The How of Gender Science Fiction?

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1. Introduction

'The mysterious Other – out there in reality'

"I am waiting for them to stop talking about the 'Other', to stop even describing how important it is to be able to speak about difference. It is not just important what we speak about - but how and why we speak. Often this speech about the 'other' annihilates, erases: "No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story. And then I will tell it back to you in a new way. Tell it back to you in such a way that it has become mine, my own. Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the colonizer, the speaking subject, and you are now at the center of my talk."[1]

As students of International development we have during our 1st semester faced a great amount of literature and theories; theories about development, modernization theories, dependence theories, positivistic approaches, Marxist approaches etc. Thus, it seems that we have a solid theoretical base for further research in this field. However, several and different questions have kept arising: How can we tell other people/populations of a 'true' and/or better way of going about e.g. governance? What gives us the right to demand other people to conduct their way of living in a certain way? How are we defining "the other" etc. Leading us to, that within our studies we have all to various degrees had severe difficulties in accepting the commonly exhibited 'save the world' approach.

From colonialism up to today interventions in the so-called non-western world have taken place with various modes of expression and consequences, and has from obvious and direct exploitation conquest slowly turned into globalization and within this 'development' consisting of among others, demands for human rights and democracy. The question of emancipation within development; that is solving developmental problems in the so-called third world by liberating the poor, suppressed and ignorant populations of these countries, seems to be a crucial and very present issue. However we especially find the notion of 'them' as the problem and 'us' as the solution unacceptable. We would like to turn this around and consider ourselves as part of the problem and not as the solution and along this line problematize established dichotomies such as powerful/powerless, man/woman, North/South, modern/traditional, rich/poor etc.

Understanding ourselves as part of the problem then necessarily calls for questioning popular developmental 'solutions' (to the 'others'' problems) such as propagation of democracy, universal human rights etc, especially as these solutions are seen as

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[1] bell hooks in Wilkinson et al, 1996, p. 11.

unquestionably good and virtuous. We are aware that we face the risk of being considered pampered cynics; privileged to raise the questions because we ourselves live in so-called rich welfare societies. But we are prepared to take this risk and could even ask whether it is not more cynical to unquestioned dissemination and implementation of extremely naturalized *'comme il faut'* ways of governing. In this relation we have to stress, that we do not see how it is possible to clearly depict the truth about the 'best' society. Having realized this we are confronted with severe dilemmas within the mainstream development-approach, e.g. modernization theory and dependency theory, since most theoreticians within these approaches obviously assume that the 'other' and his/her reality is out there, and that this reality can be intervened upon and made better. The theories also to various degrees assume that power is adaptable and diffusible and that it is possible to empower populations to 'develop'. But 'develop' what 'reality' into what? If development discourse and practices are embedded in ethnocentric opinions about 'the truth about the good life', in which we obviously do not believe, how will it be possible for us to get around these regimes of truth and look at our position in a new light?

Thus, reaching this stage in our studies, questioning our personal ethics and seriously considering grounds for action seems crucial matters. We have therefore decided to throw ourselves into a post-structuralist universe reflecting upon the construction of the world of the imagined 'others', meanwhile obviously exposing and questioning our selves. International Development Studies seem to be a never ending story of re-writing 'others' and the imagined 'others' are within our field often categorized into various 'homogenous' groups that 'development' can intervene upon, such as: Poor people, starving people, indigenous people, old people, refugees, children, peasants and/or **women**. But as already mentioned, what happens when we seriously question this supposed reality out there and the best ways to 'treat' it? Is it possible to get inside other peoples' minds in order to understand their reality? Is there a true 'reality out there', just waiting for us to discover, disclose and describe? - We do not think so.[2] Therefore we find that it becomes quite obvious that the push for universalized development strategies and the wishful thinking about saving the world is problematic, and if our defined reality is not out there, how can we then as developers work with universalized human rights and implement them in imagined societies consisting of the imagined 'others'? Thus, even with all its 'good' and sincere intentions we notice a certain kind of unquestioned and therefore problematic 'doing good' within the field of development; And especially in relation to the unintended consequences which 'development' always seem to bring along, we find an increased amount of reflection about 'how we know, what we know' and 'why we act the way we do' paramount issues within our field.

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[2] Needless to say people do have a reality, and that reality is not less real even though we are not able to fully experience it.

Resorting to post-structuralist assumptions, and especially those inspired by some of the thoughts of Michel Foucault and his main followers, we find the above mentioned speculations relevant and interesting and even though we are not intending to embrace all of the issues of development studies we do wish to investigate the creation of the 'other' within the field of development. In this context we find, that no serious theoretical discussion of representing the 'other' can or should avoid taking up the question of the category itself. We cannot write about the 'other' as if some totalisable intelligible object simply exists out there, waiting for us to write about it. 'Others' are constructed – by those who do the 'othering', by those who reflect upon that 'othering' and by 'others' own representation of themselves.[3]

These considerations and several more have lead us to choosing **gender** as the main component of our analysis. More precisely we have chosen to focus on the categorisation of *women*; the construction of universalised woman-hood, which calls for the best intended 'sister solidarity' within development. Empowering 'suppressed third world women' is a repeated aim within the attitude of feminist developers, Women in Development (WID) and other 'developers' - embracing what we have chosen to call *gender-sensitive development*. By focusing on gender, emancipation and empowerment, we find that we will be able to carry out an interesting analysis of the social construction of 'the other women'; a construction that we ourselves are no less a part of. The fact that we are a part of this 'construction of the other' was very much the reason for all six of us choosing to work on this issue in the first place. Working with a problematization of gender and development is a way for us to confront our own prejudices and our own established 'normalities', both as developers and also as private individuals. The aim of this assignment is therefore to confront our doubts and to challenge our perception of what is (not) natural, right and wrong; and in this sense we question our own ethics and furthermore open a space for us to thoroughly question the morality of development interventions.

