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CENTRE FOR
GENDER RESEARCH

***European Gender research in an age of right-wing populism,
growing racism and anti-gender ideologies***

*International EJWS symposium
Centre for Gender Research
Uppsala University
21-22 February 2019*

The inter- and multidisciplinary field of gender research is concerned with questions of fundamental importance for contemporary society and academia, namely democracy, equality and human rights. Beginning in the 1970s as informal clusters of women researchers discussing how gender and power influenced both their experiences in the academy and how research is conducted in a range of national settings, interdisciplinary and intersectional gender research has become its own robust scientific field. In the 2000s the field has undergone significant professionalization, institutionalization and expansion in many national contexts in Europe and growing numbers of universities now offer degree-awarding programs in gender studies, from BA to PhD. While gender equality has become increasingly central to all dimensions of research and education, from management to student recruitment, from course readings to research questions, gender research is also committed to analysing how historical and present relations of capitalism, colonialism, racism, and heteronormativity shape gender relations. Gender studies is comprised of highly productive scholars, excellent journals, international, national and regional conferences and professional organisations, as well as a strong record of direct policy application on both EU and national levels. As demonstrated by the growing number of historiographical accounts of the field, feminists have long been at the forefront of creating international and European networks and of exchanging knowledge and experience.

In recent years, gender research has come under growing attack in a range of national settings. In particular, right wing populists, conservative Christian organizations and extreme nationalist movements continue their efforts to undermine the scientific merits of gender and intersectional theory as well as its scholars. Critiques of what is now called *gender ideology* have become increasingly influential in political life on a global scale, circulated both in digital media and political rhetoric. As scholars in the field have demonstrated, demonstrations are held in protest of gender ideology, it is used by authoritarian-minded leaders to win elections, it is used against sexual and reproductive rights, and academic freedom is being impinged as critical research is seen as propagating it (Gunnarsson Payne

2019). In some settings, direct threats are made against scholars and their workplaces, putting them at risk both professionally and personally.

This international two-day symposium is hosted by the Centre for Gender research in collaboration with the Centre for Multidisciplinary Research on Racism at Uppsala University and organized together with the editorial board of *The European Journal of Women's Studies* (SAGE). It aims to take stock of the situation in different European countries and to offer a platform for knowledge exchange, dialogue and scholarly discussion on the state of gender studies as an interdisciplinary field of education and research and its relation to contemporary movements in Europe at this time. Extending work that has been done in several different workshops and conferences around Europe, we seek to continue this discussion in a range of ways.

The symposium seeks to critically address:

- 1.) *The ways in which critical knowledge formations such as gender studies and racism research are threatened in the wake of increased right-wing populism, anti-feminism, authoritarianism and so-called illiberal democracies in different European contexts. What does it mean that gender studies is understood as an oppressive regime and how is this connected to populist anti-establishment rhetoric?*
- 2.) *The ways in which national and transnational women's and feminist movements, such as #metoo, new forms of queer, anti-racist and intersectional feminist activism and movements for reproductive rights are responding to these threats in Europe;*
- 3.) *What new knowledge can be gained from reflexively comparing the experiences of growing racism and anti-gender ideologies and from feminist and anti-racist responses, and how might this add new insights into the national and transnational dimension of these ongoing political tendencies. What does it mean that anti-gender movements are entangled in knowledge production? How does the rhetoric of 'critiques of ideology' impact our responses and engagements?*

The symposium is organized with support from the *European Journal of Women's Studies* and *Uppsala Forum on democracy, peace and justice* and is a collegial collaboration between the Centre for Gender research and the Centre for multidisciplinary research on racism at Uppsala University. It consists of a workshop with paper presentations for invited participants and two keynote lectures open to the public.

Participation by registration only, space is limited. Please contact Ulrika Dahl **no later than February 20** if you want to join. Ulrika.dahl@gender.uu.se



PROGRAMME

February 21, 2019:

