www.politik-und-geschlecht.de

Frankfurt Research Center for Postcolonial Studies, Cluster of Excellence ‘The Formation of Normative Orders’, Goethe University Frankfurt

The Frankfurt Research Center for Postcolonial Studies (FRCPS), which is headed by Prof. Dr. Nikita Dhawan, is one of the first research settings in the German-speaking academic landscape to decidedly approach theoretical inquiry within the Social Sciences from a postcolonial perspective. Research at FRCPS engages with postcolonial constellations and conflicts in all their complexities by not only exploring issues of cultural politics, but also placing a strong emphasis on questions of decolonization and democratization within evolving socio-economic and political orders. Research focus is on human rights, justice, post-development, migration and transnationality, peace and conflict and globalization from a queer-feminist-postcolonial lens. Accordingly, the implications of race, class, sexual, religious and gender relations as shaped through colonialism for the structuring of contemporary global politics are investigated, while simultaneously devoting attention to issues of power, resistance and agency.

www.frcps.uni-frankfurt.de

Conference Program

Saturday, 27th November 2010

12.30-13.00 **Registration/Coffee**

13.00-13.30 **Welcome Remarks (Neue Mensa, Konferenzraum III)**

Nikita Dhawan, Andrea Nachtigall & Helen Schwenken

[AK 'Politik und Geschlecht' & Frankfurt Research Center for Postcolonial Studies]

13.30-15.30 **Parallel Panel Sessions (Panels 1, 2 & 3)**

PANEL 1 – Human Rights and Justice (Room 102)

Moderation: Rirhandu Mageza-Barthel, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Human Rights Politics: The Application of Hannah Arendt's Notion of "The Rights to Have Rights" to the Feminist Movement

Sine Bağatur, Erasmus Rotterdam University (EIPE)

Gender in Transitional Justice

Susanne Buckley-Zistel, Philipps Universität Marburg

Intersectionality and Transnational Human Rights

Doris Urbanek, Universität Wien

The Politicization of Sexual Violence and post Cold-War Feminist Politics

Carol Harrington, Victoria University of Wellington

PANEL 2 – Transnational Spaces and Migration (Room 103)

Moderation: Helen Schwenken, Universität Kassel

Where Do I Belong To? Citizenship and Identities of Indonesian Women in Switzerland

Ervita Sumardjono, Universität Bern

Diaspora and Solidarity: Representations of War from a Distance

Belén Martín Lucas, Universidade de Vigo

"Multicentered" Feminism and the Tuning of Gender Identity in Migratory Processes

Maria Caterina La Barbera, Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Madrid

The Politics of Belonging for Migrant Women Working in the Care Sector: The Ethno-National and Transnational Dynamics of Reproductive Labour

Helen Crowley, London Metropolitan University

PANEL 3 – Transnationale Soziale Bewegung (Room 123)

Moderation: Regina Kreide, Julius Liebig Universität Gießen

Umverteilung – Anerkennung – Repräsentation: Geschlechtergerechtigkeit als Ziel transnationaler Frauenbewegungen

Regina-Maria Dackweiler, Hochschule RheinMain

Countermovements: Ein blinder Fleck der Bewegungsforschung

Dana Fennert, Philipps Universität Marburg

Frauenbewegungen in Brasilien: Nationales Engagement unter Bedingungen transnationaler Brüche

Antje Daniel, Universität Bayreuth

Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NRO) als transnationale Akteure

Ricarda Gerlach, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

15.30-16.00 Coffee Break

16.00-18.00 Parallel Panel Sessions (Panels 4, 5 & 6)

PANEL 4 – Multiculturalism and Citizenship (Room 102)

Moderation: María do Mar Castro Varela, Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin

Feminism and Multiculturalism Revisited: A Case Study

Diane Perpich, Clemson University

Multicultural Dialogue: Dilemmas, Paradoxes, Conflicts

Randi Gressgård, University of Bergen

Multiculturalism and Feminism: Are Human Rights for Women Compatible with Group Rights?

Hülya Çağlayan, Sabancı University, Istanbul

Is Islam Bad for Women? Multiculturalist Alibis and Postcolonial Rationales

Jamila Mascat, Università La Sapienza, Rome

PANEL 5 – Perspectives from ‘Other’ Worlds (Room 103)

Moderation: Gülay Çağlar, Humboldt Universität Berlin

The Complexity of Transformative Political Projects in Terms of Gender Relations: The Venezuelan Case

Rita Bitar, Universidad Simón Bolívar, Caracas

Strategic Feminisms: Social Movement Politics, Democracy, and Civic Participation in Post-1980s Turkey

Kimberly D. Gouz, University of Chicago/Bilkent University, Ankara

What Gender Does the New Conception of the Nation in Latin America Entail?

Tania Mancheno, Universität Hamburg

PANEL 6 – Dimensionen transnationaler Geschlechterpolitik (Room 123)

Moderation: Elisabeth Fink, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Transnationale Wohlfahrtspolitik: Konzeptionelle Anforderungen an geschlechtsspezifische Analysen aktueller Politics im europäischen Mehrebenensystem

Ute Behning, Institut für europäische Wohlfahrtssystemforschung, Bramsche

Die Ausgrenzung unversöhnlicher feministischer Kritik in Afghanistan

Mechthild Exo, Universität Hamburg

Transnationale Sorgearbeit und Intersektionalität in der Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung – Methodologische Überlegungen

Sabine Beckmann, Hochschule Bremen

“Ich habe nur Gutes erlebt - Aber ich hätte niemals bleiben wollen”: Weibliche steirische Arbeitsmigration 1945 – 1955

Ute Sonnleitner, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz

18.30-20.00 Keynote (Hauptgebäude, Jügelhaus, Hörsaal HB)

Malathi de Alwis (Colombo, Sri Lanka)

“The ‘Apparition of Rape’ and the ‘Sisterhood’ of International Feminists”

Moderation: Uta Ruppert, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

20.00-22.00 Reception

Sunday, 28th November 2010

09.00-11.00 Parallel Panel Sessions (Panels 7, 8 & 9)

Panel 7 – Negotiating Feminist Normativity in Transnationality (Room 102)

Moderation: Aishah Namukasa, Universität Kassel

U.S. War-Culture, Sacrifice and Salvation

Kelly Denton-Borhaug, Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Gendered Security in a Transnational Perspective: Female (Migrant) Muslims

Liza Mügge, University of Amsterdam

Second Wave Feminism and Decolonization – A Neglected Relationship

Joana Coppi, Humboldt Universität Berlin

Working Towards Transnational Feminisms in Contemporary ‘Global Feminist’ Exhibitions

Ella Spencer-Mills, University of Leeds

PANEL 8 – Religion in Transnational Feminist Politics (Room 103)

Moderation: Anil Al-Rebholz, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

'Agency' not 'Victimhood': Revisiting the Role of Women in Transnational Religio-Political Movements
Akanksha Mehta/Tuty Raihanah Mostarom, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Singapore

Gender and Politics in Land Rights: The Case of the North Eastern Tribes of India
Hoineilhing Sitlhou, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Enlightened Moderation vs. Islamisation? Gender Politics in Pakistan
Andrea Fleschenberg dos Ramos Pinéu, Philipps Universität Marburg

Religion Vs Politics: Feminist Social Thought/Action in Indian Milieu
Maya Subrahmanian, Universität Freiburg

PANEL 9 – Feministische Theorie überdenken (Room 123)

Moderation: Andrea Nachtigall, Alice Salomon Hochschule Berlin

Von globaler Schwesternschaft zu Reflektiver Solidarität
Mirjam Hirsch, Humboldt Universität Berlin

Geschlechtergerechtigkeit in Postkonfliktgesellschaften
Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes, TU Darmstadt & Leibniz Universität Hannover
Franziska Martinsen, Leibniz Universität Hannover

Perspektiven einer gender- und kultursensiblen Kritischen Theorie? Zum Zusammenhang von konkreter Utopie und phantasievoller Narration
Nadja Meisterhans, Flensburg Universität

Produktivität von theoretischen Wanderungsprozessen und Übersetzungen in der feministischen Theorie
Cornelia Möser, Humboldt Universität Berlin

11.00-13.00 Meeting of the AK 'Politik und Geschlecht' (Konferenzraum III)

Film Screening 'A White Substance' (directed by Maria Arlamovsky)

Moderation: Anna Krämer & Dörte Römpel, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

13.00-14.00 Lunch Break

14.00-16.00 Parallel Panel Sessions (10 & 11)

PANEL 10 – Civil Society and Governmentality (Room 102)

Moderation: Gundula Ludwig, Philipps Universität Marburg

Interrupting the 'Race to Innocence': Critical Reflexivity and Intersectionality in the Narratives of Women NGO Workers

Sara de Jong, Aletta, Institute for Women's History, Amsterdam

Old Spaces, New Meanings – The Role of Northern Development NGOs in Transnational Gender Alliances

María Reimóndez, Universidade de Vigo

Understanding Political Tourism through a Transnational Feminist Framework

Gada Mahrouse, Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University

Transnational Feminism, Global Governmentality and Civil Society

Ina Kerner, Humboldt-Universität Berlin

Panel 11 – Women's Political Activism, Islam and Societal Transformation (Room 103)

Moderation: Claudia Brunner, Universität Klagenfurt

A Challenge to the Feminist Narrative? Examining the Role of Islamist Women Activists in Two Dominant Islamist Parties in Southeast Asia

Tuty Raihanah Mostarom, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Singapore

Moroccan Muslim Women and Politics

Naima Benlarabi, IbnTofail University, Kenitra

Secularization versus Islamization: A Reflection on Women's Rights in Muslim Countries

Senem Ertan, University of Siena

16.00-16.30 Coffee Break

16.30-17.30 Concluding Plenary Session: Round Table (Konferenzraum III)

'Transnational Feminism: Challenges and Prospects'

Moderation: Nikita Dhawan, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Gülşay Çağlar (Humboldt Universität Berlin)

Claudia Derichs (Phillips Universität Marburg)

Uta Ruppert (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt)

PANEL 1 – Human Rights and Justice (Room 102)

Moderation: Rirhandu Mageza-Barthel, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Human Rights Politics: The Application of Hannah Arendt’s Notion of “The Rights to Have Rights” to the Feminist Movement

Sine Bağatur

The traditional approach to human rights frames human rights as moral rights that all individuals have by virtue of being human. Accordingly, human rights are universal and have unrestricted validity, binding all individuals and societies whatever their religion, tradition, or culture (Cohen 2008). There are a wide range of political scientists and philosophers who point to a deficiency of the idea of “natural” human rights and they propose a political conceptualization of rights. Hannah Arendt was one of the earliest thinkers who have recognized the dramatic transformations in the traditional understanding of rights with the rise of masses of refugees and stateless people after the Second World War. She was also the first to make a systematic criticism of natural rights from a political perspective and to draw attention to the role rights might play in the political environment of the future.

The aim of this paper will be to analyze the structure, characteristics and practical relevance of the political concept of human rights in the feminist movement. For this aim I will use Arendt’s theoretical framework and her notion of a “right to have rights” (i.e. the right to citizenship is the most basic human right which precedes others) to answer the sub-questions of 1) how does the political concept of human rights differ from traditional concept of human rights, and 2) How does the current feminist movement use the claims for and language of human rights?

Recently, Brooke Ackerly published a book called *Universal Human Rights in a World of Difference* (2009) which presents a distinctive account of the normative question of human rights by carrying out an experience-based inquiry which focuses on the views of a number of human rights activists, especially activists for women’s rights. Like Ackerly, I aim to confront well-reasoned theories of human rights with the reality of human experience; with the experience and struggles of political activists.

Sine Bağatur

Sine Bağatur graduated from Bachelor and subsequently Master in Economics at Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara, Turkey at 2007. She is currently a student at Research Master Program in Philosophy and Economics at Erasmus Rotterdam University (EIPE). The Master thesis entitled “Engendering Consumption” at METU focused on gender aspect of consumption. She also wrote a thesis entitled “Are Markets Morally-Free zones?” in the field of ethics and economics at EIPE. She plans to embark on her PhD in November 2010 at Practical Philosophy Department at Erasmus University, which includes empirical field research about the politics of human rights within the feminist movement and has been awarded a four-year scholarship by Nuffic (Netherlands Organization for International Cooperation in Higher Education).

Gender in Transitional Justice

Susanne Buckley-Zistel

Transitional Justice (TJ) refers to processes of dealing with the aftermath of violent conflicts and human rights abuses in order to provide for a peaceful future. TJ makes use of a number of different instruments and mechanisms, including national and international tribunals, truth commissions, memory work, reparations and institutional reforms, which aim at uncovering the truth about past crimes, putting past wrongs right, holding perpetrators accountable, vindicating the dignity of victims-survivors and contributing to reconciliation. TJ is at one and the same time oriented to the *past*, in addressing the wrongs that have been committed; to the *present*, in establishing a new ethical and institutional framework; and through this, to prevent the *future* occurrence of such similar injustices. The concept has come to occupy a central place in the politics of managing transition as well as in academic research.

The gendered dimensions of TJ were at first ignored and remain under-researched. The comparatively few studies that exist on “gender in TJ” focus almost exclusively on women as victims of sexualised violence. This risks reducing women’s experiences of violence and repression to a single dimension, as well as perpetuating gender stereotypes.

The proposed paper aims to move the analysis forward by taking a wider view of the gendered impact of TJ. This poses some fundamental questions about TJ: Whose justice for whom? Transition to what? Is TJ a global project transmitting hegemonic values, and how does this impact on local needs and understandings of gender? How far do TJ processes impact on the future shape of gender relations? Do we need a broader conception of TJ that fully incorporates economic, social and cultural rights in order for TJ to contribute to greater gender equality? In short, fully incorporating a gender perspective into the analysis of TJ requires also a more explicit reflection on both the underlying theoretical conceptualisation of TJ as well as an analysis of the gender implications of such alternative conceptualisations. “Bringing gender in” to the study of TJ thus implies laying bare the (usually unarticulated) assumptions about the specifically “transitional” nature of TJ and its role and function.

Susanne Buckley-Zistel

Susanne Buckley-Zistel is Professor for Peace and Conflict Studies at Marburg University, Germany. Her research focuses mainly on dealing with the past of violent conflicts, gender and post-structural theories.

Intersectionality and Transnational Human Rights

Doris Urbanek

Engaging in feminist political theory, this paper takes up classical questions of how to achieve social justice and gender + equality¹. It argues that it is not intersectionality's differentiated target groups, but rather a reworked concept of transnational human rights which helps to tackle some of the dilemmas of feminist politics. Going back to early feminist debates, this paper reviews concepts of equality, difference and deconstruction. Discussed as the Wollstonecraft dilemma, equality and difference strategies proved problematic not only due to their single strand focus on imaginary unitarian 'women' and 'men', but first and foremost due to their reproduction of the (male) norm. The third, deconstructivist strategy, proved to be analytically-logically important, but pragmatic-political questions of how to do feminist politics remained. Does intersectionality, i.e. the focus on multiple intersecting social divisions, have the potential of pushing forward feminist strategies and realising social justice and equality? This paper is critical of intersectionality and the ways it has been discussed in feminist politics until now. Drawing from Nancy Fraser's work in 'Justice Interruptus', I argue that intersectionality has most commonly been used to internally differentiate groups. This raised concerns about competing dynamics between inequality strands, resulting in an 'Oppression Olympics'. But even more importantly, the Wollstonecraft dilemma has not sufficiently been challenged up to now: Diversified target groups in themselves do not challenge the (male) norm, as they remain within a 'group logic'. This is visible in transnational human rights discourses and feminist conceptualisations of differentiated citizenship: 'Special' or 'particular' rights for special groups not only play into essentialising group politics; moreover, they reproduce the 'unmarked (male) norm' as the normal, the universal. Alternatively, what this paper suggests is an issue-based conceptualisation of human rights, rather than group-based human rights. *Existing human rights can be challenged by an extension of human rights, with regard to their field of reach and their systematic of application.* This is not to say that feminist politics can not be organised around (empowering) identities. Alternatively, however, issue-based rights-lobbying might be a way to challenge norms, without reifying identities.

Doris Urbanek

Doris Urbanek (*1978) is PhD candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Vienna. Her dissertation project, supervised by Univ.-Prof. Dr. Birgit Sauer, is dealing with theoretical, methodological and empirical dimensions of intersectional discursive policy analysis.

Being able-bodied, of majority society, in a financially secure position and educated, she has had the privilege to engage in questions around (gender) equality and social justice throughout her educational life (German and Theatre Studies, Vienna; Master in Gender & Development at the Institute of Development Studies, UK) and professional career (Research associate in the EU-wide project QUING – Quality in Gender+ Equality Policies).