What is interesting in relation to our focus is the epistemological question overlapping both development and gender, i.e. whether there is an essential core in the 'traditional' others and in female gender. Within different theoretical feminist approaches *essentialism* seems to be a cornerstone. To our understanding, we find that beings and things are socially constructed. As mentioned, this does not make them less 'real' but it gives us the possibility to approach them as historical constructs. E.g. that gender is a construction within a specific historical discourse and as an ongoing process. The sexed body exists only in its relation to the surrounding world and as a product of a scientific regime of truth, which according to Foucault takes its' starting-point in the Enlightenment-period. But having said this, we are left in a difficult situation since we find that essentialist ideas

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[3] Wilkinson et al, 1996.

are completely embedded both within development studies and within common reflections on gender issues. Elaborating on this, our main interest lies in analysing the effects of these essentialist positions – How is 'the other' - 'gender' constructed within certain regimes of truth and power-knowledge relations? And furthermore, from our 'reality' point of view how can we then possibly act as developers? In this project we are in accordance to our chosen case aiming at giving a modest answer to these rather intricate questions. Finally and very important, when resorting to a post-structuralist approach the way we do it, we are not attempting to find some kind of 'other and better truth' about gender, but simply to investigate the above-mentioned questions and unfold some of the problematics we find interesting. This is what assembled us in the first place and this is what our narrative is about.

The way we approach this is by taking point of departure in explaining which analytical tools we use and then applying them to our chosen case. Where we would like to take you, is to a group of women in Lima, Peru. Throughout the last two decades a rather large group of Peruvian feminists and female radio-producers have created a co-operative (**Colectivo Radial Feminista/CRF**) in which they focus on gender-sensitive development. Their emancipatorian struggle is based on the problems they seem to be confronted with in their daily lives as women. I.e. lack of power, lack of money, lack of knowledge (about themselves), lack of strengths, lack of self-esteem etc. Several feminist movements have in this context offered a varied amount of courses to a vivid amount of women and thus, by educating these women, opened room for action. The women we are looking at have participated in these courses and are using their accumulated know-how in producing and disseminating informative local radio-programs about how to deal with and how to get a better life. The women's movements, which have offered the courses, have been supported by the Danish donor and educator KULU[4] (Kvindernes U-Lands Udvalg/Women in Development in Denmark).

Thus we are navigating within a tri-angular shape having one focus on the participating radio-producers (e.g. the women from the suburb Villa El Salvador), another focus on the feminist movements' courses (Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristan), and finally a third focus on KULU and the female developers' role in professionalising and improving the courses and the disseminated programs. Throughout our project we hope to be able to get this triangular shape turned into a kind of circle – a moving wheel, which shows the reader a dynamic process in which 'feminist' ideas and actions have taken shape and place in Peru within the last 20-30 years. Have a nice journey through our constructed narrative!

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[4] KULU is the largest 'Women in Development' NGO in Denmark. They are predominantly funded by Danida: The developmental department of the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. KULU has played an important role as donors in gender-sensitive development projects, and in Peru especially via radio-productions. KULU is a transpolitical umbrella organization consisting of 30 women-movements co-operating with women in the South in order to sustain these women's own ideas and initiatives, through equally worthy partnerships and a continuous dialogue with the women involved.

2. Problem-formulation

The introductory acknowledgements lead us to specifying the problematization of the field of intervention, thus defined as the following questions:

A) How are current representations of women in Colectivo Radial Feminista (CRF) influenced by and related to gender-sensitive development discourses and practices, with a special emphasis on those presented by KULU?

B) How are these discourses recast as part of the self-subjectification of the female radio-producers, with a special emphasis on the radio-team in Villa El Salvador?

C) How can we as women researchers, caught in our own regimes of truth, support 'emancipatory' political action at an epistemological level?

Clarification
Our first question, **question A**, is a way for us to get closer to the scientific objectification of (poor) 'women' in the 'South' and how this category was build up as a field of intervention within 'international development'. As for **question B**, we look at how the modern subjects/the participating women, inscribe themselves in the categories resulting from the objectification, and how they act upon themselves and others in relation to their articulated understanding of them-selves, i.e.:

As we cannot embed 300 years of history within this assignment (from 'Enlightenment' up till today) we will modestly be approaching this field by circumscribing aspects of Feminism in Peru, which we find important in relation to the specific group we are looking at; Colectivo Radial Feminista. In this connection we look at how feminism has been and is basis for important social movements in Peru (as internationally) with our starting-point in the 1970'ies and onwards. *How and where did development and feminism meet;* has been a returning question in our grid of intelligibility and we will approach this by giving a brief description of our perception of the internationally held UN women conferences and their significance in this 'game'. Our reason for approaching our field this way is that we wish to make it clear to the reader what we mean when we say gender-sensitive development discourses and practices. In brief, how the concepts and methodologies from feminism have been adopted by and interrelated with 'development' (or vice-versa) and thereby shaped its' own discourses and emanating practices, leading to visible, present and analyzable effects.