- 09.30-10.00 **Coffee and Registration**
Room: Karin Westman Berg, Centre for Gender Research
- 10.00-10.30 **Welcoming Remarks and Introductions**
Helena Wahlström Henriksson (Director, Centre for Gender research, Uppsala University)
Dubravka Zarkov & Christina Sharff, EJWS editors
Ulrika Dahl, Uppsala University & madeleine kennedy-macfoy, Education international, (EJWS Associate editors, symposium organisers)
- 10.30-12 **Panel One: Contemporary States of Gender Studies in Europe**
Andrea Pető (Central European University, Hungary) **History of Revoking the License of Teaching Gender Studies in Hungary**
Ayse Gul Altinay (Sabanci University, Turkey) **Gender Studies in Turkey at the Nexus of Personal and Political Transformation**
Helma Lutz (Goethe University, Germany) **Right Wing Populism, Gender- (Studies) - Bashing and 'Dangerous Masculinity' in Germany. A glimpse on topical battlefields.**
Chair: Gabriele Griffin (Uppsala University, Sweden)
- 12-13.30 **Lunch**
- 13.30-15.30 **Panel two: Gender Ideologies, Nationalisms and Conspiracies**
Room: 2-0024, Engelska Parken
Lena Martinsson (Gothenburg University, Sweden) **Gender research and the discourse on conspiracy**
Mattias Gardell (Uppsala University, Sweden) **With wind in their sails: revanchist radical nationalism and the assault on academic freedom**
Jenny Gunnarsson Payne (Södertörn University, Sweden) **"Challenging "Gender Ideology" (Anti-)Gender Politics, Europe's Populist Moment, and Competing Visions of 'the People'**
Irene Molina (Uppsala University, Sweden) **Could feminism possibly be non-socialist?**
Chair: Dubravka Zarkov (Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands, co-editor, EJWS)
- 15.30-16.00 **Coffee & Tea** (Outside Humanities Theatre, Engelska parken)
- 16.00- 17.30 **Keynote 1:** Clare Hemmings (London School of Economics, UK)
Room: Humanities Theatre, Engelska parken
Chair: Ulrika Dahl

Gender travels: Feminism, Violence and Male Authority in an Age of Right-Wing Populism

17.30-21.30 **Drinks Reception/Dinner**
Centre for Multidisciplinary research on racism

(18.15-19.30) **Open lecture** by Andrea Petö (CEU): "Orbán's Hungary - Academic Freedom in an Illiberal Democracy: Hosted by The Association of Foreign Affairs, Uppsala University, Hörsal 2, Ekonomikum

February 22:

9.30-11.00 **Panel three: Critical perspectives on feminism, gender and whiteness**
Room: Humanities Theatre 22-0017

Ylva Habel (Uppsala University, Sweden) **Demonic middle ground: Conflations of public debate, dog-whistle politics and racist hate speech**

Fataneh Farahani (Stockholm University, Sweden) **Unlearning privilege and undoing whiteness capital: On racializing knowledge production and unhomed knowledge producers**

Ann Phoenix (UC London, UK) **Framing Feminist Frontlines/Infusing Intersectional practices**
Chair: Helma Lutz (Goethe University, Germany)

11.00-11.30 **Coffee & Tea** (Humanities theatre)

11.30-13.00 **Keynote 2: Alyosxa Tudor** (SOAS, University of London, UK).
Room: Humanities Theatre, Engelska parken
Chair: madeleine kennedy-macfoy (Education International, Belgium)

Decolonising Queer-Feminist Pedagogies: Teaching Trans/Gender in the Face of the Rise of the Global Right

13.00-14.00 **Lunch**

14.00-16.00 **Panel four: Feminist responses to right wing extremism and racism**
Room: Humanities Theatre 22-0017

Tiina Rosenberg (Stockholm University, Sweden) "It happened to #metoo: performing feminisms in times of right-wing populism"

Cristina Scharff (King's College London, UK, co-editor EJWS) "From 'not me' to #MeToo: exploring the politics of digital feminist activism"

Mehk Muftee (Uppsala University, Sweden) Swedish Muslim women making use of arts as a way to claim voice and space - The example of *Swedish hijabis*.

Diana Mulinari (Lund University, Sweden) Scholarships of hope in neo-fascist times

Chair: Ayse Gul Gultinay (Sabanci University, Turkey)

16.00-17.00 **Closing discussion**

Chairs: madeleine kennedy-macfoy & Ulrika Dahl

PARTICIPANTS

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Clare Hemmings is Professor of Feminist Theory at the Department of Gender Studies at London School Economics. A leading scholar in European Gender studies, Hemmings has authored numerous articles and books that have been formative for the discipline, and particularly for – feminist theory and sexuality studies. Among her books are *Bisexual Spaces* (2002), *Why Stories Matter: The Political Grammar of Feminist Theory* (2011) and *Considering Emma Goldman: Feminist Politics of Ambivalence and the Historical Imagination* (2017). Hemmings uses multiple methodologies and methods to explore how knowledge is produced and how we might make it work for us.