¹ The term 'Gender + equality' refers to the concept of 'interdependency', where any category is thought of as always already constituted by other categories. In a realist epistemology this would mean that 'women' and 'men' are always already constituted by multiple social divisions.

The Politicization of Sexual Violence and post Cold-War Feminist Politics

Carol Harrington

The collapse of the Soviet Union set off rapid transformations in the international politics of sexual violence. Carol Harrington offers an account of these transformations that interprets feminist political action within the discursive context of the Cold War and Post Cold War United Nations. The collapse of the Soviet Union prompted UN-oriented feminists to re-connect with the human rights movement and liberal politics. They chose violence against women as the feminist issue that best intersected with human rights discourse. This intervention into human rights politics put feminist issues on the Post Cold War democratization agenda, the problem of rape in particular resonating with liberal notions of liberty and tyranny. The new international policy area of “sexual and gender based violence” has rationalized global and regional powers’ intervention into the domestic government and civilian policing of distant populations and territories. Places as diverse as Afghanistan, Iraq, Bosnia, Kosovo, Timor Leste, and the Solomon Islands have all become sites of judicial, community and policing projects that specifically focus upon sexual and gender based violence. Such concerns justify a foreign police presence while depoliticizing this presence by representing it as an “empowering partnership.” Of course women’s NGOs typically welcome such forms of intervention even as they struggle with the consequences of the influx of an overwhelmingly male “international community.”

Carol Harrington

Carol Harrington is author of *The Politicization of Sexual Violence: From Abolitionism to Peacekeeping* (London: Ashgate 2010). Most of the research for this book was completed while she was teaching in the Political Science Department at the Central European University. She now lectures in the School of Social and Cultural Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

PANEL 2 – Transnational Spaces and Migration (Room 103)

Moderation: Helen Schwenken, Universität Kassel

Where Do I Belong? Citizenship and Identities of Indonesian Women in Switzerland

Ervita Sumardjono

Based on Indonesian law, Indonesians can have only one citizenship. For decades, there has been a debate in favour of Indonesians having multiple citizenships, yet so far the attempt has failed. As the fourth most populous country in the world, and in addition the increasing number of Indonesian migrant women, the question over citizenship is crucial. There are studies examining Indonesian migrant women, who work in neighbouring countries and the Middle East. However, there is a lack of studies on “more fortunate” Indonesian women, who live abroad to accompany their spouse. Since the 1950s, in Switzerland, the number of Indonesian women has increased with most of these women having moved to Switzerland for family reasons. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government, through Dharma Wanita Persatuan (Official Indonesian women association) preserves the Indonesian discourses on how it is to be an Indonesian woman. This situation challenges Indonesian women in Switzerland to re-identify their personal and political situations. This study aims to explore how Indonesian women who live in Switzerland to accompany their spouses identify and position themselves in their new living context. The study found that both Dharma Wanita, as government agent, and these women have created a new discourse on Indonesian woman, which goes beyond citizenship. These self-renounced Indonesian women participate actively in Indonesian official celebrations and events. Meanwhile the Indonesian government maintains a watchful eye on these self-renounced Indonesian women and keeps reminding them to be good Indonesian women, without recognizing their legal citizenship. Nevertheless, these women are aware that they are not entitled to any legal protection from the Indonesian government in Switzerland. Thus, they are trapped between two different identities; they retain their responsibilities to be good Indonesian women, yet legally they are no longer Indonesian citizens. This study employs ethnographic methods. Participant observation and in depth interviews are the most crucial methods to gather data, which was then analysed through discourse analysis to understand the stories of these women.

Ervita Sumardjono

Ervita Sumardjono is a Phd candidate at the University of Bern. She obtained a Master of Arts in Health Social Science from Mahidol University in Thailand. She used to work as a consultant in the fields of health, children, gender and gender based violence. Her areas of expertise are South East and East Asia.

Diaspora and Solidarity: Representations of War from a Distance

Belén Martín Lucas

Nila Gupta's *The Sherpa and Other Stories* (Toronto: Sumach Press, 2008) portrays the plight of Kashmiri civil victims and refugees. Her representation of sexual violence against girls and women in the conflict and their life conditions in the so-called migrant camps demands international attention on the violation of their human rights. After providing a general overview of the conflict and the living conditions of the refugees as depicted in her stories, I will focus here on the sexual crimes committed against girls and women as a direct consequence of the dialectics of patriarchal nationalisms, a thesis exposed by Gupta in her stories. It is important to consider that her text was written and published in Canada; her diasporic location is relevant, since her representations of Kashmiri women's traumatic experiences run the risk of being consumed as 'tragic life stories of women of the Third World' in the West. Aware of her context of reception, Gupta positions herself clearly *not* as a Kashmiri woman, but as a South-Asian Canadian writer, having her narrators and characters move to Kashmir or to the refugee camps in Delhi from North America and giving predominance to the figure of the visitor who listens to testimonies and accounts.

From a feminist political stance Gupta insists in her stories on women's solidarity and implication across identity borderlines, a perspective that may well be assisted by her diasporic location in a multicultural country where cultural 'authenticity' and 'purity' are heavily contested in intellectual activist circles in favour of hybridity, transcultural innovation, and alliances among minority groups. Gupta creates a good number of characters who leave class, caste and religious differences aside for a more humanitarian approach to others. However, there is also an insistence in her narrations on the uncomfortable issue of Western compliance by omission in the ongoing perpetration of the crimes depicted and also a clear demand for implication from characters and readers alike; in the words of one of her characters, "We think if we are far away that we are not affected. [...] But the trouble always follows us, whether we are indifferent or involved" (135).

Belén Martín-Lucas

Belén Martín-Lucas teaches Postcolonial and Diasporic Film and Literatures in English at the Universidade de Vigo (Spain). She has coedited several volumes on globalization and nationalisms from postcolonial perspectives. Her recent publications include *Transnational Poetics. Asian Canadian Women's Fiction of the 90s*, with Pilar Cuder Domínguez and Sonia Villegas López (Toronto: TSAR, 2010), the edition of *Violencias (In)visibles: intervenciones feministas frente a la violencia patriarcal*, (Barcelona: Icaria, 2010) and the essay "'Mum is the word': Gender Violence, Displacement and the Refugee Camp in Yasmin Ladha's Documentary-Fiction" in *Feminism, Literature and Rape Narratives. Violence and Violation*, ed. Zoe Brigley and Sorcha Gunne (London: Routledge, 2009).

“Multicentered” Feminism and the Tuning of Gender Identity in Migratory Processes

Maria Caterina La Barbera

Although the feminization of migration is nowadays recognized as a crucial issue, the theoretical interconnection between feminism and migration studies has not been investigated in depth. Yet, the empowerment of migrant women and the transformation of their personal and collective agency is a crucial issue to understand the changes of the postcolonial globalized society. In this presentation, I will address the issue of whether and how feminism can contribute to the understanding of international migration. In particular, I will focus on how the tuning of women’s gender identity in the migratory processes can be addressed.

Gender, as a crucial concept within feminist theory, has been used as a device to subvert the male-centered epistemology and admit women’s perspective in the public discourse. Yet, many Western liberal feminist scholars conceive gender equality as opposed to cultural diversity. Within the context of international migration, the dichotomy of gender equality vs. cultural difference has often set feminist scholar in speaking out for migrant women without listening to their need of maintaining their culture while catching Western societal opportunities.

In order to challenge such a dichotomy, I believe crucial multicentering the representation of feminism as a multifaceted thought that should incorporate the perspectives of women from the “margin” and stresses out the interrelatedness of race/ethnicity, culture/religion, sexuality/bodyability, and educational/occupational levels in creating women’s subordination. The concept of intersectional-gender is thus proposed as an analytical tool to conceptualize the formation and transformation of gender identities of women “in transit”.

MariaCaterina La Barbera

Maria Caterina La Barbera is a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute for Language, Literary and Anthropology at the Center for Humanities and Social Sciences in Madrid of the Spanish National Research Council. She obtained her PhD in Human Rights by the University of Palermo (Italy) in April 2008, where she previously got her law degree. Her doctoral thesis entitled "Multicentered Feminism: Revisiting the Female Circumcision/GenitalMutilation/Surgery/Cutting Discourse", focuses on the debate on feminism and multiculturalism and analyses in particular the practice of female genital mutilation. She has been a visiting fellow at the London School of Economics (2005), at the Universidad de Valencia (2006), and the University of California, Berkeley (2007). Her research interests are among others gender and intersectionality, critical race theory, multiculturalism, immigration law, anthropology and law and public health. Among other publications, she published “Intersectional Gender: Thinking about Gender and Cultural Difference in the Global Society”

The Politics of Belonging for Migrant Women Working in the Care Sector: The Ethno-National and Transnational Dynamics of Reproductive Labour

Helen Crowley

This paper will reflect on the strategies of settlement and belonging adopted by Filipino and Polish women working in the care sector, both as skilled and low skilled workers in post-industrial economies. It argues that for migrant women the politics of belonging are shaped by ethno-national care, migration and gender regimes that position their settlement and family life in their country of destination. They are further shaped by networks that sustain their transnational belongings and familial responsibilities. In the process of settlement these transnational identity dynamics are contextualised by the spaces of agency created by nationally inflected neoliberal individualism and its particular orchestrations of gender, ethnicity, class, race and migrancy that shape subjectivity within the institutional frame of intersecting regimes of gender, care and migration. Together these structures and processes position the reproductive work of migrant women within the constraints of their working life in the feminised care sector which is characterised by low waged, low skilled and low status work. It considers dominant constructions of social cohesion against migrant women's experiences of belonging in their communities and workplaces, and the networks that ameliorate or exaggerate the forces of individualisation, marginalisation and sectoral economics. The paper is grounded in comparative research funded by the British Academy undertaken in 2009-10 in Australia, Scotland and Ireland which explored strategies of settlement and family formation for migrant women working in the care sector. The politics of belonging experienced in these different countries through different ethnic and migratory trajectories are viewed against the possibility that the globally competitive labour markets in care affords migrant women the option of re-migration. One central issues explored was whether the competitive global labour market positively enhanced migrant women's agency against the structural limitations of feminised labour economics and ethno-national gender and care regimes.

Helen Crowley

Dr Helen Crowley is a Senior Research Officer at the London Metropolitan University in the Institute for the Study of European Transformation. She is currently working on a British Academy funded project on migrant care workers. Before, she worked on the Joseph Rowntree Foundation's Immigration and Inclusion programme's flagship research project 'Rhythms and Realities of Everyday Life: improving our understanding of the relationship between new immigration and social cohesion'. She has been teaching Women's Studies at London Metropolitan since 1991 and before that taught both Sociology and Women's Studies at the Open University, and Macquarie University, Sydney. Her research interests include theories of intersectionality with particular reference to gender, ethnicity and migration; the impact of globalization and post-industrialism on national and transnational family formations and reproduction strategies; and European demographics and gendered migrations. She has been a member of the Editorial Collective of Feminist Review (1986-2006) and is currently a trustee of the Feminist Review Trust.

PANEL 3 – Transnationale Soziale Bewegung (Room 123)

Moderation: Regina Kreide, Universität Gießen

Umverteilung – Anerkennung – Repräsentation: Geschlechtergerechtigkeit als Ziel transnationaler Frauenbewegungen

Regina-Maria Dackweiler

Der Beitrag verfolgt die Absicht, zum einen die Organisations- und Handlungsformen sowie den normativen Horizont der transnational vernetzt agierenden Sozialbewegung „Frauenweltmarsch gegen Armut und Gewalt“ zu rekonstruieren. Zum anderen soll – orientiert an dem analytischen Instrumentarium von Nancy Fraser zur Trias von Umverteilung, Anerkennung und Repräsentation als drei Parametern von Geschlechtergerechtigkeit – das transformative Potential des „Frauenweltmarsches“ ausgelotet werden, der in diesem Jahr ein drittes Mal seit 2000 auf fünf Kontinenten unter dem Motto „Women on the March until we are free“ stattfindet.

Regina-Maria Dackweiler

Prof. Dr. Regina-Maria Dackweiler ist Professorin an der Hochschule RheinMain in Wiesbaden. Zu ihren neueren Veröffentlichungen: Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2007): Globaler Dialog – transversale Politik: Der „Frauenweltmarsch gegen Armut und Gewalt“. In: Peripherie. Zeitschrift für Politik und Ökonomie in der Dritten Welt, H. 105/2007, S. 81-97. Dackweiler, Regina-Maria (2006): Transversale feministische Politik für globale Gerechtigkeit: Der „Frauenweltmarsch gegen Armut und Gewalt“. In: Degener, Ursula/Rosenzweig, Beate (Hg.) Die Neuverhandlung sozialer Gerechtigkeit. Feministische Analysen und Perspektiven. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 183-200.

Countermovements: Ein blinder Fleck der Bewegungsforschung

Dana Fennert

Die Bewegungsforschung untersucht seit einigen Jahren *transnational advocacy networks* (TANs) und *transnational feminist networks* (TFNs). Ebenso gibt es etliche Analysen zu muslimischen Frauenrechtsnetzwerken, die sich transnational vernetzen. Gegenbewegungen (countermovements) sind bislang in der Bewegungsforschung ein unterrepräsentierter Untersuchungsgegenstand. Das Verhältnis zwischen muslimischen TANs/ TFNs und ihren Gegenbewegungen auf transnationaler Ebene ist bislang kaum analysiert worden. Vor dem Hintergrund, dass jede Bewegung Bedingungen für eine Mobilisierung von Gegenbewegungen schafft (Mayer N. Zald), wird folgende erkenntnisleitende Frage innerhalb des Vortrags erörtert: Wie lassen sich transnationale countermovements, die sich TANs/ TFNs entgegenstellen, sichtbar machen und warum ist es von zentraler Bedeutung, das Verhältnis zwischen TANs/ TFNs und ihren countermovements auf transnationaler Ebene zu analysieren?

Dana Fennert

Dana Fennert studierte Politikwissenschaft und Philosophie an der Universität in Rostock. Im Jahr 2008 arbeitete sie als Projektassistentin und wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin im Auslandsbüro der

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Rabat (Marokko). Sie war Stipendiatin innerhalb des DFG-Graduiertenkollegs „Kulturkontakt und Wissenschaftsdiskurs“ an der Universität Rostock. Seit April 2010 ist sie Stipendiatin der Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung und promoviert unter der Betreuung von Prof. Dr. Claudia Derichs mit dem Arbeitstitel „Transnational Advocacy Networks muslimischer Frauen: Organisation, Ziele und Gegenbewegungen auf nationaler und transnationaler Ebene“ an der Philipps-Universität in Marburg.

Frauenbewegungen in Brasilien: Nationales Engagement unter Bedingungen transnationaler Brüche

Antje Daniel

Mit dem Ziel, Frauenrechte zu transnationalisieren und unter dem Deckmantel der Idee des „Global Sisterhood“ wurden die Weltfrauenkonferenzen der Vereinten Nationalen (UN) zu einer bedeutenden transnationalen Plattform für Frauenbewegungen weltweit. Mit der Weltfrauenkonferenz in Beijing 1995 und den resultierenden Beschlüssen schien es, dass erstmals ein internationaler Konsens zur Frauenrechtspolitik erreicht wurde. Aber schon die Folgekonferenzen ließen Konflikte zwischen den Akteurinnen auftreten und die Idee des „Global Sisterhood“ erneut in die Ferne rücken. Nicht zuletzt entstand 1998 eine feministische Gegenbewegung zu den Weltfrauenkonferenzen namens *Marcha Mundial de Mulheres* (MMM). Während die Weltfrauenkonferenzen vorwiegend von internationalen Frauenorganisationen und -netzwerken dominiert werden, nehmen an MMM auch Basisorganisationen und lokale Frauengruppen teil. Auch unterscheiden sich die Mittel zur Durchsetzung ihrer Interessen: Frauenorganisationen auf den Weltfrauenkonferenzen sind bemüht, Verhandlungsmacht auf internationaler Ebene zu gewinnen, um internationale Frauenmensenrechtsnormen zu beeinflussen und mit Hilfe des Drucks seitens der UN nationale Politiken geschlechtergerecht zu gestalten. MMM bedient sich des Protestes und möchten durch die direkte Konfrontation von nationalen und internationalen Institutionen die Einführung von Reformen stimulieren. Thematisch ergänzend zu der Frauenmensenrechtsdebatte der Weltfrauenkonferenzen greift MMM vor allem den Zusammenhang zwischen wirtschaftlicher Globalisierung und deren Auswirkung auf die Situation von Frauen auf. Diese verschiedenen Thematiken, Ziele und Mittel zeigen, dass sich transnationale Räume ausdifferenziert haben und von Brüchen sowie variierenden Zielsetzungen bestimmt sind.