At what we have chosen to call the national level - the geo-political set-up called Peru - we give the reader a brief introduction on our understanding of feminism in Peru and how it has come to be a field of knowledge just as a field of action. This in a constellation of

various included slices of the turbulent Peruvian history during the past 20-30 years. Once, having established our time & space/place to the reader we 'dig' into the specific and deliberately chosen groups of women, Colectivo Radial Feminista. This is a rather large network of women's movements, thus within this network/CRF we investigate two women movements, mainly Manuela Ramos (MR) and Flora Tristan (FT) and a small group of women who have been trained by these movements, the women from the neighborhood Villa El Salvador, making the program 'Pásame la Voz' – this part of our analysis is focused on Lima. By resorting to the female participants' articulations about themselves, their acknowledgements and their actions we look at how MR and FT have played a crucial role in educating the participating women in feminist theory, practice and strategy and how the women have inscribed themselves into categories, roles and relations. When possible we use quotations somehow expressing a 'before' and a 'now', telling us something about the woman's changed perception of herself. And here we stress that we do not state whether this is good or bad, but only that it is! In this way we are able to link self-subjectification to objectification in a Foucauldian post-structuralist perspective and elaborating on this within the same narrative we focus profoundly on resistance, and resistance embedded in practices of freedom (e.g. emancipation via sustained self-esteem) recast in a local Peruvian context.

The way we round the circle and link it more precisely to our own regimes of truth and the geo-political set-up we are part of, is that we include KULU. KULU has for us functioned as an inspirational source and also as a guiding line in choosing the above-mentioned Peruvian context. In approaching the 'universe' we mention in our introduction we found it an intelligent way to more thoroughly question ourselves, but also to 'feed' our overall curiosity on our 'local' context. As KULU stands for some of the 'recognized' *Women in Development* in Denmark, supported by Danida[5], it seemed quite obvious for us to take a closer look at what they are doing and how. In this sense we are also somehow closer to the regimes of truth that 'operate' within 'Development Studies' at our university, and this is important in relation to our question C (see below).

As for KULU in Peru we conceptualize the organization as donor and educator in collaboration with Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristan in Lima. KULU has been and still is active in gender-sensitive development issues in Peru and we try to 'dig out' regimes of truth about 'proper' procedures on how to go about feminist methodologies and development communication using radio as its' media – thus, we analyze the *how* of KULU in Peru. Furthermore, when we look at KULU we also resort to interviews performed with the media-women and declared feminists Karen Wolf and Christina Hee Pedersen who have both taken part in the education of women in Peru. Another interesting perspective in this relation is that Karen Wolf is still active in gender-sensitive

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[5] Danida; is the developmental department of the Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

development, and Christina Hee Pedersen is teaching 'Communication' and methodologies at our university.

As for our **question C**, this is the section of the project where we draw on several female theoreticians and discuss them in the light of Foucault's analytical method and our operationalization of his concepts/our analytical tools. It is furthermore our discussion of the 'how to act'?! How can we as female knowledge producers take a stance in the 'what to do' about the regimes of truth we are caught in, in relation to dominant gender-norms. Can we change dominant epistemes? Is it possible epistemologically to produce a more flexible gender-fiction without becoming messed up in the repressive hypothesis? Thus, our question C is our 'room' to more explicitly expose our morals, our doubts, our ethical considerations and furthermore reflect our position as women and students of International Development Studies navigating in this complex and sensitive grid of intelligibility.

3. Grid of intelligibility & Methodology

Discourse & Post-structuralism

The field of knowledge we are moving into is concerned with gender and development and we have decided to adopt a post-structuralist approach. In doing so, we base our writings on a certain relationship between what we acknowledge and the object we seek to acknowledge – between epistemology and ontology. We resort to *discourse*, and in the following we will explain our conception of *what is*, *what we know* and the relationship between them.

"Discourse is what is thought, said and done. It is that which inaugurates the inscription on what is, ways of becoming and ways of ceasing to be. It is the ontological substance of beings and things: Discourse is that which is!" [6]

To elaborate further on this very wide definition, we take a short look at the epistemologies of the philosopher Immanuel Kant - his way of separating *what is* and *what we know* can help us in explaining discourse in a Foucauldian sense. Immanuel Kant makes a very sharp distinction between what he calls *'ding an sich'*: reality 'out there', independent of the acknowledging subject – and '*ding für uns'*: reality as we acknowledge it from our subject-position[7]. In our assignment we have in stead chosen to operate with the terms; reality 'out there' and reality 'in here', outside and inside the subject. With Kant, the relation between the two realities is only in that reality 'out there' has effects as appearances in reality 'in here'. We will never know 'ding an sich'.

Foucault makes no distinction between these two realities. Or at least it is of no relevance whether there is a reality out there, which differs or fits the reality we perceive. Thus, within our approach and drawing heavily on Foucault, there is no reality 'out there' – no 'truth' independent of the acknowledging subject. In this way there will be no acknowledgements, which are closer to the 'truth' or to reality 'out there' than other acknowledgements. We operate with reality as it is conceived of within the subject – a reality 'in here'. Or in other words: there is no reality previous to discourse. This is why, as stressed by Moreira in the above quotation, 'discourse is what is'. Foucault erases the Kantian distinction between the 'ding an sich' and the 'ding für uns'– epistemology and ontology merges in discourse, which is at the same time *what is* and *what we know*.