Alyosxa Tudor is Assistant professor of gender studies at SOAS, University of London. Their work connects trans and queer feminist approaches with transnational feminism and postcolonial studies. Alyosxa's main research interest lies in analysing (knowledge productions on) migrations, diasporas and borders in relation to critiques of Eurocentrism and to processes of gendering and racialisation. In the past Alyosxa was a LSE Fellow in Transnational Gender Studies and a Senior Teaching Fellow at the Centre for Gender Studies, SOAS. Alyosxa also worked as a Research Assistant in Gender Studies at Humboldt-University and was a Visiting Fellow at GEXcel, Centre of Gender Excellence at Linköping University/Sweden.

INVITED SPEAKERS

Fataneh Farahani is an Associate professor in Ethnology and Wallenberg academy fellow at the department of Ethnology, Gender studies and history of Religions at Stockholm University. Through the project, "Cartographies of Hospitality", Farahani examines the political, philosophical and cultural aspects of hospitality (and hostility) in regards to contemporary migration and forced exile. Dr. Farahani's research interests and teaching experiences are shaped by gender and sexualities, postcolonial theories, diaspora and transnationalism, Hospitality and hostility, critical race and whiteness studies, Middle Eastern studies and Islam, queer and masculinities studies, hospitality and migration, diverse research methodologies and processes of knowledge productions.

Ayşe Gül Altınay is Professor of Anthropology teaching in the Gender Studies and Cultural Studies Programs at Sabancı University. Among the programs she coordinates at SU Gender are "Curious Steps: Gender and Memory Walks of Istanbul" and "Transformative Activism: Rethinking Gender and Politics." She has published widely on militarism, memory, violence, gender and sexuality. Her books include *Gendered Wars, Gendered Memories: Feminist Conversations on War, Genocide and Political Violence* (co-edited with Andrea Petö, 2016); *The Grandchildren: The Hidden Legacy of "Lost" Armenians in Turkey* (with Fethiye Çetin, trans. Maureen Freely, 2014), and *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender and Education in Turkey* (2004). Since 2013, she has been a part of the Women Mobilizing

Memory Working Group of Women Creating Change and is one of the co-editors of *Women Mobilizing Memory* (forthcoming, Columbia University Press, 2019).

Mattias Gardell is director of research at the Centre for Multidisciplinary research on Racism and holds the Nathan Söderblom Chair of Comparative Religion at Uppsala University. His research has explored the intersections of religion, politics, and racism within a variety of empirical fields. Gardell's research interests include anti-Muslim racism (Islamophobia), occult fascism, political religion, the history of racism, and religion/racism/violence. He has published nine monographs and more than a hundred articles and essays. Currently, Gardell works with the research project *Angry White Men?* which explores the affective dimensions of radical nationalism.

Ylva Habel is an Assistant Professor in Media and Communication Studies, and Researcher in the field Anti-Black racism. Her research draws on Black studies, the African Diaspora, postcolonial, critical race and whiteness studies, and specifically revolves around the affective economy of Swedish exceptionalist, colorblind discourses. With an interdisciplinary background in cinema studies, her analytical approach entails an interest for combining these perspectives with the optics of media history, visual and material culture. In her upcoming research, she will focus upon kindred discursive logics in recent Swedish and Dutch media debates, and examine the ways in which Blackness figures in relation to perennial welfare state values.

Irene Molina is Professor of Human Geography and Research Leader at the Centre for Multidisciplinary research on Racism, Uppsala University. Her research explores the city as a site for social power relations. Her specific interests include racialization and discrimination, as well as class, gender, and intersectionality. She currently works on Immigrant mothers – racialized children. Pathways, conflicts, and visions. Financed by the Swedish Research Council's special grant for research on racism (2017–2019), together with Professor Paulina de los Reyes (project leader) from the Department of Economic History at Stockholm University, and Professor Diana Mulinari from the Department of Gender Studies, Lund University.