Von der Pluralisierung der transnationalen Räume sind auch brasilianische Frauenbewegungen betroffen, denn durch die Vervielfältigungen der Räume spiegeln sich transnationale Konfliktlinien auf nationaler Ebene wieder. Auf der Grundlage einer empirischen Studie zu Frauenbewegungen in Brasilien soll gezeigt werden wie zwei Frauenbewegungen in Brasilien – MMM Brasilien mit Anbindung an MMM International und *Articulação de Mulheres Brasileiras* (AMB) mit starker Fokussierung auf die Normen der Weltfrauenkonferenzen – den jeweils unterschiedlichen transnationalen Referenzrahmen folgen und diese adaptieren. Insoweit diskutiert der Beitrag, in welchem Ausmaß sich die beiden nationalen Bewegungen an den jeweiligen transnationalen Referenzrahmen orientieren, und ob die Ausdifferenzierung transnationaler Räume nationale Konflikte zwischen den Frauenbewegungen verstärkt oder eine Pluralität an Positionen bedingt. Damit verbunden ist die Frage, ob die national ausgetragenen Kontroversen der nationalen Kohäsion entgegenstehen oder fruchtbar wirken im Engagement für Gendergerechtigkeit in Brasilien.

Antje Daniel

Antje Daniel promoviert seit 2008 an der Bayreuth International Graduate School of African Studies zu dem Thema "Women's movements between national networking and transnational activism: a comparative analyses of women's movements in Kenya and Brazil. Seit 2010 ist sie am Lehrstuhl für Entwicklungssoziologie der Universität Bayreuth angestellt. Zu ihren Forschungsschwerpunkten zählen Entwicklungsländerforschung, insbesondere zu Zivilgesellschaft und Demokratisierungsprozessen sowie Gender-Studien, insbesondere zu Frauenbewegungen.

Nichtregierungsorganisationen (NRO) als transnationale Akteure

Ricarda Gerlach

Auf dem Dritten High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness (HLF) in der Hauptstadt Ghanas, Accra, im September 2008 wurden zum ersten Mal zivilgesellschaftliche Vertreter als eigenständige, einflussreiche Akteure anerkannt.

Zunehmend treten NRO aus dem Nischendasein heraus und streben stärkere politische Partizipation und Zusammenarbeit mit Regierungsinstitutionen an. Sie bündeln ihre Interessen, indem sie auf transnationaler Ebene Netzwerke mit thematisch verwandten Organisationen bilden. Eine wichtige Kontrollfunktion und Überwachung staatlicher Implementierungs-Prozesse wird ihnen im Rahmen des CEDAW²-Protokolls zugeordnet, und ihre Expertise kontinuierlich auch von entwicklungspolitischen und staatlichen Organisationen nachgefragt.

International Women's Rights Action Watch (IWRAP) und Women Living Under Muslim Law

Das internationale Frauenrechts-Netzwerk IWRAP ist eine asienweite Organisation, welche es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht hat, die Durchsetzung von Menschenrechten – mit besonderem Schwerpunkt auf Frauenrechten hinsichtlich internationaler Menschenrechtskonventionen zu realisieren. Progressiv bezieht sich hierbei auf Definitionen zur Gendergerechtigkeit der Vereinten Nationen (VN), wie sie im CEDAW-Protokoll definiert ist. Das CEDAW-Übereinkommen wurde von der Generalversammlung der VN verabschiedet und trat 1981 offiziell in Kraft. Die Aktivitäten der Organisation werden vorwiegend von UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) finanziert.

Während sich die IWRAP auf den asiatischen Kontext bezieht, ist die Arbeit von WLUML (Women Living Under Muslim Law) stärker auf den arabischen Raum und inhaltlich auf religiöse Diskurse fokussiert. WLUML bezeichnet sich als internationales Solidaritätsnetzwerk und definiert sich als ein Forum welches Informationen und Interpretationen zu religiösen (muslimischen) Gesetzestexten diskutiert, welche den Anspruch erheben das Leben von Frauen koordinieren und regeln zu können. Ziel ist eine gendergerechte Interpretation der islamischen Schriften.

Aktivitäten und Ziele der Organisationen

Die Diskriminierung von Frauen in den Mitgliedsländern zu minimieren ist einer der wichtigsten Schwerpunkte. Die Vorgehensweise IWRAPs CEDAW-Inhalte in den legislativen Prozessen der

² CEDAW: *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (Übereinkommen zur Beseitigung jeder Form von Diskriminierung der Frau)

einzelnen Mitgliedsstaaten zu implementieren, basiert auf einer Stärkung der Kompetenzen nationaler NRO. Die nationalen NRO fungieren als ‚watchdogs‘, welche die Einhaltung der VN-Protokolle überprüfen und veröffentlichen (durch Informationsveranstaltungen, Publikationen und Kampagnen) sowie auf Missstände hinweisen. Die Vereinten Nationen haben in diesem Prozess den NRO eine zentrale Rolle zugeschrieben: Das CEDAW-Komitee in New York erhält zwar alle vier Jahre einen Report über die aktuelle Lage jedes Landes, hat aber keine Kompetenzen, die präsentierten Fakten nachzuprüfen.

In dem Paper soll untersucht werden, welche Rolle die oben genannten NRO als transnationale soziale Akteure spielen und wie sie versuchen, gender-Themen auf der lokalen, nationalen (vorwiegend in Indonesien) und transnationalen Ebene zu vertreten, welche Diskurse dabei geführt werden und wie die Verbindung zwischen Geschlecht und Macht dabei ist.

Ricarda Gerlach

Ricarda Gerlach, studied Political Science, Psychology and Social Anthropology in Heidelberg and Cologne (1996-2002) and International Relations in Paris (1999-2000). She worked in the DFG-Project “Dynasties and Female Leadership in Asia 2003-2006” at Univ. Erlangen-Nuremberg and worked as a free consultant for InWEnt and the British Home Ministry. Since 2009 she is working in the DFG-Project “Redefining gender in contemporary Indonesia”, Department of Anthropology, University of Frankfurt. Her research is on international and developmental politics with a particular focus on South- and Southeast Asia, opposition movements, democratization and transition processes, election studies, migration and gender.

PANEL 4 – Multiculturalism and Citizenship (Room 102)

Moderation: María do Mar Castro Varela, ASH Berlin

Feminism and Multiculturalism Revisited: A Case Study

Diane Perpich

Ni Putes Ni Soumises (NPNS) rose to prominence in 2002 protesting conditions for women in France's disadvantaged neighborhoods and demanding equality for women both personally and politically. The movement's positions have been highly controversial, however, and its identity hard to fix. The movement alienated men in France's immigrant communities by criticizing the sexism of everyday life in the banlieues. It later alienated feminists by noting that though *parité* was a laudable goal, it was as useful to women in the ghettos as a sale at French fashion house Hermés. The movement's rejection of politicized, *intégriste* Islam and its support of the ban on religious symbols in school seemed to ally it with racist discourses on the French far right, even as it proclaimed its ties to new left social movements. For Anglo-American feminists, the movement's rejection of a multiculturalist identity politics has seemingly rendered it unintelligible and largely invisible.

This paper uses NPNS as a case study to return to several vexed questions in current debates about feminism and multiculturalism. First, the movement's positions and the reactions to them confirm the suspicion that Okin's question – Is multiculturalism bad for women? – is far from settled. Movements like NPNS find themselves between a rock and a hard place as they try to negotiate the combined forces of racism and sexism. I argue that while an intersectionalist approach is required, it must go further than some analyses have in being sensitive to historical forces shaping activist contexts. Correspondingly, the movement shows the inadequacy of forcing feminist movements into the distinction between equality and difference feminisms. While NPNS appeals to universal norms, it does so in the name of populations cast as "other" by a history of colonialism. Moreover, its appeal to Republican values is itself part of the history of post-colonial struggles in France, specifically the history of *Beur* activism. This paper argues that abandoning the either/or logic of sameness versus difference allows a more nuanced contextualist reading in line with proposals by Benhabib and others who maintain that sensitivity to identity and cultural politics is not incompatible with universalist aims.

Diane Perpich

Diane Perpich received her Ph.D in Philosophy from the University of Chicago and is Associate Professor of Philosophy and Associate Director of Women's Studies at Clemson University in South Carolina. She is the author of *The Ethics of Emmanuel Levinas* (Stanford 2008) and co-editor of *The Voices of Ni Putes Ni Soumises* (University of Illinois Press, forthcoming 2011). Her work on feminist social and political thought has been published in *Hypatia*, *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, and *Continental Philosophy Review*. She has also published essays on ethics and phenomenology. Currently, she is working on a book-length project looking at the contributions of the phenomenological and existentialist traditions to questions of social ontology.

Multicultural Dialogue: Dilemmas, Paradoxes, Conflicts

Randi Gressgård

As cross-cultural migration increases democratic states face a particular challenge: how to grant equal rights and dignity to individuals while recognizing cultural distinctiveness. In response to the greater number of ethnic and religious minority groups, state policies seem to focus on managing cultural differences through planned pluralism. This paper explores some of the dilemmas, paradoxes and conflicts that emerge when differences, notably the intersection of gender and ethnicity, are managed within this Occidentalist conceptual framework. After a critical investigation of the perceived logic of identity, indicative of Western nation-states and at the root of their pluralistic intentions, the paper takes issue with both universalist notions of equality and cultural relativist notions of distinctiveness. However, without identity is it possible to participate in dialogue and form political communities? Is there a way out of this impasse?

Randi Gressgård

Randi Gressgård is Senior Researcher at the Centre for Women's and Gender Research (SKOK) at the University of Bergen (UiB). She is also affiliated with the research unit International Migration and Ethnic Relations (IMER) in Bergen. Her research interests focus on minority research, gender studies and philosophy of science. She has published a number of articles and books within these issues. Her most recent book is *Multicultural Dialogue: Dilemmas, Paradoxes, Conflicts* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books 2010).

Multiculturalism and Feminism: Are Human Rights for Women Compatible with Group Rights?

Hülya Çağlayan

This article intends to undertake a gender conscious analysis of the concepts of group rights and individual rights. Since there are culturally different groups, which may inhabit various oppressive practices toward women, the issue of multiculturalism versus feminism emerges in the question of whether they can co-exist. Therefore, I pay particular attention to the conceptualizations of cultural diversity and relativism within a feminist approach. In pluralistic societies, both the special rights of groups and individual's interest should be defended in a balanced way. With this aim, Susan Moller Okin and Will Kymlicka have been taken into account, since Okin criticizes the multicultural accommodation that Kymlicka constructs due to its little attention of the practices, which subjugate women. On the one hand, Kymlicka highlights that group rights are not sufficiently included within a liberal theory, on the other hand, according to a feminist author, such Okin, groups may have practices that subordinate women just because women are treated as they are not individuals but they are merely parts of men's 'culture' and thus, multiculturalism does not offer a state, which recognizes gender equality. Nevertheless, they do agree that culturally shaped practices consisting of individual rights violation cannot be acknowledged by group rights and therefore, a restriction through those rights should be followed. My response to the primary concern of this paper suggests that avoiding suppressive traditions toward women within a culture will not be sufficient until the

society considers that the culture is not merely for men's enjoyment. A feminist multicultural adjustment can be achieved through a cultural modification that pushes the fundamental idea that both men and women are members of a society, and they should both drive their individual human rights.

Hülya Çağlayan

Hülya Çağlayan is currently a MA student at the Program of Cultural Studies, in Sabanci University, Istanbul. She received her BA degree in Philosophy from Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey in 2009. Her areas of interest are gender and sexualities, nationalism, militarism and Kurdish feminist movement. Currently, she is working on her MA thesis on urban poor Kurdish women in Istanbul through the interacting dynamics of gender, ethnicity and class.

Is Islam Bad for Women? Multiculturalist Alibis and Postcolonial Rationales

Jamila Mascat

In 1997, feminist philosopher Susan Moller Okin published an article in the *Boston Review* entitled "Is multiculturalism bad for women?". In this essay, Okin sought to analyze what she describes as "a deep and growing tension between feminism and multicultural concerns to protect cultural diversity": tension that develops when the claims of minority cultures collide with the ideal of gender equality that is recognized under constitutional law in liberal western democracies. At a distance of more than ten years since Okin's article appeared, the question she raised still seems topical.

In a different perspective from Okin's, Indian-born British writer Kenan Malik, in his book *From Fatwa to Jihad: The Rushdie Affair and Its Legacy* (2009), takes issue with the anti-secular character of multiculturalist strategies that, by celebrating the value of diversity, they have merely enhanced communitarian logics.

Okin's and Malik's critical views of the multiculturalist paradigm are not the only ones voiced from progressive standpoints, but they epitomize the two main sets of arguments put forth in the current debate on cultural issues: those stemming from the feminist critique (Okin) and those stemming from the secular critique (Malik).

In the post-9/11 political context, and especially in light of the recent debate on the "burqa affaire" in Europe, the question raised by Okin might translate in its simplest terms to "Is Islam bad for women?"

This paper aims to discuss and deconstruct the theoretical assumptions that underlie the formulation of this question: first, the notion of culture as a moral substance rather than a practice of representation (S. Benhabib), and second, the interpretative framework, which gives gender a privileged hierarchical status (G. Spivak) that cannot account for the different transversal power relations that intersect it.

Jamila Mascat

Jamila Mascat (Rome, 1979) is teaching assistant of the Chair for Practical philosophy at the Università La Sapienza (Rome). She has completed a PhD with a dissertation on Hegel in Jena and the critique of abstraction”in 2008 (Università degli studi di Siena). From 2011 she will join the Jan van Eyck Akademie (Maastricht) as a research fellow at the Theory department. Her research interests focus on Hegel, Marx, critical theories of postmodernity and postcolonial issues in a gender perspective.

PANEL 5 – Perspectives from ‘Other’ Worlds (Room 103)

Moderation: Gülay Çağlar, Humboldt Universität Berlin

The Complexity of Transformative Political Projects in Terms of Gender Relations: The Venezuelan Case

Rita Bitar

The current government of Venezuela, officially denominated Bolivarian Revolution, which has been already in power for about 10 years, not only has promoted important transformations at the institutional level, but it also has questioned and challenged the historically established political order and social values nationwide. These policy changes and the attempt to build an entire new society, undertaken by the political project in question, have met all the different social strata that exist in Venezuela, as well as almost all the social groups that could be recognized to date, such as political parties, community organizations, social movements, indigenous groups, among others. Without doubt, these attempts altogether have affected significantly the rules of the game, and the way the different groups set their agendas, interests, and strategies to advance them.

In order to carry on with these general transformations, the current government have designed and implemented several mechanisms, including campaigns, social programs, discourses, media programs, new laws, grassroots organizations, among others, which contribute not only to the mobilization of supporters, but also to build the socio-political legitimacy necessary for the democratic system to remain over time, and of course, to achieve the desire revolution in terms of collective values and habits. In this logic, gender interests, relations and groups significantly have been taken into consideration by the Bolivarian Revolution. As some examples, political participation of women have grew up in the last 12 years in the Parliament, at the local level, and in the public powers , and also a new Ministry of women’s issues was created.

In this sense, complexity is evidenced in terms of gender order within this reconfiguring process. In this paper I would like to focus on the symbolic expressions used within this process and examine the consequences in terms of consolidating democratic values, increasing women’s political participation, and transforming political practices in favor of equal gender relations. The aim of this paper is to determine what the theoretical implications are and the comparisons that could be establish with other regions, beginning with this case of study.

Rita Bitar

Born in Venezuela, I completed my undergraduate studies in the Central University of Venezuela in the field of Political Science, with a focus area on International Relations. In 2001, I completed courses on the specialization of Management of Social Programs. In 2006, I obtained my Master’s degree in Public Policy from the University of Pittsburgh. Currently I am enrolled in the PhD program of Political Science at the University “Simón Bolívar”, in Caracas. Since my first academic degree in 1999, I have worked in different local NGOs’s, universities, and multilateral organizations. My areas of study are democracy, gender, and development.

Strategic Feminisms: Social Movement Politics, Democracy, and Civic Participation in Post-1980s Turkey

Kimberly D. Gouz

This paper, which follows the recent history of the women's movement in Turkey, discusses the relationship between social movements and possibilities of civic, democratic participation in contemporary Turkish politics. I argue that the women's movement in Turkey, through its campaigns and political strategies, has uniquely contributed to an expanded field of political possibilities for domestic social groups more widely. I show that the movement, through its creative strategies and innovative campaigns, brought about an environment and framework for future movements to effectively lobby the government and gain access to the legislative process. In this expanded political sphere, even minority members of society can begin contributing definitions of "Turkishness" and voicing their unique demands. More specifically I argue that, in occupying this role, the women's movement has become a key political voice that has served as a check on certain government policies and has played a role in promoting programs of the European Union and United Nations.