But still, the space discourse then possesses becomes so large that it seems difficult to operationalise the concept within an analysis focusing on a very small slice of '*that which is'*. The 'common-sense' definition when talking discourse takes its starting-point in relating discourse/analysis to language; and that language is structured in flexible and different patterns from where we speak when we enter different social contexts. I.e. a way

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[6] Afonso Moreira, 6 March 2000.
[7] Immanuel Kant, 1783, Prolegomena.

through which one understands oneself and the surrounding world, where the discursive language is not only the spoken language but also the language of conceiving, acting and expressing. Discourse embraces both the 'modes of knowing' and the 'modes of being' and forms an ongoing process: 'modes of knowing' become 'modes of being' when the subject conceives of herself resorting to a variety of discourses, and again, when the subject from within this conception of herself conceives of others -'modes of being' becomes 'modes of knowing'. Thus knowledge becomes productive; in objectifying 'others' it contributes to the formation of the objectified subject. 'Contribute' because the objectification is not simply adopted but also recast by the subject – we will elaborate on this process later. In this light there are an enormous amount of discourses and it is thus plausible to state that there are e.g. various development discourses, gender sensitive discourses and empowerment discourses. Nevertheless, what we find very interesting is not so much how many discourses there are but rather the ones that are dominant and the ones that are not and how-come? Using Escobar's interpretation, submitting discursive formations to analysis is to show:

"how certain representations become dominant and shape indelibly the ways in which reality is imagined and acted upon ... discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible"[8]

Thus, in relation to Development Studies and our project this is interesting since as mentioned, the field is a constant re-writing of the 'other' and therefore a field premised on explicit and on-going discursive formations and **effects** of these. Elaborating this we have to emphasize that we are not doing discourse analysis, asking what and why; rather we are analyzing effects of discourses; asking how. Hence, this leaves us with some obvious problematizations – How is one discourse strong and another one weak and how are some discourses eliminated? And most important for this project; how do narratives[9] operate in specific societal constellations and how does the modern subject subscribe to them in the process of self-subjectification? How does 'modes of knowing' become 'modes of being'? Problematizing reality 'out there' and thus questioning 'truth' we do not want to be normative, e.g. to say whether certain discourses are right or wrong. This means, too, that the foundations for action and resistance cannot be based on knowledge about the 'truth'. We will return to this question later in this chapter and when discussing the last part of our problem-formulation about how to support political action.

Wanting to oppose a reality previous to discourse, we find it very useful resorting to the writings of Foucault. His explicit skepticism towards a universal objective 'truth', his

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[8] Escobar in module 2 assignment RUC, 1998, p. 5.
[9] As opposed to discourse, narratives must be more or less explicitly articulated. Narratives are among others dealing with ways of recasting regimes of truth and they can be expressed as stories and myths which create, reproduce, discontinue or legitimize certain social institutions.

ideas about the social construction of science and the innate relation to power and his critique and ideas about these relations, are very relevant considerations to our perception of discursive formations; within this project especially seen in relation to development-, gender- and empowerment discourses. Furthermore, when entering the domain of post-structuralism, discourse formation and –analysis, Foucault has played a crucial role, especially in relation to his notions regarding the construction of subjectivities – forms of person-hood, power and social positioning[10], and for us to leave out his considerations in this assignment would be cheating ourselves – and the reader. Leading us to, even though we find that within this approach it has almost become unquestioned to 'draw' on him, agree with him, comment him, modify him and probably the most common, quote him, that is exactly what we will do. The way we will do this is by resorting to various post-structuralist assumptions and by drawing on Foucault himself plus some of his main followers. We are looking at 'ways of being' via effects of recast technologies and techniques (embedded in regimes of truth) and we are analyzing these effects by resorting to archives/texts drawing on 'ways of knowing' technologies and techniques, so-called epistemes on development through women in development (WID). We are thus looking at the 'how to do' and the 'how to know' the 'know how' and in this sense we carry out a by Foucault so-called genealogy with archaeological drops.

Archaeology & Genealogy

Reading Foucault we understand archaeology as a methodology to analyze the 'how to know?' and how this 'mode of knowing' is intervened upon in a technical sense, whereas a genealogy is different in the sense that it looks at patterns of subjectification, objectification, subjectivity and subjection – the ways 'modes of knowing' becomes 'modes of being'[11]. In our assignment this would mean e.g. how women recast and mould their own being in the meeting with taxonomies like 'women', 'suppressed' and 'poor'. In this context it is important to distinguish between subjectivity and subjection. The line between subjectivity and subjection is crossed when a person subjects herself, when she aligns her personal goals with those set out by reformers, experts and activists according to some notion of 'the social good'.[12] Thus genealogy is a way of looking at the link between the 'personal' and the society and how the subject historically invents herself according to society. In other words, how the society is embedded in the individual body and how the individual body constructs society from there, a circular never-ending process.

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[10] Alonso, 1995 p. 76

[11] Archaeology is primarily linked to formations of modes of knowing, stemming from morality mainly provided by scientific narratives, whereas genealogy is more closely linked to modes of being and ethical aspects. This division is rather complex, as in order for us to reach the ethical substance of the subjects we have to resort to morality moulding ethics moulding morality moulding ethics etc. The two approaches are thus inevitably intertwined.

[12] Rose in Cruishank 1999, p. 92

When analyzing this process of self-subjectification it is very useful to resort to archives – archaeology, because as archaeology is related to epistemes and regimes of truth it is through these archives that we can get to the historicity of 'things' and of 'beings' and of ethics and morality. It is thus a journey in the construction of the fields of knowledge and it renders possible, to circumscribe discursive formations and how these are recast in social realities, and this is where we move back into genealogy which is closely related to regimes of practice, as genealogy " *... deals with the politicizing of existence which is in itself continuously resorting to scientific categories"* [13]

As mentioned, we find it is quite obvious that the two analytical approaches are closely related even though they focus on different aspects of human existence. With their inter-relatedness they become a 'time machine' carrying us back and exposing the historicity of how clusters of gendered identity were constructed as fields of intervention and how various technologies and techniques were constructed/adopted simultaneously to intervene in this enormous fields. Not stating that any other crew in the time-machine would take the same journey as we do, we find that in this sense genealogy and archaeology make it possible for us to investigate and expose the constitution of certain 'truths' – dominant discourses – as opposed to others.