Helma Lutz is Professor and Chair of Women's and Gender Studies Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main. She has a long standing record of research in the field of gender and migration studies and carried out projects in various locations in Europe. Lutz is one of Europe's leading scholars in the field of the so-called 'care crisis' and 'care migration'. Her work combines insights from gender and migration studies, two fields that are not always speaking to each other. She is currently working on a book titled *The Care Curtain of Europe* that looks at globalization of care work in its specific European representation. In Europe, migrant women from former socialist state countries in the East work as care providers in the South, the West and the North of Europe. Lutz investigates the features of this European divide – coinciding with the former iron curtain – by exploring the 'care curtain' as an expression of a new geo-political pattern characterized by drain in the East and gain in the West.

Lena Martinsson is professor of gender studies at Gothenburg University and the president of the Swedish national association of gender researchers. She has done research on gender equality norms, diversity, and work for "good values" do. Which understandings of difference do they produce? What is constructed as normal, correct or proper within these norms? What and who are excluded in these processes? And what is made possible? Her theoretical interests are wide-ranging and embrace queer theory, perspectives on intersectionality, and postcolonial studies.

Mehk Muftee is a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre for Multidisciplinary research on Racism, Uppsala University. She has analysed introduction programs for refugees undergoing resettlement to Sweden, examining, among other issues, how stereotypical ideas about women from the Horn of Africa are expressed in information and interaction between government officials and participants in the programs. Muftee's postdoctoral research project explores Muslim women's experiences of, and strategies for negotiating and challenging, anti-Muslim racism. Her areas of interest include migration, transnational migration, intersectionality, postcolonial feminism, and anti-Muslim racism.

Diana Mulinari is an anti-racist feminist scholar and activist, and a professor of gender studies at Lund University. Central to her research is to understand how gender, sexuality, class and "race"/ethnicity *do* the social and *make* the political at the cross-roads between personal lives: diverse forms of belonging and national and transnational institutions. Inspired by Marxism and postcolonial feminist theory, Mulinari's teaching is located within feminist sociology and anthropology, and explores topics such as nation and ethnic belonging, racism, social movements, and globalising processes. She is the author of 'Re-thinking gender equality and the Swedish welfare state: A view from outside' (2016), and 'Human Rights in Argentina: Between Family Memories and Political Identities' (2015). She has also co-authored numerous publications, including 'Racist dreams and municipal budgets: Women representing a culturally racist party in local politics' (2015), 'Transnational Corporations from the Standpoint of Workers' (2014) and 'Birth work: Suffering rituals in late modernity. A case study from a birth clinic' (2012).

Andrea Pető is Professor in the Department of Gender Studies at Central European University, Budapest, Hungary and a Doctor of Science of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. She is teaching courses on European comparative social and gender history, gender and politics, women's movements, qualitative methods, oral history, and the Holocaust. Author of 5 monographs, editor of 31 volumes, as well as 259 articles and chapters in books published in seventeen languages. Her articles have appeared in leading journals including *East European Politics and Society*, *Feminist Theory*, *NORA*, *Journal of Women's History*, *European Journal of Women's Studies*, *Clio*, *Baltic Worlds*, *European Politics and Society*, *International Women's Studies Forum*.

Ann Phoenix is professor of Psychosocial Studies at IOE in the Institute of Education at the University of London. She has published widely on intersectionality and feminist theory and her interests are psychosocial, including motherhood, social identities, young people, racialisation and gender. Recent funded research project areas include: boys and masculinities, young people and consumption and adult reconceptualisations of 'non-

normative' childhoods', particularly of serial migration, visibly ethnically mixed households and language brokering in transnational families.

Tiina Rosenberg is professor of Theatre studies at Stockholm University and has formerly been professor of Gender Studies at Lund and Stockholm Universities. Her research areas include feminist theatre and theory, performance studies, gender theory, queer studies and critical theories. She has published many books in Swedish and Finnish as well as the acclaimed *Don't Be Quiet, Start a Riot. Essays on Feminism and Performance* (2016).

Christina Scharff

Christina Scharff is Senior Lecturer in Culture, Media and Creative Industries at King's College London and co-editor of *European Journal of Women's Studies* with Dubravka Zarkov. Her research interests are in gender, media, and culture with a focus on engagements with feminism and the politics of creative work. Christina is author of *Repudiating Feminism: Young Women in a Neoliberal World* (Ashgate, 2012) and, most recently, *Gender, Subjectivity, and Cultural Work: The Classical Music Profession* (Routledge, 2018). She co-edited (with Rosalind Gill) the books *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism and Subjectivity* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); *Aesthetic Labour: Rethinking Beauty Politics in Neoliberalism* (with Ana Sofia Elias and Rosalind Gill) (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017); and *Digital Feminisms: Transnational activism in German protest cultures* (with Carrie Smith-Prei and Maria Stehle).