While the focus of this project is on Turkey, I also aim to contribute to broader debates of social movement and feminist theory. As discussed elsewhere, social movements can be both the expression and vehicle of democratization, as well as exclusionary in nature (Bodur 2005). My study of the Turkish women's movement reveals recent attempts to address the diversity and specificity of women through what I am calling *strategic coalition building*. I argue that this approach, which aims to build effective and equitable cooperation among numerous identity-based groups, is an effective way for movements to bridge divides and mobilize effectively around favorable shifts in political opportunity (see McAdam 1982 and Morris 1984). Moreover, I suggest that the development of positive coalition dynamics, instrumental to the success of the Turkish campaign in question, is a useful tool for merging competing global feminist discourses. This approach enables organizations to present a united front, representative of standpoint feminism, while still maintaining their unique and "specific" character (see MacKinnon 1979, 1983; Hartsock 1983, 1998; Phelan 1994; Brown 1995; Gunew 1993; Spelman 1988).

Kimberly D. Gouz

Kimberly D. Gouz is a recent M.A. graduate of the University of Chicago, where she specialized in political science and Middle Eastern studies. Gouz is currently working as an instructor for the School of English Language at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey, while continuing her M.A. research on Turkish political and social movements and applying to doctoral programs. Gouz volunteered as a publications assistant for the Haifa Women's Coalition in Israel and is currently a volunteer translator at Uçan Süpürge, a women's organization in Ankara.

What Gender Does the New Conception of the Nation in Latin America Entail?

Tania Mancheno

In the 19th Century, after the independence, the processes of Nation-Building within Latin-American countries were impressed by a patriarchal model of the nation. This was due not only in reason of the desired mirroring of a nation model in the already existing European nations, but also because the major figures who fight for independence (the so-called caudillos), who afterwards assumed political power, were masculine ones. This scenario has characterized Latin-American political geography for more than a century.

However, the designation of the nation as the “home” or “native country” has, ironically, a feminine connotation: Patria has been the term used for referring to that “imaginary space” (Anderson), which has been politically used for developing narratives of independence, ethnicity, citizenship and belonging.

This paradox has become, at the 21st Century, actual once more. The current heads of the left-wing governments in Latin-America seem to anachronically perform a caudillo’s roll. This time, the independence claims are driven by a post-colonial, post-neoliberal discourse. What is more, there have been new terminologies developed for addressing the political changes within the nation in relation to citizenship, belonging and ethnicity. But, has the conception of the nation changed? What gender does the new conception of the nation in Latin America entail? These are the questions which I will be pursuing in this paper.

Tania Mancheno

Tania Mancheno studied political science with a main focus on political theory and political philosophy at the University of Hamburg. Currently she writes her PhD at the University of Hamburg at the Chair of History of Thought and Ideas. She works on modern intercultural critical political theory, citizenship-studies and border-studies.

PANEL 6 – Dimensionen transnationaler Geschlechterpolitik (Room 123)

Moderation: Elisabeth Fink, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

Transnationale Wohlfahrtspolitik: Konzeptionelle Anforderungen an geschlechtsspezifische Analysen aktueller Politics im europäischen Mehrebenensystem

Ute Behning

Mit der Verabschiedung der Lissabon-Strategie und dem Vertrag von Nizza wurde im Jahr 2000 die Methode der offenen Koordinierung (OMK) als offizieller Governance-Mode im Bereich der europäischen Wohlfahrtspolitik eingeführt. Seither finden Wohlfahrtspolitiken in den 27 Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Union (EU) im europäischen Mehrebenensystem statt und werden durch transnationale Koordinierungspolitiken geprägt. Bislang sind die vergangenen zehn Jahre dieser neuen Form der europäischen Politikgestaltung nicht hinreichend erforscht; dies gilt sowohl für die Mainstream- wie auch für die wohlfahrtsstaatliche Geschlechterforschung. Auffällig ist, dass Mainstream- und feministische Analysen auch die neuen, wohlfahrtspolitischen Entwicklungen der letzten Dekade mittels der Methoden und Konzeptionen vergleichender Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung zu erheben und zu erklären suchen.

Dieser Beitrag wird sich der Erörterung konzeptioneller Anforderungen an geschlechtsspezifische Analysen von Wohlfahrtspolitiken im europäischen Mehrebenensystem widmen. Allerdings – und dies ist hervorzuheben – dient das OMK-Regieren des vergangenen Jahrzehnts hierbei lediglich als Referenzfolie. Im Zentrum des Beitrags steht vielmehr die Erörterung aktueller Politics, die durch den Vertrag von Lissabon möglich geworden sind und sich bereits in der ‚Neuaufgabe‘ der Lissabon-Strategie, der im Juni 2010 verabschiedeten „Strategie Europa 2020“, widerspiegeln. Der neue Regierungs-Mode, so meine These, wird die zukünftige transnationale Wohlfahrtspolitik nicht nur auf ‚rechtliche Füße‘ stellen können, sondern auch dezidiert auf die Gleichzeitigkeit von öffentlichen Diskursen und Politikgestaltung in den Mitgliedstaaten setzen. Beides soll gelingen, indem nun auch und vor allem die nationalen Parlamente und das Europäische Parlament an der Ausgestaltung transnationaler Wohlfahrtspolitiken beteiligt werden – ein Desiderat, das der OMK anhaftete.

Außerdem wird der Beitrag einleitend erörtern, welche neuen, geschlechtsspezifischen Policies mit dem Vertrag von Lissabon und der „Strategie Europa 2020“ eingeführt wurden. Dies, um zu verdeutlichen, dass es in den transnationalen wohlfahrtspolitischen Verhandlungen der nächsten Jahre explizit darum gehen wird, wie die geschlechtsspezifische Verteilung von Erwerbs- und Reproduktionsarbeit in den EU-27 zukünftig ausgestaltet und organisiert wird.

Den Abschluss des Beitrags bilden (1.) das Aufzeigen von Forschungsperspektiven im Analysefeld „transnationales wohlfahrtspolitisches Regieren“, wobei auf das OMK-Regieren wie auch auf den neuen Regierungs-Mode abgehoben wird, und (2.) Erörterungen zur Notwendigkeit von transnationalen und europäischen Organisationspraxen von feministischen Akteur/inn/en im Feld.

Ute Behning

Dr. Ute Behning ist habilitierte Politikwissenschaftlerin. Ihre akademischen Abschlüsse erwarb sie an der FU-Berlin. Bevor sie sich in 2007 mit der Gründung des „Instituts für europäische

Wohlfahrtssystemforschung“ selbstständig machte, lehrte und forschte sie an Instituten und Universitäten in Berlin, Osnabrück, Brüssel, Wien, Bremen und Göttingen. Detailliertere Informationen finden sich unter: <http://www.ute-behning.eu> und <http://www.iewsr.eu>

Die Ausgrenzung unversöhnlicher feministischer Kritik in Afghanistan

Mechthild Exo

In diesem Beitrag geht es um das Verhältnis von Konfliktanalysen zur Haltung der radikalen, feministischen Frauenorganisation RAWA in Afghanistan, die ablehnt sich zum Reformismus zu transformieren und am „Aufbau“ mitzuarbeiten. Die in RAWA organisierten Frauen gehören zu den wenigen, die nicht darauf verzichten, die verantwortlichen Warlords, religiös-fundamentalistischen und reaktionären Regierungspolitiker, die gleichzeitig oft bekannte Menschenrechtsverbrecher sind, beim Namen zu nennen und deren Strafverfolgung zu fordern. Unter den gegebenen Machtverhältnissen bedeutet das eine sehr große Gefährdung für die Frauenrechtsaktivistinnen und die Notwendigkeit im Untergrund zu arbeiten.

Als deutsche/westliche Forscherin ist mein Anliegen, die Verantwortlichkeit des westlichen, neokolonialen Interventionsprojektes in Afghanistan und der anleitenden wissenschaftlichen Praxis sichtbar zu machen. Wie unterstützen Theorien und Konfliktanalysen eine außenpolitische Praxis, die bekannte Kriegsverbrecher zu ihren Partnern macht, die entgegen der ausdrücklichen Forderung aus der Bevölkerung, diese auch als Wahlkandidaten zulässt und die Verhinderung der Herstellung von Gerechtigkeit für Massaker, Vergewaltigungen, Folter, Vertreibung zulässt? Warum fehlen Analysen, die fragen, warum RAWA illegalisiert und radikale Forderungen nach Frauenrechten und gegen reaktionären Fundamentalismus als schädlicher Extremismus und Irrsinn ausgegrenzt und viele aktive Frauen ermordet werden? Welche andere Forschungspraxis kann entwickelt werden, die ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf die ausgeblendeten katastrophalen Folgen der Interventionspolitik und auf die Sichtweisen der Opfer der Kriege richtet?

Mein Beitrag basiert auf postkolonial-feministischer Kritik der Internationalen Beziehungen (Agathangelou/Ling u.a.) und insbesondere der Methodologien (Tickner, Stern u.a.) Der Fokus ist dabei auf die Verantwortlichkeit und die Ausblendungen westlicher Konfliktforschung gerichtet. Aufbauend auf der direkten Einblendung der radikalen, feministischen Stimmen durch Zitate aus ihren Online-Statements und aus persönlichen und veröffentlichten Interviews gehe ich den methodologischen, ethischen und politischen Fragen des Themas nach.

Mechthild Exo

Mechthild Exo promoviert zum Thema: Accountability in der Konfliktforschung. Die Ausblendung kritischer Stimmen und die Verhinderung von Kontroversen im Peacebuilding. Perspektiven aus Afghanistan und Nagaland/Nordost Indien. Forschungsaufenthalte in Afghanistan: Mai 2009 und Juni bis August 2010. Stipendiatin der Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. Betreuung der Arbeit durch PD Dr. Aram Ziai, Universität Hamburg. Master in Friedens- und Konfliktforschung von der Universität Magdeburg. Masterarbeit: Graswurzel-Interventionen von Frauen im Friedensprozess in Nagaland. Alternativen zur Politik der Souveränität?

Transnationale Sorgearbeit und Intersektionalität in der Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung – methodologische Überlegungen

Sabine Beckmann

Feministische Forschung zu Transnationalität, Migrationsbewegungen und care drain haben aufgezeigt, welche Bedingungen Menschen zur Migration bewegen, wie und in welcher Art Migrantinnen in ihren Ankunftsändern in prekäre und irreguläre Beschäftigungsformen gedrängt werden (etwa Lutz 2007; Misra/Merz 2007; Roß 2008; Karakayali 2010) und dass diese Beschäftigung sich häufig genug im Bereich von Care befindet. Hiermit ermöglichen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund einerseits Familien, dass Mann und Frau gemeinsam erwerbstätig sind, und kompensieren andererseits „Strukturdefizite eines Wohlfahrtsstaates [...], der in der Aufgabenverteilung zwischen Staat, Markt und Familie eine geschlechtliche Arbeitsteilung voraussetzt“ (Weckwert 2008: 145). Diese Studien haben auch gezeigt, dass der Bedarf an kostengünstigen Care-Arbeiterinnen im Kontext eines sozio-ökonomischen und demographischen Wandels steht, den viele Wohlfahrtsstaaten sozialpolitische, strukturell und im Hinblick auf ihre jeweiligen Leitideen zur Organisation und Verortung von Care bei weitem noch nicht nachvollzogen haben (hier etwa auch Auth 2006). Carework von migrantischen Haushaltsarbeiterinnen und die Bedingungen, unter denen sie diese Arbeit leisten wie auch ihre Lebensführung meistern, steht somit im Zusammenhang mit dem jeweiligen Migrations-, Geschlechter- und Wohlfahrtsregime (Lutz 2007). Darüber hinaus, und das soll der vorliegende Beitrag erörtern, zeigt aber eine intersektionale Perspektive auf die Organisation von Erwerbs- und Reproduktionsarbeit auf, dass die Organisation von Care spezifisch mit den Ungleichheitsdimensionen von Geschlecht, Klasse und Migration verbunden ist und diese Verbindung im Kontext einer wohlfahrtsstaatlichen Rahmung steht. So beschränken sich die wohlfahrtsstaatlichen Arrangements bei Weitem nicht nur darauf, durch einen Mangel an staatlicher Verantwortung für die Organisation von Care prekäre Beschäftigung von migrantischen Haushaltshilfen zu befördern, sondern unterstützen auch aktiv aufgrund von Regelungen wie beispielsweise steuerliche Begünstigungen oder finanzielle Förderungen einer Haushaltshilfe oder Kinderfrau (Beispiel Frankreich) diese Praxis. Dieses hat insofern weitreichende Folgen, als hierdurch die zumeist gut bezahlte Erwerbsarbeit von Mittel- oder Oberschichtsfamilien durch die zumeist schlecht bezahlte und prekäre Fürsorgearbeit von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund gewährleistet wird, die wiederum selbst keine entsprechend flexiblen Möglichkeit haben, ihre Erwerbstätigkeit durch die Verlagerung von Fürsorgearbeit zu flankieren. Auch schließen diese politischen Maßnahmen Familien mit geringem Einkommen in der Regel von der Inanspruchnahme aus (Beckmann/Ehnis 2010).

Am Beispiel von Frankreich und Schweden³ soll der Beitrag zeigen, wie in der feministischen Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung durch eine intersektionale Perspektive der Themenkomplex der transnationalen Arbeitsteilung von Care und die mit der Organisation von Care verbundene Komplexität methodologisch erweitert analysieren werden kann. In der Transnationalitätsforschung zu Migration und Geschlecht im Wohlfahrtsstaat wurde die Erkenntnisse gewonnen, dass

„[d]as Phänomen der Migrantinnen als Haushaltsarbeiterinnen [...] nur in der Interaktion und

³ Wo die staatliche Förderung von Haushaltshilfen und Kinderfrauen übrigens kulturell sowohl gesellschaftlich als auch politisch abgelehnt wird aufgrund des Beigeschmacks herrschaftlicher Ausbeutung von „Dienstboten“, die nicht in die moderne, gleichberechtigte Gesellschaft passt (Lister et al. 2007: 155ff.).

Verknüpfung von einerseits alten und neuen Wohlfahrtsarrangements und andererseits alten und neuen Geschlechterordnungen analysiert werden [kann]. [...] Die Komplizenschaft des Staates und seiner Institutionen bei der Entstehung dieses Arbeitssektors ist offensichtlich“ (Lutz 2007: 69).

Durch eine intersektionale Analyse ist eine Vertiefung dieser Erkenntnisse möglich. Denn die intersektionale Analyse gestattet, wohlfahrtsstaatliche Rahmenbedingungen und Leitbilder zu Care und Arbeitsteilung spezifisch in Verbindung zu bringen mit den Ungleichheitsdimensionen von Geschlecht, Klasse und Migration. Hierdurch können für die feministische Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung wichtige Ansatzpunkte für die Analyse und Formulierung einer sozial und geschlechtergerechten Politikgestaltung entwickelt werden.

Sabine Beckmann

Beckmann, Sabine, Dr. phil., (geb. 1971), Politikwissenschaftlerin, Mitarbeiterin an der Fakultät für Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Hochschule Bremen. Dort von 03/2009 bis 08/2010 Vertretung des Lehrstuhls „Politik und Soziologie in der Sozialen Arbeit“. Gegenwärtig Forschung zu „Social Care in the Area of Tension between Welfare, Participation, and Work“. Arbeitsschwerpunkte: Arbeits- und Careforschung, feministische Politikwissenschaft und Geschlechterforschung, international vergleichende Wohlfahrtsstaatsforschung (Schwerpunkt Familien- und Carepolitik).
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“Ich habe nur Gutes erlebt - Aber ich hätte niemals bleiben wollen” Weibliche steirische Arbeitsmigration 1945 – 1955

Ute Sonnleitner

Während der Jahre zwischen 1945 und 1955 - der österreichischen Nachkriegszeit - verließen zahlreiche Menschen das Land um im Ausland “ihr Glück” zu suchen. Verschiedene Personengruppen setzten diesen Schritt, eine von ihnen wird in der Folge vorgestellt. Es handelt sich um junge Frauen, die für eine begrenzte Zeit aus ihren Wohnorten fortgingen um außerhalb Österreichs zu leben und zu arbeiten. Der Beitrag präsentiert ein Projekt, das sich dem Schicksal von Steirerinnen, die diesen Weg wählten, widmete. Somit ist neben der zeitlichen auch eine geographische Eingrenzung des Themenfeldes erfolgt, die ihre Begründung sowohl in inhaltlichen als auch methodischen Überlegungen findet.