Problematizing Gender

Gender - a very familiar term, indeed visible and well-known, and yet at the same time hidden and ungraspable in its' implicity. Questioning the socialized terminology on the Danish word 'køn'[14] which is the word covering *both* the biological sex *and* the culturally related and inscribed behaviors of gender, we are touching on an utmost emotional issue. Gender is a field of intervention in which no-one is 'outside'. All modern subjects do one way or another reflect upon their gender in order to relate to their identity. The categories of gender, in a conventional form known as woman and man, are affixed to our bodies from the very moment we are born, determining ways we choose to live and ways we are offered or forced to live. At least this is the common conception, and this is what we will be looking at in this assignment.

Operating with a Post-structuralist approach the division between sex and gender, and at the same time the identification of the presumed essence of these categories call for scrutiny. What is the 'true' sex, and what is the 'true' gender, what is 'normal' and what is 'abnormal' behavior? Post-structuralist approaches which debate this field (of intervention) go even further asking *how* has it come to be these categories? We intend to de-naturalize the categories of gender as well as the essence of the sex, since we consider these to be constructions of specific historical and cultural politics. We would like to

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[13] Johns 1998 p. 23.
[14] The intertwined relation between sex and gender within the one conception of 'køn' has however been problematized in the field of Woman and Gender Studies in Denmark; still it has not lead to a redefinition within these taxonomies.

introduce two 'appetizers' borrowed from a thesis on construction of gender written by D. M. Søndergaard; 'Tegnet på Kroppen'[15]. Our reason for introducing these small stories is that they should serve as a reflection and hopefully re-open and create an immense confusion in our implicit understanding of gender.

"<u>Nancy</u>
"You can meet Nancy in Nils Johan Ringdal's book "Lystens Død". Nancy has a female body, but she sees herself as a man. Nevertheless she dresses as a woman despite her masculine self-conception, and Ringdal describes her as both lovely and elegant. The words point to Nancy as a person, who uses the types of clothing and the ways of moving, which in the culture she is living in signal that she belongs to the category woman. Nancy is furthermore to all appearance equipped with a body that contributes to the success of this behaviour – which consequently makes it easy for her to make her physical signals aim directly at the norms of the culture of femininity. Nancy feels attracted to men. So basically you could say that she outwardly and concerning the direction of her sexual desire appears to be an ordinary woman. Nevertheless it is not only men as such, that attracts her. Since Nancy sees herself as a man, she feels attracted to men, with their desire directed towards other homosexual men – but she is trapped inside a female body. Such a gender-identity can seem a little confusing and surprising. Nancy makes an unusual connection of a line of elements, which the culture considers linked in a different way – she moves against the matters of course of culture."

Or another story…

"<u>The boys from Mexico City</u>
In this connection the group of young men from Mexico City, among whom Annick Prieur has lived, can serve the same purpose of making visible the culture. According to Prieur they have an eclectic relationship to femininity and masculinity. They take what they want, when they want and put together the pieces, as they like. These young men dress like women and intervene on their bodies on order to look like women. Some take female hormones in large doses of contraceptive pills, others inject oil into their buttocks and thighs to make them swell up, so that it looks like a female body. Real operations are not accessible to them. The men are from the working class and they cannot afford such expensive interventions on their bodies."

"A mayata is a man who sleeps with homosexuals. A tortilla is a man who likes to fuck a homosexual and that the homosexual fucks him. And a gay are those who don't sleep with the homosexuals. Only with women. And then it is the heterosexuals, who like to fuck men. So homosexuals likes to fuck men. And the bisexuals are those who fuck men, and men

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[15] Dorte Marie Søndergaard, "Tegnet på Kroppen", 1996 – the title in English would be "The sign on the Body".

who fuck homosexuals. It is bisexual mayates. It is tortillas. And mayatas are those who only fuck homosexuals"

Prieur explains the account:
A man in a female role who has sex with manly men – and who should according to the ideal stick to the passive role – is called "homosexual". Androgynous men who have sex with androgynous men, are called "bisexual", these are often middle class men. The roles are messed up, and they are expected to switch between being active and passive. Something which in the local terminology, is called being "international", or to be a "tortilla", a pancake of maize, which can be made with the hands by turning it, and pad it on both sides. A coherence is thus expected between a hermaphrodite look and a hermaphrodite sexual practise – not with regard to the choice of object, but with regard to the sexual roles. A lot of people don't know the meaning of the word "heterosexual", but those who have something to say about it, think that it is to be a man or to be "normal"- and he is normal as long as he looks like a man and sticks to the active role, irrespective of the sex of the person, he is having sex with. This use of concepts is focused on actions, sexual roles contrary to the way we use the words: either by aiming at a practice regarding the choice of object – homosexual - or to an identity linked to the choice of object – homophile" [16]

Problematizing gender in the above-mentioned perspectives calls for alternative analytical tools in order to analyze and in order to grasp the complex intelligibility of gender. Sex and sexuality are some of them, introduced in the chapter presenting our analytical tools. Another issue we give special attention is a movement of resistance resorting to the conventional categories of gender; that of Feminism. Having our case in mind we find it relevant to discuss what both various feminists positions and the post-structuralist approach put forward in relation to gender. The contradiction between the two point of views is most clear in the discussion about essence vs. no-essence and even this division seems artificial as feminist representations also occur (Wittig, Butler, de Lauretis, to mention some) within the post-structuralist approach. Thus, as one of the crucial points of these feminists, is to oppose essential notions of 'femininity', 'women', etc., it is not possible to completely divide feminism from post-structuralism.