ABSTRACTS

Clare Hemmings (London School of Economics) “Gender travels: Feminism, Violence and Male Authority in an Age of Right-Wing Populism”

Sexual and gender politics are an intense site of contestation at the moment. In a range of contexts we see increased attacks on ‘gender ideology’ that link challenges to natural roles within heterosexual families as attacks on national security, and that target queer and trans* claims to integrity as outside the social. At the same time, we see continued *claiming* of gender and sexual equality agendas as the basis for inter-state aggression of a variety of kinds, particularly as alibis for military intervention or border policing. And finally, we also see a variety of forms of new (and not so new) social movements that challenge the above forms of violence, including sexual violence in conflict, in the home and in workplaces, and use the experience of it as a rallying point for feminism.

In this paper, I want to try and sketch the landscape of this intense field and ask both what kinds of political shifts we are living within with respect to gender and sexuality, and what kinds of responses might start from open-ended solidarity rather than retrenchment. I ask what the links between these different kinds of mobilisations of ‘gender’ and sexuality might be, minimally concerned with thinking about **authoritarian violence** as both increasingly visible and as framing the possibilities of for feminist, queer and anti-racist actors. Finally I argue that responses that re-centre authenticity or identity are likely to fail precisely because they reduce the possibilities for solidarity that must start from interrogating certainties about what gender and sexual freedom might entail. Instead, I propose that emancipation has to start from a theory of sexual freedom as well as harm, one rooted in a trenchant critique of sex/gender as a ‘method’ of a range of linked masculinist authorities, and one that embraces the risks that a range of subjects already take in embracing lives of complex integrity.

Alyosxa Tudor (SOAS, University of London) “Decolonising Queer-Feminist Pedagogies: Teaching Trans/Gender in the face of the rise of the Global Far Right”

In the UK, a mostly student-led movement has started to emerge that fights for decolonising the curriculum. While this movement is inspired by transnational student activism and calls for challenging racist, colonialist and nationalist paradigms knowledge production by addressing both issues of epistemology and access to higher education, it has been distorted in media representations as misguided identity politics. In my talk I will address the logics of the mainstream media representation that can be understood as in line with a broader supra-national campaign against critical fields of knowledge production like gender, critical race and decolonial studies and their overlaps. It is important to see this attack as connected to the global rise of the far right, but also to pay attention to liberal and left-leaning anti-gender argumentations. Using the teaching of trans/gender studies as an example, I aim to discuss potentials and challenges of the task of ‘decolonising’ the curriculum. Decolonising knowledge production and making sure that an intersectional/transnational perspective and innovative approaches are at the core of each class require on-going conceptual work. It also requires a commitment to challenging the canon which can be indeed challenging in terms of how to teach new or relatively less cited work, how to translate concepts and terms and how to engage with the travelling/non-travelling of theories. How can this work (that necessarily needs to be done in collective processes) deal on the one hand with attacks that

often ascribe 'identity politics' to actually much more complex interventions and at the same time make sure that 'identity', harm and difference do not get re-essentialised in critical knowledge production.

Fataneh Farahani (Stockholm University) "Unlearning privilege and undoing whiteness capital: On racializing knowledge production and unhomed knowledge producers"

Who is considered as an authentic gender scholar and an impeccable knowledgeable subject? What kinds of knowledge productions and knowing subject positions are rendered (im)possible in different gender studies academic settings? How do constantly shifting and intersecting power hierarchies (re)shape the conceptualization and (re)presentation of *knowledge* and *knowledge-makers*? Aiming to reflect over these questions, for the purpose of this presentation, I will focus on the following themes: 1) Racializing epistemic entitlement 2) Racializing academic (un)comfort zones 3) Epistemic injustice 4) Epistemology of ignorance 5) (Mis)use of the vocabularies of anti-racism and intersectionality: A whiteness capital.

Mattias Gardell (Uppsala University) "With wind in their sails: revanchist radical nationalism and the assault on academic freedom"

With a focus on Sweden, this paper discusses recent attacks on critical racism research, gender research, postcolonial and critical theory. It locates these attacks as part of a larger radical nationalist strategy of take over and in relation to the rebirth of the nation.