Als primäres Mittel des Erkenntnisgewinnes gelangten Interviews zum Einsatz. Achtzehn Frauen wurden den Grundsätzen der Oral History entsprechend zu ihren Lebenswegen befragt, wobei natürlich ihre Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen im Ausland im Mittelpunkt der Reflexionen standen. Das titelgebende Zitat entstammt einem der Gespräche, es wurde gewählt weil es das Wesen dieser speziellen Migrationsbewegung widerspiegelt: sie war von ihrer Intention - weder von den Frauen, noch von ihren ArbeitgeberInnen - nicht auf eine lange Dauer ausgerichtet. Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der steirischen GastarbeiterInnen kehrte nach einiger Zeit in die “Heimat” zurück. Es gilt zu hinterfragen, wie sich diese spezielle Form temporärer Migration gestaltete. Die Gründe für die Entscheidung ins Ausland zu gehen sollen ebenso Beachtung finden, wie auch die Auswirkungen des Arbeitsaufenthaltes nach der Rückkehr.

Einerseits sind bei den interviewten Frauen viele Gemeinsamkeiten wahrnehmbar. Neben der scheinbar (!) banalsten ihres Frauseins ist es die Herkunft aus Graz und der südlichen Steiermark, die Ausbildung im Bereich "Hauswirtschaft", sowie das Zielland, das in 90 Prozent der Fälle die Schweiz war. Auch die dort ausgeübten Tätigkeiten ähnelten einander, so wurde zumeist im Bereich des Haushalts oder der Gastronomie gearbeitet.

Diesen Ähnlichkeiten stehen wiederum zahlreiche Differenzen gegenüber, die vor allem unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Persönlichkeitsstruktur - dem Umgang mit der "Fremde" - subsumiert werden können. Der Versuch einer Darstellung dieser vielfältigen Aspekte, ist Ziel des Beitrags, wobei den persönlichen Erfahrungswelten der betroffenen Frauen besonderer Raum geboten werden soll.

Ute Sonnleitner

Ute Sonnleitner ist wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin und Lektorin am Institut für Geschichte/Zeitgeschichte der Universität Graz und Koordinatorin des Doktoratsprogramms „Migration-Diversität-Globale Gesellschaften“. Ihre Forschungsschwerpunkte umfassen die Themenfelder „steirischer Widerstand gegen den Austrofaschismus“ und „Frauenalltag“. Ein aktuelles Forschungsvorhaben beschäftigt sich mit der steirischen Migration der Nachkriegszeit in die Schweiz.

PANEL 7 – Negotiating Feminist Normativity in Transnationality (Room 102)

Moderation: Aishah Namukasa, Universität Kassel

U.S. War-Culture, Sacrifice and Salvation

Kelly Denton-Borhaug

This paper highlights the enduring links between U.S. war-culture, and the discourse and rituals of sacrifice. I draw on feminist liberationist methods to critique this dominant paradigm and suggest methods for change in terms of practices of national representation and identity, and religious awareness and reform.

The military industrial complex in the U.S. has grown exponentially in recent decades, and now includes technological, academic, entertainment, scientific, cyber, intelligence, and security facets, in addition to the traditional intertwining of the military with corporate and government institutions. Yet the reality, dangers and lost opportunities in the United States due to war-culture remain invisible to most Americans. Sacrificial rhetoric and practices energize and naturalize war-culture's base and operations; sacrifice permeates just war discourse and tradition while intersecting with popular Christian understandings of redemption in the U.S. The ideology of militarism and war as "a necessary sacrifice" creates a sacred canopy over U.S. war-culture, and obfuscates its pernicious and tragic consequences for people of the United States and wider world. This ideology resurged in the U.S. during the post-9/11 period as the dominant mantra of the nation, unleashing an effective form of social control that mitigates against clear thinking and protest of war and militarism.

Civil religious, and strictly ecclesial and theological formulations of sacrifice are tied up with justification and mystification of unending war and war-culture in the U.S. But since the 1970's, theological ethicists have drawn upon feminist theory in order to analyze sacrificial mandates in religion and society. I utilize this theory to argue for the importance of awareness and criticism in order to better understand the civil religious utilization of sacrifice in popular and political culture, and to create imaginative space for identifying alternatives for national representation, identity and practice.

Kelly Denton-Borhaug

Dr. Kelly Denton-Borhaug is Associate Professor and Chair of the Dept. of Religion at Moravian College, a liberal arts college in Bethlehem, PA, US. Her research and teaching focus on Christian understandings of salvation and their interplay in diverse realms of culture in the US. Following the events of Sept. 11, 2001, and struck by the resurgence of sacrificial frameworks and language in U.S. public discourse abetting the drive to war in Iraq and Afghanistan, she began to research and write on the ethics of Christian salvation, sacrifice and the use of sacrificial ideologies in the practices of war. This research has culminated in a variety of articles, and a book, *U.S. War-culture, Sacrifice and Salvation* (London: Equinox, 2010).

Gendered Security in a Transnational Perspective: Female (Migrant) Muslims

Liza Mügge

Islam has topped the international security agenda since 9/11 in both immigration and emigration countries. Newspapers regularly run stories about youths born and bred in Europe who are recruited by terrorist organizations in their parents' former homelands, while Western intelligence services closely monitor immigration and the political activities of migrants, especially *males*, from Muslim countries. Muslim *females*, on the contrary, are often portrayed as victims. Laws against veiling in public space, for instance, can be interpreted as attempts to safeguard the security of these women. The literature on Islamic feminism and controversies around veiling is booming. The same is true for the analysis of migrant transnationalism from a (critical) security studies angle. But even though in practice both domains overlap heavily, they have largely been studied separately.

This paper brings gender into the scholarly purview and analyzes the securitization of the Islam in a truly transnational framework. It asks: how has the securitization of Islam been gendered since 9/11? What is the agency of women? What are the positions of Muslim feminists on the one hand, and Western feminists on the other? This paper analyzes Turkish migrants settled in three receiving countries – France, Germany and the Netherlands. Turkey and its (former) citizens abroad are an ideal case for three reasons: first, Turkey and the three receiving societies have institutionalized relations between the state and religion in very different ways. This provides crucial variation across a potential key variable to explain different patterns of gendered securitization: the role of governments with respect to religion and the values associated with it.

Liza Mügge

Liza Mügge (née Nell) is Assistant Professor in gender and ethnicity at the Political Science department of the University of Amsterdam. Her research interests include transnationalism, Islamic feminism, diaspora politics, nationalism, qualitative research methodology and Turkish politics. Her monograph, *Beyond Dutch Borders: Transnational Politics Among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation*, is in press with the IMISCOE Research Series Amsterdam University Press (AUP). She also co-edited *Ethnic Amsterdam. Immigrants and Urban Change in the Twentieth Century* (AUP, 2009).

Second Wave Feminism and Decolonization – A Neglected Relationship

Joana Coppi

The history of US Second Wave Feminism is often told as unfolding with the publication of *The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan 2010) and the foundation of the National Organization of Women (NOW) under leadership of Friedan in 1966. This liberal wing of feminism was by the end of the 1960s challenged by socialist and radical feminists, and after 1970 by lesbian and Third World feminists (Rosen 2000; Brownmiller 1999; Taylor and Rupp 1998; Stein 1997; Echols 1989). The division of feminism into these branches goes along with a periodization that declares the late 1960s and early 1970s as heyday of feminism, and the period after 1982 as significant only for a remarkable decline in activity. Increasingly, both the division into branches as well as periodization have been

challenged for hegemonizing white, middle-class feminism (Berger Gluck 1998; Thompson 2001). For example, the assumption that feminism is not possible in mixed gender groups, renders invisible the political activism of Black women in leadership positions in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the main organization of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. Saying feminism only started after women left mixed gender groups like SDS, SNCC or Black Panthers (Evans 1980), renders invisible how women in these organizations worked on feminist issues like welfare provision and health care as well as how Black feminist intersectional analysis derived from this work. This is important to point out because these analyses are often presented as a reaction to what white middle-class feminism had already achieved by the 1970s.

In my presentation I will show with Thompson that the history of Second Wave Feminism needs to start with the Civil Rights Movement, not with the foundation of NOW. I will argue that this alternative periodization also allow for a transnational perspective on the unfolding of Second Wave Feminism in the US. Decolonization, anticolonial struggles, and the resistance against US imperialism are the global processes that served as a powerful inspiration for fights against racial, economic, gendered, and sexual injustice in the US, for example in the form of internal colonialism theory (Gordon 2006) and concepts of nationalism (Carmichael and Hamilton 1992). Not only will this argument expose “from the West to the rest” narratives. Further, I am suggesting that we can learn more from feminist theories and practices if we consider the historical context of their emergence.

Joana Coppi

Joana Coppi is a second year M.A. Gender Studies student at Humboldt University Berlin, Germany. As a Fulbright scholar she is spent the academic year 2009-10 as a graduate student at the CUNY Graduate Center in New York City. Interested in feminist and queer geography and anthropology within a postcolonial and transnational framework her current research engages with the history of queer spaces, in particular the Lesbian Herstory Archives in New York City. In 2009 she received an MFA from School of Art and Design Berlin. Her thesis is the experimental short film “Spouter Inn” (in collaboration with K.V. Helldorff) that was inter alia screened at the London Lesbian and Gay Film Festival 2010.

Working Towards Transnational Feminisms in Contemporary ‘Global Feminist’ Exhibitions

Ella Spencer-Mills

This paper focuses on the recent influx of self styled 'global feminist' art exhibitions in North America and Western Europe, to illustrate inherent problems with the concept of translational feminism. Drawing on concepts outlined by transdisciplinary academics African-American Elsa Barkley Brown, and Indo-American Gayatri Spivak, I will discuss strategies in which a self-reflexive, inter/transnational political feminism can be worked towards. Outlining and analysing the recent trend of blockbuster exhibitions over the past decade, organised by key feminist figures and art institutions, I will argue that, whilst monumental in physical stature and historical significance, the exhibitions lacked sufficient self-reflexivity, and instead revealed hierarchies in their feminist, political and transnational strategies. I will introduce their curatorial strategies and discuss their attempts to undo and redo frameworks of multiculturalism, nation and migration, hoping to present

a 'new' international feminism. I will argue that, paradoxically, these exhibitions ultimately reinforce the dominant paradigms of race, culture, class, sex and gender. Furthermore, how they mask the centre/other binary with double edged notions of inclusion, acceptance and equality, without fully acknowledging the inflected senses of colonial adventure and ethnography in their curatorial search to present 'international' female and feminist artists together in the 'western' art world. An interventionist feminist transnationalism involves a kind of self-reflexivity yet to be realised. To work towards this, I propose employing existing feminist strategies, drawing on Spivak's theoretical framework of International Post-Colonial Feminism and self-reflexivity, and using Barkley Brown's concept of 'Pivoting The Centre'. These concepts are fundamental in exposing our non-racist ideals as merely empathy at best, sympathy at worst. Their feminist strategies of teaching, curating, theorising and writing are crucial to the project of an inclusive, yet not comparative, transnational feminism and genuinely international feminist politics which destabilises prejudices and stereotypes of culture and nation.

Ella Spencer-Mills

Ella Spencer-Mills' research involves the 'Black Arts Movement' in 1980s Britain, focusing on the particular negotiations, interventions and subsequent invisibilities of women in that period. Her interests include the timely interconnections of feminism, migration and Diaspora in the 1980s and as a trans-disciplinary scholar, she spans cultural studies, sociology, history and art. She is pursuing a PhD in History of Art specialising in Feminism at the University of Leeds.

PANEL 8 – Religion in Transnational Feminist Politics (Room 103)

Moderation: Anil Al-Rebholz, Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

‘Agency’ not ‘Victimhood’: Revisiting the Role of Women in Transnational Religio-Political Movements

Akanksha Mehta and Tuty Raihanah Mostarom

Liberal feminist discourse often regards the activism and participation of women in Right Wing, Transnational, Religio-Political Movements as inimical to their own interests and ‘liberation’. With that supposition, these women are often considered to be ‘passive victims’ of patriarchal polity, and their participation is seen as a male-led coercion into a ‘pseudo emancipation’, if not outright ‘oppression’. This paper argues that labeling of such activism as ‘victimhood’, overlooks the agency and active choices made by women, who are not only involved in these movements, but also continue to shape and reshape the discourse, politics, and activism associated with them.

The paper elaborates on two case studies to build its argument. First, the paper studies the involvement of women in the Hindu Nationalist Movement within India and the Indian Diaspora, highlighting the construction of the ‘activist and (often) violent feminine’, and arguing that Hindu Right Wing Women are not ‘pawns of patriarchy’, but agents of polity. Second, the paper elaborates on the role of Islamist women in two dominant Islamist parties in Southeast Asia: *the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS) in Indonesia and the *Parti Islam SeMalaysia* (PAS) in Malaysia, highlighting that women Islamists within the parties present a challenge to the dominant feminist narrative on the impact of the Islamist movement on the status of Muslim women.

The case studies elaborated in this paper highlight that the traditional feminist perspective and its dichotomy between ‘liberation’ and ‘oppression’ fail to correctly represent and understand the role and impact of women in these Movements. To explain the exceptions and paradoxes the case studies have underlined, the authors argue for the modification of the feminist perspective and suggest the construction of a new framework, one that views the actions of these women as ‘agency’ not ‘victimhood’.

Based on both - secondary sources and elaborate field work and collection of primary sources by the authors - the findings presented in this paper will underline the need to re-vision the relationship between gender and politics in the context of the rise of Transnational Religio-Political Movements. By examining the role of women in these movements and revisiting the feminist perspective, the authors aim to contribute to the larger realm of Gender and Feminism Studies, as well as South and Southeast Asian Studies.

Akanksha Mehta and Tuty Raihanah Mostarom

Akanksha Mehta is an Associate Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She completed her Master’s in International Relations from the aforementioned institution, writing her thesis on the “Identity and Agency of Violent Women of the Hindu Right Wing Movement in India”. Prior to that, she completed her undergraduate work at the National University of Singapore. Her research interests include Politics

and History of South Asia, Political Violence and Insurgency in India, India's Foreign Policy, Nationalism and Multiculturalism, Political Religion, Identity and Ethnicity, Gender Studies (in particular- Gender and Religiosity, Gender and Political Violence, and Gender and Nationalism). She has published several articles and commentaries on the above mentioned subjects and has also presented her research at several conferences and workshops, most recent of them being in India, Singapore, Iran, and Switzerland. She is looking to embark on her doctoral studies soon.

Tuty Raihanah Mostarom is an Associate Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) where she works on political violence and terrorism research in Southeast Asia as well as online radicalization. She holds a M.Sc. in International Relations from RSIS, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. For her Master's Dissertation, she worked on the impact of the Islamist movement on women in Southeast Asia. She graduated from the National University of Singapore in 2008 with a Bachelor of Social Science with Honours in Political Science. Her research interests include Political Islam, Transnational Islamic movements as well as the role of women in the transnational Islamist movement focusing but not limited to the Southeast Asian region on which she hopes to pursue PhD research. She is presently preparing her PhD proposal on the topic.

Gender and Politics in Land Rights: The Case of the North Eastern Tribes of India

Hoineilhing Sitlhou

The Paper attempts to account for the interplay between gender, religion and politics by positing the case of the Hill Tribes of the North Eastern parts of India, which challenged many established standards. North East Indian tribes is portrayed as an egalitarian society unlike the mainstream Indian society whose culture of women subjugation is evident in their social and religious practices. It attempts to problematise the ambiguous relationship between land and women, common in many agricultural societies and seeks to bring to our understanding the mode in which patriarchy operates and gets reinforced in the question of women relationship to land. Legitimately, most of the Tribes of the North Eastern Part of India, except the matrilineal Khasis and Garos, follow the patriarchal system of family structure. As a result, the line of descent, law of inheritance and law of residence is appointed to the male line only and the children follow the clan name of the father. In the case of no male child, the law of inheritance is passed on through the next closest or nearest male relative of the family. In the present times, there has been a possibility of the daughters inheriting the movable property. However, there has been undisputable rule about the transfer of the immovable property especially the ancestral land even in the case when the family has a lone daughter as contender. Colonialism as brought about by the Britishers was the greatest waves of changes that affected the society; the colonial officials at the administrative level and the colonial missionaries in the day-to-day lives of the people. The feminist public-private debate stated that women sub-ordination and oppression would be solved if women are encouraged into the public sphere viz., in the public decision making fora. However, in analysing, the influence of the missionary women in changing the structure of gender relations within the household and community, religion seems to represent a paradoxical emancipation. Emancipation exists to a certain extent, as it provides a space for women outside the domestic domain through social activities of the church but this does not mean their

overall empowerment. The authority does not really influence upon the village administration in which their access to land is determined. The changes in women discrimination in inheritance laws could only be brought about by the customary law court with the support of the church.