Within feminist positions it is possible to locate a great amount of differences and it thus becomes very problematic to talk about one 'feminism'. Some feminists argue that according to the female sex and the ability to reproduce, women are historically victimized by biology and therefore they must re-appropriate their bodies from patriarchal forms of

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[16] The following is a translation from: Dorte Marie Søndergaard: tegnet på kroppen, Museum Tusculanums Forlag Københavns Universitet, 1996. She has the story about 'Nancy' from: Johan Nils Ringdal: "Lystens Død" 1991. The second story about 'The boys from Mexico City" and the following reflections are from Preiur, Aschehoug, Oslo 1992 and 1994.

control. "By recovering a positive image of their biological selves, women will find fulfillment in …their 'innate' caring and nurturing functions." [17] Another feminist stance, opposed to the essentialist position, claims that the 'natural' body is a construct and this construction legitimizes certain strategies of domination and power. *"If the category of sex has such an important position in patriarchal logic, this is not because sex gives its shape to the social; it is because the social is able to make sexual forms seem obvious and thereby hide oppressive systems".[18]*

The Peruvian radio-women around Colectivo Radial Feminista are uniting themselves as women; they organize and they speak of the problems they face as women. However, the very concept of the category 'women' seems to be impossible to formulate precisely for feminists,[19] which is how define themselves. How this 'feminism' is articulated both within the radio-producers and the Danish counterpart KULU is one of our main interests when analyzing the case. The concept of 'women' is fundamental within feminist theory; whatever position, the point of departure for any feminist action is the category of 'women'. It thus becomes essential in the sense, that feminism often attempts to speak on behalf of 'other' women presupposing that it knows what women truly are and what they truly need.

Questioning essentialism in a gender perspective, post-structuralism offers an important contrast in the debate. The tools of de-naturalization and de-contextualization which are very central in post-structuralism seek to open and problematize categories that previously seemed 'natural' and unquestionable. However we are faced with a difficult dilemma: If we recognize grouping women under the paroles of feminism, we risk excluding 'others'[20] and according to post-structuralist approaches we would be de-politicizing. Meaning, we would be uniting and grouping people, who are then subordinated to various over-all 'solutions' formulated by experts, without taking into consideration the various differences that occur within this group. But, on the other hand, how are we to handle domestic violence, unwanted pregnancy, rape etc. if we are not supposed to genderize this in general terms? In other words, if it is not possible to speak of general assumptions about 'men' and 'women', how can we then *re*-politicize in order to resist the experienced oppression that certain groups of people face, e.g. women?

Wanting to re-politicize we propose two different abstractions of analysis or two different spaces where the gendered individual can be seen. They are not to be perceived as opposed to each other. Rather they together constitute the person's modes of knowing and

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[17] McNay 1992, p.18.

[18] McNay 1992, p.21

[19] Alcoff 1997, p.330

[20] Knowing that we risk a problematic generalization, we find that; theoretical feminist stances, and to a certain extent also practices, have mainly been formulated by privileged Western women. Thus in this sense 'others' refer to black, poor, lesbian etc. women.

being. We suggest the first space as *an experienced room*. Consisting of the individual reality which each of us face through our gendered and inescapable mark on our body, the experienced room originates from what one could call the person's meeting with the cultural intelligibility. It is through our relations with other people that we identify ourselves and are identified by others and in this associating we are categorized as woman or man. Conceptualizing the experienced room, and most important seeing the historical context where gender categories have been formed, we draw on the works of Foucault and especially *The History of Sexuality*. In these publications Foucault shows how the scientification of sexuality came into being in the seventeenth century. We will elaborate on this in the following chapter. Seeing the experienced room only as a part of a person's reality we propose a second space; the *thought-space*. The thought space is the theoretical place where we analytically are able to take 'normality' to pieces. As the post-structuralist approach demonstrates, there are no 'true' or fixed essence of gender, rather everything is constructed and maintained through discourse. It is in this 'location' – the thought space - it becomes possible to define gender as a fiction; a collective fantasy that only exists through its' effects.

As the case we are looking at is situated within a culture, where race and color are central issues (just as everywhere else) let us for a short while highlight the importance of not only gender but gender *and* ethnicity for a person's identity. Even though these two concepts are often seen as distinct principles of differentiation, we propose the idea that they are in fact concatenated in social action.[21] There are certain qualities which focus on both ethnicity and gender. In a rather extreme and outdated point of view to be untamed, virile and violent could be a description of the 'traditional' essence of manhood *and* it could also be considered the essence of so-called indigenous people and/or imagined un-modern subjects. Oyérònkè Oyewùmí[22] states that: *"The idea that biology is destiny – or better still, destiny is biology – has been a staple of Western thought for centuries."[23]* Within this mentality, gender and ethnicity are proposed as fundamental biological essences. They both signify the vitality in Western thought of the notion of difference expressed as degeneracy. *"Initially, degeneration brought together two notions of difference, one scientific – a deviation from an original type and the other moral, a deviation from a norm of behavior. But they were essentially the same notion, of a fall from grace, a deviation from the original type"* [24] The perception which emerges from this point of view is that society is constituted on bodies.[25] The Western idea is that the body determines the individual's place in the social order, this is also why the bodies – the