Ayse Gul Altinay (Sabanci University) "Gender Studies in Turkey at the Nexus of Personal and Political Transformation"

The planet today is shaped by deeply destructive forces, the consequences of which range from climate change to wars, from poverty and precarious living to racist and (hetero)sexist violence. Yet, we are also witnessing a time of major transformations, especially in relation to conventions on gender and sexuality. Contemporary Turkey, is a place where both the most destructive forces and the most transformative forces are finding strong expression. What role does (or can) gender studies play in this moment shaped by destruction and violence, as well as by creativity and personal/political transformation? This presentation will reflect on this question with examples from contemporary Turkey.

Ylva Habel (Uppsala University) "Demonic middle ground: Conflations of public debate, dog-whistle politics and racist hate speech"

The aim of this paper is to explore Swedish contemporary discursive and affective dynamics in contestations over race and racism on the intersected arenas of public debate and social media. Specifically, I am interested in examining the many ways in which the revived, emboldened language of white supremacist hate speech has been transposed into acceptable points of departure for mainstream columnist texts and editorials as well as public service news and political analyses.

How can this *trollification process* be analyzed, given its gradual normalization and transnational ubiquitousness? Departing from a case study of Public Service news reporting strategies, I propose to study three levels of the process:

1. The continuous “import/export”/circulation of key words from the alt-right margin to the center –which conflates what was once a fringe phenomenon to a neoliberal definition of what now constitutes “our common ground”.
2. Transformations/interfusion of roles: twitter/troll, entrepreneurship, targeted persons subjected to similar forms of defamation in the press as well as in online fora, de-legitimation and persecution online, in editorials and columns, and not least in well-funded think tanks, such as Timbro, which recurrently finances the publication of racist and counter-intersectional books (Ivar Arpi’s *How we all became racists*, 2018; Fredric Segerfeldt’s *The Black Man’s Burden*, with a foreword by Dick Harrison, 2018).
3. The compulsion to make public debate the only legitimate form of political discussion

Helma Lutz (Goethe University Frankfurt) “Right Wing Populism, Gender- (Studies) - Bashing and ‘Dangerous Masculinity’ in Germany. A glimpse on topical battlefields”

The welcoming of refugees in the summer of 2015 has been celebrated in Germany and beyond as the start of a ‘new’ German mentality: a large segment of society did not only show empathy and acceptance to people scarred by war violence and bloodshed, but volunteered to actively support the newcomers finding their way into society. Since then, public discourse has changed into the opposite direction: Right wing populism has blossomed in a formerly unknown way; never before has a newly founded party (so called AfD, Alternative for Germany) so quickly been elected into power. The AfD is now present in every German Parliament (central and federal) and has ‘successfully’ changed the dominant discourse into a narrative of threat (of infiltration of the German nation/ Volk by ‘foreigners’) and fear (of a collapsing ‘natural hetero-sexual’ gender order). The New-Year’s Eve’s Events 2015/16 in Cologne now serve as the pivotal turning point in the debate about refugees and flight migration. This ‘event’ is used widely as legitimation for the necessity to realize that the populists’ warnings and prophecies have come true. The AfD targets Gender-Mainstreaming, Gender Studies, Gender- Justice Policies, activism striving for non-normative sexuality and characterizes them as enemy of the people (nr. 1), while young male immigrants and refugees – in particular Muslims - are characterized as threatening German women and society as a whole (enemy nr. 2). While German feminists are more or less united in dismissing the Gender-(Studies)- Bashing, it is divided in its rejection of racist narratives on dangerous masculinities. In my contribution to this panel I will analyze this divide and likewise look at the revitalization of old demarcation and racialization discourses

Mehk Muftee (Uppsala University) “Swedish Muslim women making use of arts as a way to claim voice and space - The example of *Swedish hijabis*”

The aim of this paper is to explore and understand how young Muslim women in Sweden are making use of arts and other creative ways in order to make their voices heard. According to Jasmine Zine (2006) the islamophobic discourse in the West is often gendered, particularly drawing on stereotypes of the Muslim woman as passive, oppressed, and submissive. In recent years, in Sweden, young Muslim women have made use of creative ways in order to counter stereotypes. One such example that this paper will be focusing on is the community theatre project *Swedish hijabis*.