Hoineilhing Sitlhou

Hoineilhing Sitlhou is presently pursuing her PhD at the Department of Sociology, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Religion, culture and Gender Studies are her areas of specialisation. Her MPhil dissertation was titled, "Deconstructing Colonial Ethnography: A Re-assessment of Christian Missionary Writings in North East India." Her ongoing doctoral thesis is on "Land and Identity".

Enlightened Moderation vs. Islamisation? Gender Politics in Pakistan

Andrea Fleschenberg

Repeatedly, gender relations have been at the centre of power struggles and political conflicts in Pakistan, in particular during periods of military rule. Military as well as civilian rulers employed gender policies as a means to achieve internal and/or external legitimacy and instrumentalized these policies to maintain political power and control over society.

So far, academic work on women's rights and the women's movement in Pakistan, in particular during the period of Islamization under the military dictator Zia ul-Haq, dominate the academic debate and scholarly output. The author intends to address this research lacuna by a comprehensive study of gender policies of civil and military regimes in Pakistan (book publication, work in progress). The analysis encompasses political agendas and decision-making in the areas of (i) legal regulations (family law, property and personal status law, abolishment / amendment of discriminatory laws, regulation and sanctioning of forms of sexualized violence; (ii) gender mainstreaming; (iii) quota provisions and political mainstreaming of women. Subsequently, focal points are strategies, policies, proclaimed values and actors that shape, negotiate and implement gender policies.

Special attention is given to the reign of president-cum-general Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008). On the one hand, his rule coincided with far-reaching geostrategic, political and social incidents and distortions in the wake of 9/11, the succeeding so called "war on terror" and an increased violent disposition of extremist actors, manifest in increasingly numerous attacks on the Pakistani state, its representatives as well as assaults directed against the civilian population. Musharraf's controversial and contested rule has been marked, on the other hand, by ambivalent, partly janus-faced societal and political liberalization tendencies. A number of legal provisions and political decisions were formulated and directed to transform gender relations, gender roles prescriptions as well as to encourage a comprehensive aperture of the political system for women's political representation and participation. This development is diametrically opposed to the ideological conceptions of the ideal polity and society expressed by proponents of a political Islam (e.g. the Islamist party alliance MMA) and extremist groups. Hence, a number of political and judicial disputes and incessant conflict-ridden bargaining processes followed – in parliament, in courts, in the media as well as in the extra-parliamentary realm through enacting "popular" pressure via demonstrations and street protests.

The study intends to contribute to a differentiated analysis and depiction of Pakistani politics, gender

issues and the complex, conflict-filled nexus of religion, military, politics, gender and the imagined nation-state.

Andrea Fleschenberg

Andrea Fleschenberg dos Ramos Pinéu, PhD, works as research fellow and lecturer at the Chair for Comparative Politics and International Development Studies, Institute of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg, Germany. In the winter term 2010/11 she holds an interim professorship for political science at the University of Hildesheim. Previously, she was a research fellow at the Universities of Hildesheim, Duisburg-Essen, lecturer at the University of Cologne as well as visiting professor at the University of the Punjab in Lahore, Pakistan, and Jaume I in Castellon, Spain. Her research areas are comparative and third world politics with a particular focus on South and Southeast Asia, democratization and election studies, transitional justice issues, gender and politics, on which she has contributed numerous publications. Recent publications: *Women in Asian Local Politics ? A Springboard for Gender Democracy?*, co-editor, in: *ASIEN Autumn/2010*; *Women in National Politics in Asia ? A Springboard for Gender Democracy?*, co-edited with Claudia Derichs and Cecilia Ng, in: *Gender, Technology and Development (Sage) Autumn/2010*; *Religious Fundamentalisms in Asia*, co-editor, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn / Singapore 2010; *Afghanistan's Parliament in the Making. Gendered Understandings and Practices of Politics in a Transitional Country*, Heinrich-Böll-Foundation / UNIFEM, Berlin 2009; *The Gender Face of Asian Politics*, co-editor with Aazar Ayaz, Oxford University Press: Karachi / Oxford 2009; *Goddesses, Heroes, Sacrifices. Female Political Power in Asia*, co-edited with Dagmar Hellmann-Rajanayagam, LIT Verlag: Zürich / Münster 2008.

Religion Vs Politics: Feminist Social Thought/Action in Indian Milieu

Maya Subrahmanian

The discourses on religion, culture, politics, caste and class in modern India would seem to be obviously getting along with the conceptualization of woman. This paper is a discussion leading to the analysis of the linkage between religion and politics in the Indian context. It is mainly on the gender coldness of religion and politics in India. The general notion of politics that could never imagine a gender politics is drawn into the analysis of influence of religion in Indian society. Thus it is a gender analysis of the impacts Hinduism as a main religion in India which operates with various hierarchically ordered sub-castes. The hierarchy and power-relation created by religion and caste is closely related to the ladder based on gender as well, in the Indian context. The deep historical root of the women's subordination inside the social institutions including family could be seen as being constructed through the religious discourses. This paper tries to explore the actions and thoughts against the enrooted gendered-religious social situations in India, and to analyze it in the global context of feminist interventions. The migration of Pandita Ramabai, a born Hindu upper-caste woman to the West, and her conversion into Christianity gives a picture of rebellion against religion during the end of nineteenth century in colonial India. Her conversion testimony stressed that the core of Hinduism is fundamentally patriarchal, though she had acceptance of most assumptions of Hindu nationalism initially.

The construction and representation of third world woman has been reinforced by modernization process. And it has never been able to get out of the religious influence in India. Romila Thaper has asserted that, in the Indian situation the varna-based lineage society gave a shape and form to caste structure and the social stratifications. The lineage elements that structure the family and the woman's subordination in it, have greatly influenced by the religion and its scriptures. The Hindu texts like smritis, epics and puranas, have played vital role in putting down the base for a hierarchical social structure in terms of caste, class and gender. During the discussion this paper looks at the related versions inscribed in Manu-smriti as a famous model-text of social life in India. Subordination of woman is a common feature of almost all stages of history, and is prevalent in large parts of the world. As Uma Chakravarti said, the general subordination of women assumed a particularly severe form in India through the powerful instrument of religious traditions which have shaped social practices.

Women were subordinated worldwide, and any ideologies that have come during eras to fight against oppressions have never solved the woman's issues properly. Though an idea of a new democracy has been proposed by feminist politics by raising the need for freedom and equality, much actions are still to be taken up by Indian women in their life to reformulate the social situations. One can see the migration of Pandita Ramabai during the colonial period as one strategy to revolt against the religion that subordinated and tortured women in India. It could be drawn as a political step though it involved religious conversion, instead of transcending religion. If politics could involve religion, is still a complex question to be addressed in terms of analyzing activism by personalities like Ramabai. Anyhow even in the present context, the enormous influence of brahmanical patriarchy in the social stratification in India is a noticeable background for the political moves against gendered oppressions.

Maya Subrahmanian

Maya Subrahmanian is presently at University of Freiburg, conducting research on Gender and Indian Diaspora. Her PhD thesis at Mahatma Gandhi University in India was mainly on scriptural injunctions in gendering family. Her main research interests include gender, family, religion, culture, diasporas, social institutions and social transformation. Her master disciplines are Philosophy and Sociology. She has presented papers in national and international seminars/conferences during last decade. She had been teaching Philosophy and Social Theory for the past four years in Kerala/India. She has also been working with various social action projects on women in Kerala/India. Activism and writing on women's issues had been part of her life in Kerala. Having received various awards in the recent past, she currently holds the Erasmus Mundus Research Fellowship until 2013.

PANEL 9 – Feministische Theorie überdenken (Room 123)

Moderation: Andrea Nachtigall, ASH Berlin

Von globaler Schwesternschaft zu Reflektiver Solidarität

Mirjam Hirsch

Ausgehend von einem intersektionalen Machtbegriff, möchte ich diskutieren, wie feministische Solidarierungen möglich sind, die komplexe Lebensrealitäten anzuerkennen vermögen ohne in einen postmodern beliebigen Pluralismus zu verfallen.

Mein Vorschlag ist die Idee einer Reflektiven Solidarität. Dieses Konzept basiert auf den Erfahrungen eines aktivistischen Austausches zwischen Feminist_innen aus Damaskus und Berlin im Rahmen des Projekts *Gender and Emancipation - Perspectives from 'East' and 'West'*. Reflektive Solidarität geht davon aus, dass sich Menschen auf Grund von politischen Übereinstimmungen zusammenschließen. Diese Solidarisierung auf Grund von politischen Gemeinsamkeiten steht dabei Zusammenschlüssen von Menschen auf Grund gemeinsamer Unterdrückungserfahrungen explizit nicht gegenüber, sondern erkennt diese als wichtige Grundlage für die Auseinandersetzungen mit den Verflechtungen in Unterdrückung und Privilegierung an. Sie geht jedoch davon aus, dass politische Positionen nicht automatisch aus sozialen Positionierungen herzuleiten sind. Um dem gerecht zu werden, bedarf diese Form der Solidarisierung eine radikale Reflektion der jeweiligen sozialen Positionierungen und des jeweiligen Kontexts. Dieser Punkt ist elementar für die Erarbeitung eines gemeinsamen Vokabulars und erfordert genaue Kontextualisierungen der jeweiligen Analysen, Lebensrealitäten und Praktiken. Die Erarbeitung eines gemeinsamen Vokabulars als Basis für gemeinsame Projekte ist oft von Widersprüchen und Missverständnissen geprägt, da es teilweise, überhaupt erst darum geht festzustellen, dass ein unterschiedliches Vokabular verwendet wird (Bsp. Bedeutung von liberal/konservativ). Dies mag zwar banal klingen, stellt jedoch im Alltag eine ständige Herausforderung dar und lässt sich nicht vermeiden, sondern wirft die Frage auf, wie mit solchen Missverständnissen umgegangen werden kann. Um dem zu begegnen, bedeutet Reflektive Solidarität zum Beispiel auch immer, von den eigenen Erfahrungen und Verflechtungen auszugehen, nicht für andere zu sprechen und darüber zu einem tieferen Verständnis anderer Positionen zu gelangen. Am Beispiel der Debatte um 'das Kopftuch' konnten wir auch zu einer transnationalen Perspektive kommen, welche zeigt, inwiefern religiöser Backlash in Syrien und antimuslimischer Rassismus in Deutschland nach 9/11 Teil des gleichen Phänomens sind.

Ich möchte also vorstellen wie Reflektive Solidarität, hier verstanden als politische Solidarisierung, die Verbindung von Kontextualisierung, kritischer Selbstpositionierung und dem Willen zum Hinterfragen eigener Annahmen bedeutet.

Mirjam Hirsch

geboren in Berlin (Ost), aufgewachsen in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern und Brandenburg; Studentin der Gender Studies und Neueren/ Neusten Geschichte an der HU Berlin; Austauschsemester an der Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires, Argentinien; langjährige Aktivistin im Bereich Antirassismus/ Antifaschismus, Feminismus, Antikapitalismus; Organisation der studentischen Konferenz Tangoing Gender. Macht und Subversion im Argentinischen Tango; aktive Teilnahme an den Konferenzen

Women's World, 2008 Madrid und Tangoing Gender, 2008 Berlin; arbeitet an Magistraarbeit zu feministischen Solidarierungen am Beispiel von Reproduktiven Rechten. Interessen: Soziale Bewegungen, Postkoloniale Feministische Theorien und Praktiken, Argentinischer Tango in Theorie und Praxis, Intersektionalitäten und Solidarierungen.

Geschlechtergerechtigkeit in Postkonfliktgesellschaften

Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes und Franziska Martinsen

Verbrechen gegen Frauen in kriegerischen Konflikten, insbesondere Formen sexualisierter Gewalt als Mittel politischer Verfolgung und Kriegsführung, stehen mittlerweile verstärkt im Fokus kritischer Debatten zum humanitären Völkerrecht und informieren sowohl die rechtlichen Diskurse zur Aufarbeitung historischen Unrechts als auch die politischen Auseinandersetzungen über die Möglichkeiten gesellschaftlicher Transformation und demokratischer Konsolidierung. Weitgehend vernachlässigt wird allerdings der Umstand, dass für die Lebenssituation von Frauen und Mädchen über die Konfliktphase hinweg eine Kontinuität von Gewaltexposition prägend ist, und dass für Tatbestände sexualisierter Gewalt in den meisten Fällen faktisch Straflosigkeit vorherrscht und rechtliche Wiedergutmachung ausbleibt. In unserem Vortrag möchten wir den Gründen für den Mangel an Geschlechtergerechtigkeit und Sicherheit für Frauen in Postkonfliktgesellschaften nachspüren. Dazu werden wir vor dem Hintergrund einer kritischen Bestandsaufnahme die Rolle und mögliche Verantwortlichkeit der internationalen Gemeinschaft eruieren und insbesondere die entsprechenden politischen (internationale Sicherheits- und Geschlechterpolitik auf UN-Ebene) und rechtlichen (internationale Strafgerichtsbarkeiten und rechtliche Verantwortlichkeit) Problemlösungsansätze im Hinblick auf ihre jeweiligen Implikationen für die Frage nach den Ursachen und Bedingungen des Kontinuums von sexualisierter Gewalt evaluieren. Eine besondere Herausforderung liegt dabei darin, dass eine gendersensible Perspektive im Rahmen des humanitären Völkerrechts nicht auf einen essentialistischen Begriff von „Frauen“ und deren Bedürfnissen bezogen sein kann und es nicht nur darum geht, Frauen als Opfer von Vergewaltigung in den Blick zu nehmen: Insbesondere militärische Akteur_innen, die sexualisierte Gewalt und Folter anwenden, von der sowohl Frauen als auch Männer betroffen sein können, beuten etwa die asymmetrische Struktur von Geschlechterverhältnissen ganz bewusst aus, um das Verletzungspotential rassistischer, patriarchaler und heterosexistischer Verständnisse von „Männlichkeit“ zu nutzen; einerseits sind die Funktionen und Rollen, die Frauen im Rahmen kriegerischer Konflikte übernehmen, breit gefächert und Frauen treten verstärkt als Kombattantinnen und Täterinnen von Menschenrechtsverletzungen auf, andererseits gehören Frauen aber zu den Hauptopfern kriegerischer Gewalt, zu den Hauptbetroffenen von sexualisierter Gewalt, Ausbeutung und Versklavung und zu den in sozialer, ökonomischer und gesellschaftlicher Hinsicht Hauptgeschädigten, die von den Folgen kriegerischer Gewalt als Hinterbliebene, als caretaker, als Flüchtlinge, Vertriebene und als ressourcenberaubte Schutzbedürftige überproportional berührt sind. Die spezifische Betroffenheit von Frauen erschließt sich jedoch nicht über eine vereinfachte Rückführung auf ihren „Opferstatus“, sondern darüber, dass sie zumeist in andere Formen sozialer Verantwortlichkeit eingebunden sind und über andere bzw. weniger Ressourcen, zivile und politische Rechte sowie Einflussmöglichkeiten auf ihre Umwelt verfügen als Männer. Vor diesem Hintergrund möchten wir zum einen die rechtlichen und politischen Defizite im Hinblick auf

die spezifischen Rechtsschutzbedarfe von Frauen ausweisen und die daran knüpfenden rechtlichen Wiedergutmachungsprobleme systematisch in den Blick nehmen.

Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes und Franziska Martinsen

Dr. Tanja Hitzel-Cassagnes: wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin im Bereich „Politische Theorie und Ideengeschichte“ an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Leibniz Universität Hannover, ab Oktober 2010 Gastprofessorin für den Bereich „Wissenschaftstheorie“ am Fachbereich Gesellschafts- und Geschichtswissenschaften der Technischen Universität Darmstadt. Studium der Rechtswissenschaft und Politikwissenschaft in Frankfurt am Main, Darmstadt und Brighton, 2002 Promotion mit der Arbeit „Geltung und Funktion. Supranationale Gerichtsbarkeit im Spannungsfeld von Praktischer Rationalität, Recht und Demokratie“ an der Technischen Universität Darmstadt, 2010 Einreichung der Habilitationsschrift mit dem Titel „Die Entgrenzung des Verfassungsbegriffs. Eine institutionentheoretische Rekonstruktion“ an der Philosophischen Fakultät der Leibniz Universität Hannover, seit 2009 Mitherausgeberin der Zeitschrift „Kritische Justiz“.