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[21] Alonso, 1995, p. 74.
[22] This author puts great emphasis to that her name is properly spelled, otherwise the pronunciation would be wrong, and it would not be her name. Unfortunately we cannot spell her name appropriately as our hard-ware and soft-ware does not allow this. The key-boards we use to type this assignment have not left space for us to use her alphabet. This is in itself an important reflection.
[23] Oyêwùmí 1997, p.1.
[24] Chamberlain and Gilman qouted in Oyêwùmí, 1997, p.1.
[25] Oyêwùmí, 1997, p.1.

world - is viewed; consider here the word world-*view*. Here it is important to stress that the focus on the sense of sight is an important characteristic of the Western world, and therefor it is closely connected to the concern with bodies - seeing is an invitation to differentiate.[26] This dichotomy mind/body is important to bear in mind when reflecting on a person's status based on e.g. gender and ethnicity. "*Biological determinism is the filter through which all knowledge about society is run.*" [27]

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[26] Oyewùmí 1997, p.2.
[27] Oyewùmí 1997, p. 5

4. Analytical tools

The Repressive hypothesis

One of the main aims of the work of Foucault could be his oppositional stance to what he describes as the repressive hypothesis. In this sense the purpose of his approach was to reformulate the concept of power and resistance by analyzing the emanating effects. But what is the repressive hypothesis? In Foucault's works it is all-embracing and it refers to the generally accepted discourse in contemporary Western societies, both within social science and in everyday knowledge, that power works as an oppressive force. This stance indicates that power can be possessed and exercised by a circumscribed and centralized power-structure – leaving all other individuals subjugated and with basically no influence in the 'ordered whole'. The way in which the dominant power-structure accomplishes this, is by imposing its will and by forcing other individuals to accept and obey the moral rules and established laws in the given society. In this position the concept of power is primarily understood as the relationship between the more powerful and the reasonably powerless. Power is thus to the majority considered a negative force, which produces nothing but limits and lacks.[28]

The critique of this perception of power, the repressive hypothesis, is expressed by Foucault in his book "*History of Sexuality*" in which his point of origin is the notion of sexuality. Sexuality not as an instinct and desire of human beings throughout time but sexuality as a discursive concept born through articulation. Sexuality as a discursive fact – developed simultaneously with the modern capitalist societies. But why is this interesting in relation to the repressive hypothesis?

Sexuality is in Foucault's book the point of departure to analyze how science has been used to deploy (sexuality as) a field of intervention and thus as a way to 'interfere' in the most secret and intimate sphere of human beings. In the words of Foucault:

" In short … to describe this regime of power-knowledge-lust which establishes our speech about human sexuality … the most important is to consider that we are talking about it, who is talking about it, from what point of views, what institutions call for talking about it, collect and disseminate what is being said about it … furthermore the important thing to know is, in what shapes and in which channels, enrolled in which discourses, do power reach the most insignificant and individual mode of action, what routes allow power to reach rare and hardly visible types of lust …" [29]

This is important as it indicates a new form of intervention, followed by a new form of government. Foucault stresses that even though sexual desire was restricted and made shameful during the Victorian period and in the uprising of modern society, it is partly the

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[28] Foucault in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 130
[29] Foucault, 1994, p. 24, our translation,

confession techniques that are crucial. Confessing techniques were preoccupied with the 'sinner's' detailed explanations about hidden thoughts and secret actions. In this sense the prohibition and shamefulness leading to an increased demand for confession, have been very important components in producing the 'truth' about e.g. sexuality, and thus very important tools in shaping modern society. I.e. in shaping modern society, because the cluster of discourses concerning sex, confession and rules of self-examination can thus be considered an apparatus in which the family and its' members became objects of scientific observation claiming to speak the objective truth.

Thus, what has most commonly been considered a repression – e.g. the repression of sexuality – has in itself conduced to a strengthened discourse, which again has lead to counter-discourse, which again has strengthened the discourse over-all etc. Thus what Foucault is up against in his critique of the repressive hypothesis is the common perception that truth is there and that it is superior to power; and by exposing the hidden agenda of the powerful the power can supposedly be overthrown. This indicates that the producers of truth, e.g. scientist, should somehow be located outside power and therefore; if truth could be revealed as something outside power, then human beings could likewise consist of a true essence which could be liberated from abuse and domination. Thus, the repressive hypothesis indicates that human beings are divided in those elites capable of acting and the passive majority who needs enlightenment and guidance – supposedly from the same intellectuals who should be speaking from outside mechanisms of power!

Power, Truth & Knowledge

Power can as mentioned above, neither be understood as an item someone has and/or others are in lack of, nor is it possible to overcome the exercise of power and reach a stage where power-relations are eliminated. *"...power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and [...] it only exists in action."*[30] When power only exists in action, then it becomes clear that as long as modern human beings are acting, they will continue the development of new modes of exercising power. Also even though the modes of action are changed. When Foucault states that *"Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization."*[31], it is a way of emphasizing that the individual is not standing besides or opposite to power. Rather the subjectified individuals are the effects of power-relations, thus *"the individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle".*[32] We exercise power in all human relations, even though the extent of influence differs according to the different subject-positions. Power itself is not possessed by specific individuals or institutions, but is constantly reproduced and reformulated in the discursive field by the participating groups and individuals. This understanding of power

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[30] Foucault, 1980, p 89.
[31] Foucault, 1980, p.98.
[32] Foucault, 1980, p.98.

as inevitable embedded in practice indicates that power cannot be tracked and located in a single spot, rather it is all embracing and exists everywhere.