Lena Martinsson (Göteborg University) “Gender research and the discourse on conspiracy”

During 2017-2018 the SvD:s leader writer Ivar Arpi, wrote six articles where he described gender research generally and Gender studies and the National Gender secretariat specially,

as a threat to the university, as a conspiracy and as deeply non-scientific. His text might be understood as a turning point in the critique and attacks that always have followed this research, by being connected to an international anti-gender movement and with a clear social conservative frame. His analyses were also soon reiterated by the nationalist party Sweden democrats. Drawing on the work of Fahlgren and Sjöstedt Landén (2014) and Wetterstrand (2018), the aim with my paper is to analyse Arpi's articles and rhetorical method from a discourse perspective. How is 'science', and gender research as well as the 'threat' of 'gender ideology' constructed? And how can one understand Arpi's position and impact?

Irene Molina (Uppsala University) "Could feminism possibly be non-socialist?"

Postcolonial feminists have been arguing for a long time that the two theoretical frames and activisms of antiracism and radical feminism should not be separated. Moreover, the intersectional turn has also suggested that the struggles for gender and racial justice should be a companion of the anti-capitalist struggles. Inspired on the works of Angela Davis and other antiracist radical feminists, and as an answer to the current neoliberal and right wing populist voices in Swedish public debate accusing feminism for having been kidnapped by radical leftists (GP 04/01/19), I reverse the question by asking whether feminism could be articulated at all by other ideological standpoints than socialism. I will give some examples from research and activism in Sweden, which illustrate the contradictions of liberal feminisms and reinforce the idea of a necessary radical intersectional feminism as a liberation strategy for oppressed groups.

Diana Mulinari (Lund University) "Scholarships of hope in neo-fascist times"

The aim of this paper is to explore the challenges and dilemmas confronted by feminism as an idea, identity and social movement in Europe today. Maybe the first challenge is to define "the social" , or more simply to name the emergence of neofascism at the cross-roads between the ethno-nationalist neoconservative political parties and social movements and the neo-liberalism of financial capitalism. The second, I would like to argue is to celebrate our paranoia, that seems more framed within a reality principle that the majoritarian worldview. The third is to search intellectual nurturance in the margins, in dialogue with transnational feminists worldwide. Finally, and may be the most important is to create and develop scholarships of hope that challenge dystopic depressive emotional academic frames.

Jenny Gunnarsson Payne (Södertörn University) "Challenging 'Gender Ideology' (Anti-Gender Politics, Europe's Populist Moment, and Competing Visions of 'the People'"

In recent years, the idea that there is something called *gender ideology* has become increasingly influential in political life, on a global scale. Demonstrations are held in protest of it, authoritarian-minded leaders are mobilising it to win elections, sexual and reproductive rights are rolled back because they are seen as a result of it, and academic freedom is being impinged because some disciplines are seen as propagating it. This idea can be found in the rhetoric of a diverse range of conservative Christian groups, populist right-wing parties, authoritarian leaders, neo-Nazi groups, and anti-feminist movements, and in many countries it is swiftly making its way into mainstream politics. As a result, "gender" has come to play a central role in the construction of political frontiers in the currently polarised political situation that Chantal Mouffe (2016; 2018) has called Europe's *populist moment*.

But although issues of “gender” is playing a central role for drawing the frontiers between these two political alternatives – indeed, for the very construction of their respective versions of “the people” – the topic has remained under-acknowledged in theoretical and political discussions outside of feminist activist- and activist circles. To this end, this paper seeks to shed further light on the role that anti-gender politics plays in Europe’s populist moment. How come “gender” has become the object of political polarisation now, after decades of national and transnational gender equality and anti-discrimination politics? Does it differ from previous versions of feminist backlashes and anti-feminism, and if so, how? Why has it proven to be so easily integrated into nationalist right-wing projects? And how come that it has taken such strong hold of Europe, where opposition to gender equality and sexual diversity has been widely presumed as “alien to the European experience”, or at worst as a historical or religious relic, destined to die a natural death in the wake of modernisation and progress (Kuhar & Paternotte 2017:3).

Ann Phoenix (UC London) Framing Feminist Frontlines/Infusing Intersectional practices

In a period where claims to equalities are taken for granted in many settings, it is sometimes hard to fathom why the backlash is both so fierce and continually changing. This talk reflects on how intersectional thinking is now taken for granted in ways that make it pivotal to these contradictions. It first looks at the ways in which it has been claimed in battles over ownership and then the ways in which it has been attacked in different ways, particularly currently for being racist. It then switches gear and uses a recent study of boys and masculinities in Helsinki to ask where the spaces for change in gendered and racialised negotiations may be found in everyday life in Europe and why old themes remain recursive.