Dr. des Franziska Martinsen: Studium der Philosophie, Musik- und Politikwissenschaft an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Promotion im Fach Philosophie an der Universität Basel, Schweiz, 2009. Assistentin am Philosophischen Seminar/Lehrbeauftragte am Zentrum Gender Studies der Universität Basel, Schweiz, 2003-2007. Seit 2007 wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin am Institut für Politische Wissenschaft, Leibniz Universität Hannover. Forschungsfelder: Politische Philosophie, Theorien der Gerechtigkeit, Feministische Politische Theorie.

Perspektiven einer gender- und kultursensiblen Kritischen Theorie? Zum Zusammenhang von konkreter Utopie und phantasievoller Narration

Nadja Meisterhans

Der Vortrag ist mit geschlechts- und kultursensiblen Perspektiven einer *kritischen Theorie der Herrschaft* befasst. Das heißt genauer, es wird in Abkehr zu metaphysischen Begründungsmodellen nach den (sozial-)psychologischen Voraussetzungen einer auf eine demokratische Emanzipation gerichtete Herrschaftspraxis gefragt. Diese sollen mit Blick auf die durch Widersprüche, Asymmetrien und Konflikte gekennzeichnete (Menschen-)Rechtsevolution untersucht werden. In konzeptioneller Hinsicht wird dafür plädiert, das Augenmerk auf die Konstruktionsbedingungen rechtlicher Anerkennungsverhältnisse zu richten, die – so die Ausgangserwartung – insbesondere in *Konflikte verarbeitenden Narrationen* zur Geltung kommen. Geklärt werden soll vor allem, inwiefern die Kriterien eines normativ angemessenen Begriffs der Herrschaft (bzw. eines herrschaftskritischen Ideal) aus der *narrativen Verarbeitung von geschlechtsspezifischen Unterdrückungserfahrungen* abgeleitet werden können. Im Zentrum der Untersuchung steht die metatheoretische Bestimmung des Verhältnisses von (vermeintlich irrationaler) Narration und (vermeintlich rationaler) Kognition zum Zwecke individueller und sozialer Emanzipation.

Das Projekt reagiert damit auf die in den Menschenrechtsdebatten offengelegte *Schwierigkeit* einer auf eine allgemeine *Vernunft Einsicht* zurückgeführten Begründung und Kritik der Herrschaft (Kant), die nicht nur in feministischer Hinsicht (Butler), sondern gerade auch mit Blick auf die freudsche Psychoanalyse im Verdacht steht, repressionsanfällig zu sein (Freud). Eine offene Frage ist somit,

unter welchen Voraussetzungen *Herrschaftskonflikte* im Recht thematisiert und wodurch sie in eine konkrete Utopie (Bloch) transformiert werden können. Es scheint in diesem Zusammenhang lohnenswert, das Konzept der phantasievollen Erzählung genauer zu betrachten und damit (vermeintlich) irrationale Aspekte, die Emanzipation ermöglichen stärker in den Analysefokus zu rücken.

Nadja Meisterhans

Promovierte 2007 an der Graduate School of Social Sciences der Universität Bremen im Bereich Politische Theorie/Rechtsphilosophie mit einer Arbeit zur Konstitutionalisierung und Demokratisierung des Völkerrechts Titel: Menschenrechte als weltgesellschaftliche Herrschaftspraxis. Forschungsthemen: Rechts und Demokratietheorie, Psychoanalyse als Kritische Theorie, Globale Herrschaftsfragen und Begründungsprobleme, Feminismus und Menschenrechte. Derzeit Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin an der Universität Flensburg am Institut für Soziologie.

Produktivität von theoretischen Wanderungsprozessen und Übersetzungen in der feministischen Theorie

Cornelia Möser

Die fortgeschritten globalisierten Bedingungen der Herstellung von Wissen und die Transformation der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung der Universitäten fordern die Wissenschaft heraus, sich ihre eigenen Funktionsweisen bewusst zu machen um die neuen Möglichkeiten nutzen, aber auch neuen Schwierigkeiten begegnen zu können. Queerfeministische Wissenschaft ist dabei gleichzeitig Ausdruck und Akteurin dieser veränderten Produktionsbedingungen. Sie ist selbst Ergebnis zahlreicher Wanderungs- und Übersetzungsprozesse, greift durch ihren spezifischen Bezug auf außeruniversitäre Praxen, durch ihr Verhältnis zur Frauen- und LGBT-Bewegung und deren Tradition der Wissenschaftskritik aber seit langem auch selbst in diese Produktionsbedingungen ein, verändert sie.

Anhand von zwei Beispielen möchte ich dieses doppelte Verhältnis veranschaulichen. Das erste betrifft die feministischen Gender-Debatten in Frankreich und Deutschland. Ein durch die Debatten hergestellter Korpus von Texten und Ansätzen, die als *Gender-Theorien* bezeichnet wurden, wurde zum Gegenstand und Ort der Austragung vorangegangener feministischer Auseinandersetzungen wie beispielsweise die Institutionalisierung von Bewegungswissen aber auch die Frage der Möglichkeit feministischer Methoden und vor allem der Rolle von Gleichheit und Differenz als Kategorien feministischen Denkens. Während für einige die Gender-Kategorie eine international anerkannte und geförderte Möglichkeit der Institutionalisierung feministischer Perspektiven in Programmen wie dem *Gender Mainstreaming* bedeutete, sahen andere in ihr die Chance, feministische Politiken in und außerhalb der Wissenschaft zu kritisieren, wenn diese unkritisch auf einem einheitlichen Subjekt Frau gründeten.

Das zweite Beispiel, der *French feminism*, handelt ebenfalls von einer Kanonproduktion, die in den 1980er Jahren in den USA als Gegenstand einer feministischen Kontroverse den französischen und deutschen Gender-Debatten vorausging. Auch hier wurde von einigen das Label *French* genutzt, um universalistische Bedeutungshoheiten zu kritisieren und damit die Universität für Themen und

Positionen zugänglich zu machen, welche vorher ausgeschlossen waren. Gleichzeitig wurde eben diese Politik aber auch aufgrund des Stils strukturalistischer Sprache als ausschließend und elitistisch kritisiert.

Beide Beispiele zeigen, dass Übersetzung und theoretische Wanderungsprozesse unterschiedlich funktionieren können. Sie können entweder als hegemonialer Prozess im Rahmen neoliberaler Umstrukturierung und globaler Vereinheitlichung marktförmigen Wissens wirken. Sie können aber auch – als politisches Konfliktfeld begriffen – wesentlich zur Entwicklung neuer Grundlagen queerfeministischen Austauschs im Sinne eines „situierten Wissens“ beitragen.

Cornelia Möser

Cornelia Möser promoviert am Graduiertenkolleg „Geschlecht als Wissenskategorie“ der Humboldt Universität Berlin und dem CNRS laboratoire „Genre, travail et mobilités“ an der Universität Paris 8 in den Gender Studies und Politikwissenschaften. Sie ist im Berliner queerfeministischen Saloon aktiv. Zuletzt hat sie einen Beitrag im Band *Exchanges and Correspondence. The Construction of Feminism* (Hg. Françoise Orazi und Claudette Fillard, Cambridge Scholars Publishing) sowie im Band *Intersektionalität und Kritik* (Hg. Vera Kallenberg, Jennifer Meyer et al., VS Verlag) veröffentlicht (beide im Erscheinen).

PANEL 10 – Civil Society and Governmentality (Room 102)

Moderation: Gundula Ludwig, Universität Marburg

Interrupting the 'Race to Innocence': Critical Reflexivity and Intersectionality in the Narratives of Women NGO Workers

Sara de Jong

The practices of transnational NGOs working on gender issues have been problematised through Black feminist and post-colonial theories that have stressed how relations between women as 'aid givers' and as 'recipients' are mediated through racist and (post-) colonial power relations. Black feminism in particular has critiqued the notion of sisterhood as shared victimhood on which NGO work between women globally has often been premised. The assumption of sisterhood has been linked to what Fellows and Razack (1998) call the 'race to innocence'; the belief that gender oppression is the most fundamental oppression and the refusal to admit complicity in other structures of subordination.

Using interview data, this paper investigates the reflections of women NGO workers working for Northern NGOs on gender issues, on their relations with the women in and from the global South that they seek to support. Given the force of the critiques there is a need for transnational feminists generally, and for feminist NGO workers particularly, to rethink the nature of these relations. In the paper I identify 'critical reflexivity' and intersectionality as two strategies to counter the 'race to innocence' endemic to classical notions of sisterhood and discuss its implications and risks. I will argue that while the 'race to innocence' can still be traced in the reflections of women NGO workers, at the same time critical self-reflection can disrupt this. However, critical reflexivity has the risk of turning 'transparent' leading to easy ethical closure. Hence, critical reflexivity is only the first step in a process of taking responsibility and should be followed by real transformation in practice. I also propose that an intersectional approach can challenge the 'race to innocence' by showing that in the interview narratives of the women NGO workers gender functions in conjunction with other categories like ethnicity and age. This destabilises gender as a consistent and homogeneous category, paying attention to the combination of both dominant and subordinate positions and the connections between different systems of oppression.

Sara de Jong

Sara de Jong obtained her PhD in Politics from the University of Nottingham, UK, where she analysed how women NGO workers located in the global North working on gender issues to support women abroad and/or immigrant women in their host countries reflected on their work practices and negotiated complexities. She currently works as assistant research manager at Aletta, Institute for Women's History, Amsterdam, the Netherlands and is also a researcher on the EU project Neskak Gora about second-generation girls and young women from North-Africa and South-Asia and their experiences of discrimination.

Old Spaces, New Meanings – The Role of Northern Development NGOs in Transnational Gender Alliances

María Reimóndez

The tensions between local and global concerns for feminists have been at the core of criticism against the role of development NGOs in pushing the international agenda of women's rights. Debates developed inside feminist theories regarding representation have rarely reached the field of development NGOs working from the North, despite extended repetitions of words such as "participation" and "gender".

Development NGOs in the North are supposed to represent cooperation amongst civil societies, but they most of the time only represent the mainstream values of those societies, and are therefore a fundamental actor in the reification and dissemination of certain views about women in the South. Most campaigns fail to acknowledge position and power in representation, not to mention open complicity with neo-colonial and patriarchal values. Cases in point are campaigns about burkas and veils and female genital mutilation around the neo-colonial constructs of the "Muslim woman" and the "African woman" respectively. Campaigning on behalf of women from the South by Northern NGOs many times brings the dangers outlined by Gayatri C. Spivak in her "Can the subaltern speak?" to monstrous dimensions.

However, at a time when the creation of transnational alliances amongst activists seems to be, as Chandra Talpade Mohanty claims in her revisiting of "Under Western Eyes", the only way forward, is there a chance for development NGOs to have a different role in that process? Is there a place from which to articulate horizontal international action and make civil society in the North become aware of the ties of neo-colonialism and patriarchy, and opening up collective spaces from where to act against them? Answering these questions is key to change poverty and discrimination at a large scale, and to show the alternatives I will use the example of my work with the feminist Galician development NGO *Implicadas no Desenvolvemento* in developing a communication strategy to create an alliance against female infanticide in Tamil Nadu. The complexity and sensitivity of this topic makes it a good example of the ways alternatives can be developed to open up responsible spaces from which to speak and to act.

María Reimóndez

María Reimóndez is a feminist translator, scholar, writer and development activist. She works as professional translator/interpreter and she is currently writing her PhD dissertation on "Translation of feminist and postcolonial texts. An empiric approach to ideology". She has also written poetry and novels for adults and children. She is the founder of Galician NGO *Implicadas no Desenvolvemento*, which works together with Indian and Ethiopian civil society women's organisations and groups to fight against the links between patriarchy, capitalism and colonialism both at a theoretical and practical level. She has published many articles on such topics both in the press and in journals.

Understanding Political Tourism through a Transnational Feminist Framework

Gada Mahrouse

It is widely accepted that when it involves citizens from the richest nations traveling to the Global South, tourism as a whole is replete with asymmetries of power (Kaplan 1996; Clifford 1997; Kincaid 1989). For Bauman (1998), the practice of tourism and geographic mobility reproduces boundaries and exaggerates status distinctions of class, gender, nationality, or race, rather than overrides them. Paradoxically, however, some forms of politically motivated tourism are promoted as a promising step toward a more just world. As a result, people from the “Western” or “First” world are increasingly taking part in political education, activism, and or/advocacy in their travels abroad. It is believed that by participating in this type of tourism, one can not only avoid being an arrogant first-world tourist, but also that one can contribute towards social justice at a global level.

Using a transnational feminist framework that that privileges questions of power, citizenship status, the legacy of colonialism, and international economics, this paper explores the phenomenon of political tourism (Grewal and Kaplan 1994; 1996; Shohat, 2002; Mohanty, 2003; Wing 2000). One relevant point that this body of literature highlights is that we not take for granted the naive assumption that well-meaning initiatives are not embedded in and shaped by larger hegemonic systems of power (Grewal 1998).

Thus, in keeping with the aims of the conference, this paper seeks to explore the theoretical and methodological demands that emerge when a transnational feminist perspective is applied to certain contemporary sites. Specifically, the paper is guided by the following question: How might a transnational feminist lens help us to better understand the contradictions that emerge through political tourism? I attempt to respond to this question by examining two examples of political tourism: 1) “solidarity tourism” in Palestine; and 2) “reality tourism” to the slums in poor developing countries. By analyzing these two examples through a transnational feminist framework, I hope to encourage a more complex reading of the transformative potential of political tourism.

Gada Mahrouse

Gada Mahrouse, Assistant Professor, at the Simone de Beauvoir institute of Concordia University. Her research interests include critical race, postcolonial, gender, and cultural studies, and feminism. Her doctoral research explored anti-racist challenges to transnational solidarity movements. Building on this, she is she currently examining the emerging field of ethical or alternative "ethical" and socially responsible tourism through a focus on race, gender, and class. She has published articles in *Citizenship Studies*, *Race and Class*, *The International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *Pedagogy Culture and Society*, and the *Canadian Journal of Communications*.

Transnational Feminism, Global Governmentality and Civil Society

Ina Kerner

Transnational feminism is one of the most striking examples of globalized political activism. After its take-off in the 1970s, the field has been characterized by activities of global networking, lobbying and negotiating, by grand UN conferences as well as by regional and local activities, by tremendous political success as well as by experiences of political erosion. Furthermore, transnational feminism has been a field of serious internal conflicts and debate about issues of diversity, agenda-setting and modes of cooperation. It has faced hard times of various sorts, and proved to be a source of several forward-looking solutions.

Transnational feminism is also one of the most striking examples of current transformations of the global public sphere. In fact, globalized gender activism serves as a prism for looking at new forms of transnational interaction between states, supra-state actors and civil societies. Among the effects of these new forms of interaction is a phenomenon that is often called the NGOization of political movements, which usually leads to changes of the organizational structure as well as of the agendas of civil society actors.

In my paper I will use Michel Foucault's work on governmentality to critically analyze these processes. Foucault has coined the term governmentality with reference to forms of state power that address the population. Governmental forms of power can be described as benevolent, seeking the well-being of society — yet they have strong effects. They hardly work with compulsion but rather by affecting their subjects' mentalities, their ways of thought and their self-conduct. In my paper I will argue that this idea can be taken up and developed to a notion of "global governmentality" that serves to understand what is currently happening in the sphere of civil society, including feminist actors, in many countries, predominantly in the global East and South.

Ina Kerner

Ina Kerner ist Juniorprofessorin für Diversity Politics am Institut für Sozialwissenschaften der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

**PANEL 11 – Women's Political Activism, Islam and Societal Transformation
(Room 103)**

Moderation: Claudia Brunner, Universität Klagenfurt

**A Challenge to the Feminist Narrative? Examining the Role of Islamist Women
Activists in Two Dominant Islamist Parties in Southeast Asia**

Tuty Raihanah Mostarom

The adoption of a feminist perspective in examining the impact of the rise of Islamism on Muslim women has yielded analysis and prescriptions tending towards the need to amend or re-examine the supposed restrictions and negative implications of more conservative interpretations of Islamic injunctions on women. Hence, the dominant feminist narrative on the subject calls for the protection of women's rights and the reinterpretation of the shariah laws to meet that aim and generally drive at the conclusion that the rise of Islamism is incompatible with gender equality and women's rights and threatens on the oppression of women on religious grounds.

Findings of a research conducted on the role of Islamist women in two dominant Islamist parties in Southeast Asia: the Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) in Indonesia and the Parti Islam SeMalaysia (PAS) in Malaysia, puts forth a potential challenge to the dominant feminist perspective on the impact of the rise of Islamism on women. Firstly, if the implications of Islamism on women as proposed by the feminist perspective were true, how does one explain the existence and activism of these women in the parties? Adding on to that, further examination of the roles and backgrounds as well as the motivations for these women produces an uncanny semblance of feminism in them while they outrightly reject being labeled or associated with feminism itself.

The findings presented in this paper will underline the need to re-vision the relationship between gender and politics and re-examine the theoretical objectives of the feminist perspective and how it is presented, applied and perceived in such academic areas. This is to ascertain the continued validity and relevance of the feminist perspective in light of the emergence of new areas of academic interests such as the rise of the transnational Islamist movement. The paper argues that feminist theory and perspective as a tool of examination and analysis remains necessary and has been useful in encouraging debate in the essential need to examine the dynamics between gender, politics and religion but has to be modified to explain the exceptions and paradoxes such as the case highlighted above.

Tuty Raihanah Mostarom

Tuty Raihanah Mostarom is an Associate Research Fellow at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) where she works on political violence and terrorism research in Southeast Asia as well as online radicalization. She holds a M.Sc. in International Relations from RSIS, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. For her Master's Dissertation, she worked on the impact of the Islamist movement on women in Southeast Asia. She graduated from the National University of Singapore in 2008 with a Bachelor of Social Science with Honours in Political Science. Her research interests include Political Islam, Transnational Islamic movements as well as the role of women in the transnational Islamist movement focusing but not limited to the Southeast Asian

region on which she hopes to pursue PhD research. She is presently preparing her PhD proposal on the topic.

Moroccan Muslim Women and Politics

Naima Benlarabi

This presentation focuses on the role of Moroccan women in political development. The analysis will start by considering the right of women to political participation in Islam because Morocco is constitutionally a Muslim Arab country.

Why Islam? One of the most important issues today is the study of the notion of development from an Islamic perspective. Many scholars - Muslims or non-Muslims - have tried to explore the fundamentals that underpin, frame and orient development legally and ethically. The study has become more crucial today because of the latest debates about Islam; and because of the current situation of most Muslim societies in general and Muslim women in particular.

In principle, Islamic law or Sharia guarantees all fundamental human rights without reserving them to men alone. Through a broad analysis of Islamic sources, one concludes that the Muslim woman has full progressive rights: rights to law and justice, to Knowledge and education, to economic activities, to social and family development and to political involvement. These rights, if fully enjoyed, would certainly enable the woman to become eligible participant in the development of her respective nation. The persisting problem is not Islam per se but women's lack of awareness of their Islamic rights to development. As Dr. Riffat Hassan states, "Until recent times, the vast majority of Muslim women have remained wholly or largely unaware of 'Islamic' rights. Even privileged educated Muslim women have been denied systematically the opportunity to acquire the critical tools for examining the roots of their tradition and discovering how they became so disadvantaged. Their exclusion disables their response."

Therefore, I will take the Moroccan woman as an example to analyze Muslim woman's role in political development. Islam has granted women this right specifically to enable them to take part in public concerns of their respective nations or communities. Since political involvement is another means to fulfill one's obligations to society, the Qur'an stresses out the necessity of both men and women to stand together and enjoin the doing of what is right and forbid what is wrong. Islamic records of history reveal that women have participated in public life, especially in times of emergencies. This participation could take different forms namely voting in elections (Bai'ah), occupying public and governmental posts. As for a Muslim woman being a head of state, it is still a controversial issue. In most Muslim societies, women have preserved their rights to vote, to be elected and even to occupy important political posts. Yet, the struggle has never been easy especially with the spreading patriarchal ideology. Regardless of opposing views as to women's political involvement, there are many examples of women role models who were very active in public affairs. Again the best examples are those of the wives of the Prophet Mohammed (pbuh), in addition to other brave women who used to accompany the Muslim armies engaged in battles. Today, in Muslim countries that aspire to sustainable development, there is awareness that the woman - as the opposite sex and half the society - should be a fundamental participant in decision-making. This

becomes crucial in an era where dialogue between man and woman has become a must.

In Morocco, the Constitution grants the same political rights to both men and women. However, the Moroccan Muslim woman's political activities are very limited. Some women have - from early days of the kingdom - played significant roles in the history of the country. After independence and thanks to education, women have gradually become aware of their political rights especially those granted by Sharia. In the early 1990's, King Hassan II encouraged women to be more politically active when he declared, "Be assured that I will give Moroccan women their due. Of course, I will be applying the Islamic Sharia, making use of its tolerant provisions". In the current era of King Mohammed VI, Moroccan women's political involvement is even more important. The Muslim woman today is minister, secretary of state, parliament member and even king's advisor. Yet, the struggle has never been without difficulties. Despite their political achievements, women are still underrepresented in politics because of significant constraints.

Finally, in this presentation I will start by focusing on the religious perspective of women and politics. Then, I will elaborate, in particular, on the Moroccan women and political participation. There also be an attempt to consider the secular aspects of this participation.

Naima Benlarabi

Naima Benlarabi is senior lecturer at IbnToFail University (School of Humanities/Department of English Studies) Kenitra Morocco. Besides official class teaching, she participates in activities with the UNESCO CHAIR OF WOMEN RIGHTS whose main office is at the university. She's also a member of The Gender Research Group; she conducts and supervises research on gender/women issues focusing on women human rights violations (Special interest to Arab Muslim women). Outside university, she is an activist in The Democratic Association of Women of Morocco (l'Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc) in Rabat, an NGO very active in realizing substantial reforms concerning the situation of women in Morocco. Currently she is a member of the Communication Committee and the Committee working on "Combating prostitution and Preventing Trafficking of Moroccan Women in the Arab World and the Gulf Region".

Secularization versus Islamization: A Reflection on Women's Rights in Muslim Countries

Senem Ertan

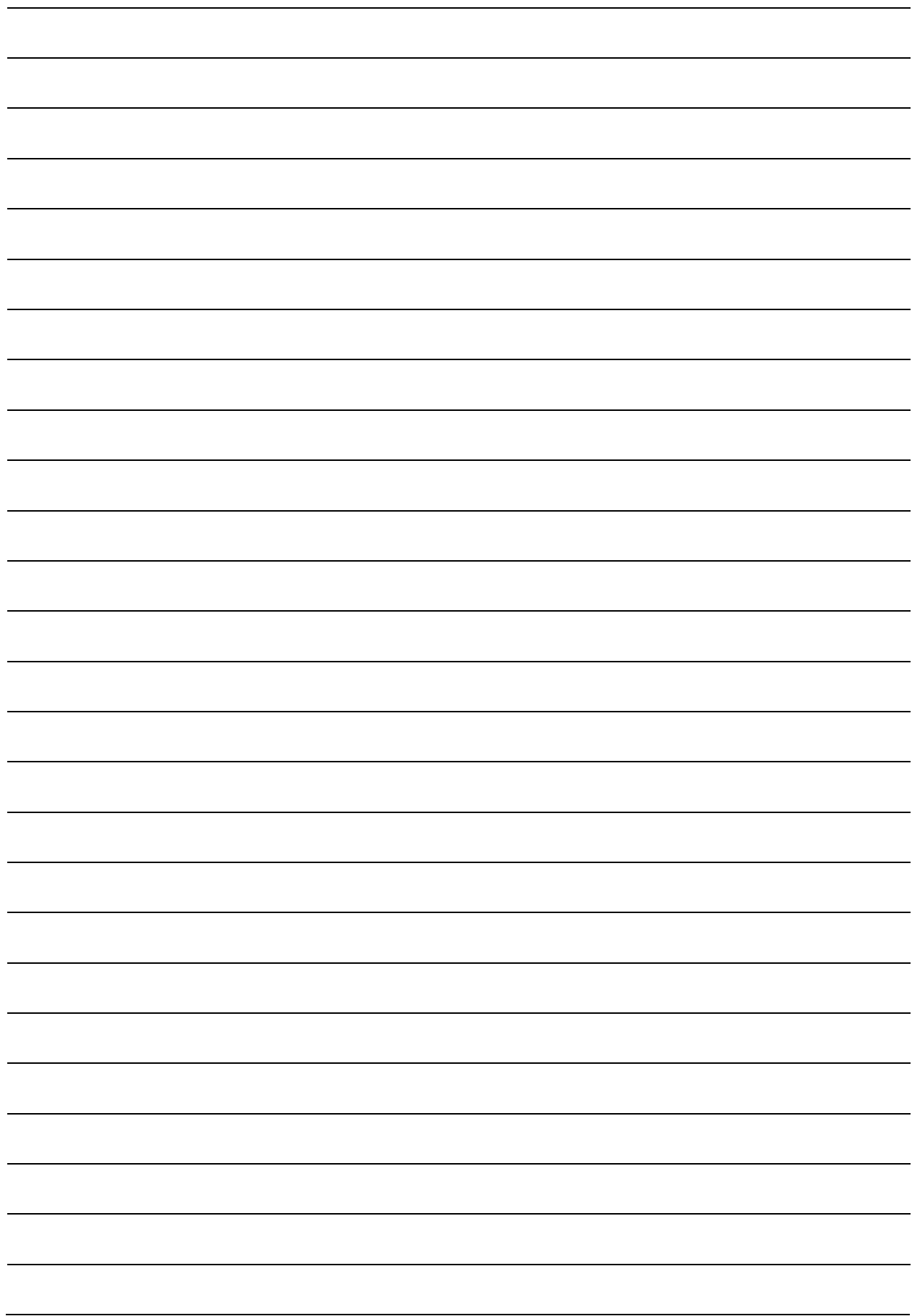
This study designed to assess the role of religion, particularly the level of institutional religiosity, in explaining social, economic and political rights of women in Muslim countries. The main question posed by this study is whether the involvement of religion in state affairs is an important factor in the subordination of women in Muslim societies. In other words, does the degree of separation of the state and religion have an impact on women's rights in Muslim countries? A comparative study of Muslim countries was conducted by using two levels of analysis to answer this question. The first level examines the long-run effects of Islam on women's rights attainments in 44 predominantly Muslim countries from 1990 to 2006 through an analysis of constitutional declarations and Islamic legislation. The second level of analysis focuses on three Muslim countries: Turkey, Tunisia and Iran as these three cases represent different dynamics of Muslim countries in regard to their

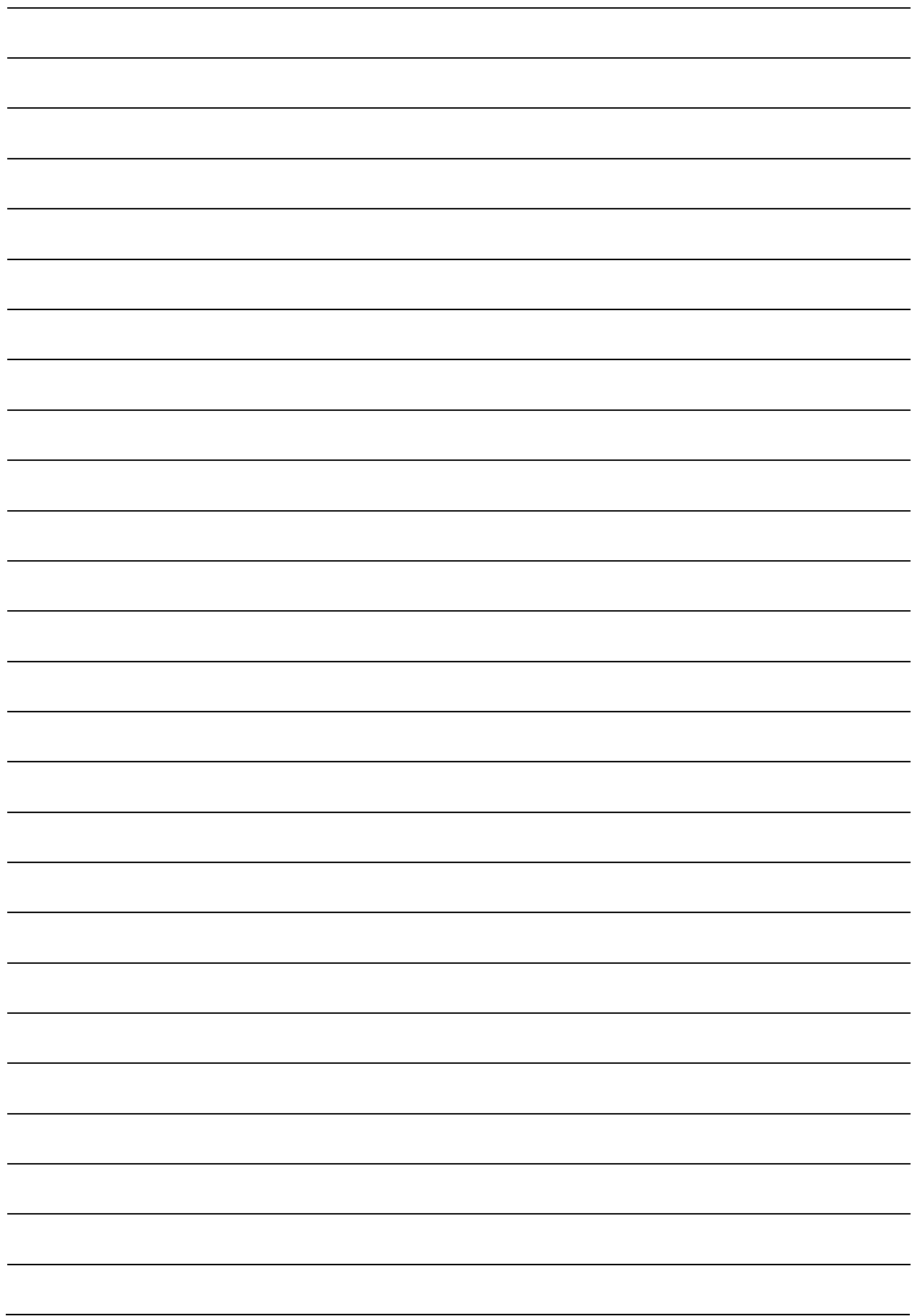
constitutional provisions. This part of the study further divided into two sub-levels questioning women's rights in legislation and in practice to find out if there are any discrepancies between law and practice.

The findings of this study lend some support to the argument that Islamic ideology and Islamic legislation has a negative effect on women's rights in Muslim countries. Therefore, I argue that as much a government lessens the effects of Islam from the legal framework and from the operation of the state, that much the government supports women's rights. In other words, the separation of state and religion is a fundamental factor for establishing a more gender egalitarian legal system. However, analysis of three case studies also demonstrated that even though separation of state and religion is a precondition for women's liberalization, it does not guarantee the implementation of women's friendly policies.

Senem Ertan

After having her B.A. degree in International Relations from the Ege University, Turkey, Senem Ertan received her M.A. degree in Global Political Economy from the University of Kassel. She has written her M.A. thesis on Women's Rights in Muslim Countries. She has awarded a PhD scholarship from the University of Siena in 2009 and currently she is a PhD candidate in the program of Comparative and European Politics, at the University of Siena. She has published a book review in *Peripherie: Zeitschrift für Politik und Ökonomie in der Dritten Welt* on the topic of Women's Humans Rights. Her current research interests include political representation of women and women-friendly policy, women's rights in Muslim countries and comparative research.





Map (Restaurants near Campus Bockenheim)



1) Da Cimino

Adalbertstraße 29, 60486 Frankfurt

<http://www.pizzeria-cimino.de/>

Italienische Küche, Hauptgerichte zwischen 4,50 und 11,- Euro.

2) Café Crumble

Kieselstraße 41, 60486 Frankfurt

<http://www.cafecrumble.de/>

Snacks, Kuchen und wechselnde Tageskarte, Hauptgerichte zwischen 5,- und 10,- Euro.

3) Café Albatros

Kieselstraße 27, 60486 Frankfurt

<http://www.cafe-albatros.de/>

wechselnde Tageskarte und Snacks, Hauptgerichte zwischen 3,50 und 11,- Euro.

4) Restaurant Pielok

Jordanstraße 3, 60486 Frankfurt

<http://www.restaurant-pielok.de/>

Gutbürgerliche Küche, Hauptgerichte zwischen 5,- und 15,- Euro.

5) Bastos Café Bar

Gräfstraße 45, 60486 Frankfurt

<http://www.bastos.de/>

wechselnde Wochenkarte, Hauptgerichte zwischen 6,- und 12,- Euro.

6) Bistro Sahin

Markgrafenstraße 1, 60487 Frankfurt

Türkische Küche, Hauptgerichte zwischen 5,- und 10,- Euro.

Außerdem gibt es verschiedene Restaurants, Cafés und Bistros entlang der Leipziger Straße.