Andrea Petö (Central European University) “History of Revoking the License of Teaching Gender Studies in Hungary”

In early August 2018, when Budapest usually suffocates in a heatwave, and most educational institutions are closed for holidays, members of the Hungarian Rector’s Conference received a seemingly innocent email from the Ministry of Human Capacities (which includes a secretariat for education) asking them to comment on a draft decree by the evening of the next day. The less than 24 hours deadline during vacation season should have been enough to raise alarm bells. But the real issue was hidden in the title of the draft decree on the modification of other decrees concerning “the training and outcome requirements of vocational-, Bachelor- and Masters-level educational programs, and the joint requirements of teacher preparation and the training and outcome requirements of various teacher training programs.” The talk discusses the history of the two months till early October when gender studies as a field of study was deleted from the list of accredited study programs asking the questions who were the main actors? what was the reaction of the gender studies community? what are the consequences.

Tiina Rosenberg "It happened to #metoo: Performing feminisms in time of right-wing populism"

This paper discusses feminist protests as public performances in a political context filled by right-wing populism and their conservative supporters. This political situation places

feminists in an alien, disadvantageous position, while conservatives and right-wing populists appropriate the language of rebellion with renewed protests against feminism, liberalism, and social democracy. While there is no recipe for feminist activism, it is instructive to look upon various forms of feminist protests that have generated hope through interventions in anxious times. The question is not whether anything can be done, but what can be done and how to do it in a way that is effective, responsible, and ethical.

Cristina Scharff (King's College London) "From 'not me' to #MeToo: exploring the politics of digital feminist activism"

This paper will explore the increased public visibility of feminism in the age of right-wing populism. First, the paper will draw on the work of feminist scholars, such as Catherine Rottenberg, Rosalind Gill, and Sarah Banet-Weiser to theorise 'the rise of feminism' and think it together with ongoing and newer forms of sexism and 'popular misogyny' (Sarah Banet-Weiser). The paper will then move on to explore the politics of so-called 'hashtag activism' as one area where feminist activism has been particularly visible in recent years. After a quick discussion of the benefits and pitfalls of online feminist activism, the paper will ask questions about the kinds of subjectivities that are (per)-formed in online, feminist spaces to add to our understanding of contemporary feminist activism.

PRACTICAL INFORMATION

Travel from the airport:

Closest airport is Arlanda and total travel time between Arlanda - Uppsala is 20 minutes by train, 45 minutes by bus. Tickets can be purchased at the airport, at SL and UL sales points and at Arlanda Central station. Taxi from Arlanda to Uppsala takes approximately 25 min. Ask the driver ahead of the journey for a fixed price. It should not be more than 510 SEK. Timetable: www.sl.se

By train

The station is located in the city centre. Commuter trains (about an hour from Stockholm) www.sl.se, regular trains (30-40 minutes) at www.sj.se Please note that tickets must be bought ahead of entering the train (either via the website or in the machines at the station) – and make sure you get on the right kind of train (ie don't get a 'pendeltåg' ticket for a 'regular' train!

How to get to the different venues:

The Centre for Gender research is located in Botaniska Trädgården, about 20 minutes walk from the train station/central Uppsala. For information about how to find the centre, please visit our website: <http://gender.uu.se/about-us/> and click on the button 'find us' to get a map.

Panel 2 on Thursday will be in **Engelska Parken**. We will walk jointly there after lunch. If you arrive late or from a different location, enter through main entrance and follow maps/ask at front desk, or find a map of the building here:

https://www.engelskaparken.uu.se/digitalAssets/84/c_84361-l_3-k_kvarteret_20ep20002_4_20copy.jpg

The keynotes will be in The Humanistic theatre, Engelska Parken:

<https://www.uu.se/nyheter-press/nyheter/artikel/?id=9538&typ=artikel>

The reception on Thursday night will be at CEMFOR, upstairs from the Humanistic theatre:

<http://cemfor.uu.se/?languageId=1>

Friday's sessions will also be in the Humanistic theatre building, on the second floor.

Local taxi can be reached on: +46 18 100 100