It can seem quite contradictory when Foucault claims that "*Power relations are both intentional and non-subjective*",[33] but the point is that the actions performed by the individuals in the given power-relations are always intentional, while the mechanisms of power itself are non-subjective. The power-mechanisms, because they are structured and reproduced by a multiplicity of power-relations that are not reducible to the individuals who exercise them, are necessarily incapable of being controlled by any particular individual. *"Neither the caste which governs, nor the groups which control the state apparatus, nor those who make the most important economic decisions, direct the entire network of power that functions in a society (and makes it function)."*[34]

Power is neither positive nor negative in itself, rather it is the different effects of the exercise of power over other human beings and theirs supposed actions *that* can have positive or negative results. The intentional exercise of power which groups or individuals are performing in power-relations produce reactions from others involved in the relations. This can either be in forms of direct opposition to the actions or statements articulated as a counter-discourse. But most likely the reformulating of the statements and actions will be reproducing and thus strengthening the discourse. These actions that oppose and reformulate the truths within the power-relations, produce more knowledge and acceptance of the morality that is embedded in the articulation of certain positions. Hence the exercise of power is what makes society function, because the ability to create change lies within the transformative capacity of the power-relations.
Power-relations are thus depending on knowledge and simultaneously the interchange of opinions produces more knowledge. Leading us to, that discourse is the site where power, truth and knowledge are brought together. *"We should admit that power produces knowledge[…] that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute[…] power relations."*[35]

Regimes of Truth
The complex web of power-relations and the embedded articulations of contradictory positions constitute how certain ways of thinking become generally accepted as more true than others, articulated within the same discourse. This production of legitimacy to some positions and the exclusion of others function within all groups and societies. The positions that have become legitimate at a certain moment express the present status of the regimes of truth that function in society.

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[33] Foucault, 1990, p. 94 - 95.
[34] Foucault, 1990, p. 95.
[35] Johns, 1998, p.14 quote. Foucault in Hall; 1982, p. 219.

"Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; and the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true."[36]

Power is therefore not opposed to truth. The two are mutually intertwined, thus *"We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except trough the production of truth."*[37] What becomes accepted as true statements in a certain discourse in a given society, are the certain forms of thinking and acting that come to appear as solutions to the problems and basis for decisions[38]. This means that regimes of truth are constituted within the discursive competition between opposed meanings, expressed in the relations of power, *"Thought, [...] is a collective product."*[39] Which meanings or attitudes accepted as 'true' and those statements excluded as 'false' are discursively produced in social, cultural and political practices. In this sense power can be seen as productive. The exercise of power does not exclude the use of violence, nor does it necessarily include reaching consensus. *"But even though consensus or violence are the instruments or the results, they do not constitute the principle or the basic nature of power."*[40]

The exercise of power is merely a set of actions upon other actions[41]; hence we can consider power-relations as a structure where subjects are acting in co-operation or in opposition to other acting subjects and their supposed actions. Modalities of power and knowledge determine how individuals constitute themselves as subjects, when they recast epistemes that have become self-evident and naturalized through dissemination of regimes of truth.

Modernity

Tracing back the foundations of ideals and values inherent in the conceptions of the welfare state in the 20th century, Foucault follows two tracks. One leads us to the conception of political power exercised in the self-governing community in ancient Greece; the other to the pastoral techniques of government in early Christianity. Having their roots in completely different origins they meet in Western countries during the 19th and 20th century. Here their intertwinement in a whole set of relations make up the foundation of the conceptions of power in the welfare state.

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[36] Foucault, 1980, p. 131.
[37] Foucault, 1976, p. 93.
[38] Rose, 1996, p.110.
[39] Dean, 1999, p. 17.
[40] Foucault, 1982, p.220.
[41] Foucault, 1982, p.220.

Before digging further into their intertwinement in the welfare state, let us shortly introduce the origins of the two conceptions of power - beginning with the pastoral power. In early Christianity the pastoral relationship between God, the pastor and the pastorate can be conceived as the relationship between the shepherd and the flock. It is characterized by the shepherd's gathering of the members and guiding them, by his/her concern for each member of the flock as well as its whole, by the individual kindness of the shepherd and his/her concern for the salvation of each and all[42]. Later the pastoral relationship modified: The shepherd required an individualizing knowledge of each member of the flock, of the contents of his/her soul and of his/her needs and deeds. The shepherd-flock game takes its outset in the individual.

The other pole, the political power between the city and the citizen - thus signified as the city-citizen game - has its origins in the notion of the *polis* in ancient Greece. The *polis* was a self-governing community and thus subject to its own makings. Its inhabitants were conceived as free citizens - as legal-political subjects with rights and obligations, and only those who could attribute to the survival of the community were given full political rights. Thus, the lust for doing good for the city was one of self-interest - by doing so the notables was conceived as noble and memorable. While the relation between the shepherd and the flock is one of authority and obedience, the relation between the ruler and the ruled was that of solidarity between free, equal citizens. While for the shepherd the concern is for all human beings, the city of ancient Greece excluded those who were not conceived as free citizens (slaves, women and children). In the city-citizen game the main concern is the well being of the city rather than of the individual.

Meeting each other in Western welfare states in the 20th century, the combination of the care of the self with the government of populations makes up a complex set of relations. *"[…] human beings are regarded as both self-governing citizens and members of the flock who are governed, members of a self-governing political community and members of the governed population."*[43] In the meeting of the totalising techniques of government and the individualizing techniques of pastoral power, the way that individuals conceive of their own lives is directed into certain rationalities and systems of thought through governmental technologies.

The subjection of individuals to various governmental mechanisms always implies a choice. Freedom then, is not the possibility of the individual to break out of these rationalities: the subject is forever bound by the limits of discourse, and freedom implies the possibility to choose between discourses.

What Foucault calls the 'demonic game of the modern society' then, is the paradox shaped by the combination of the city-citizen game and the shepherd-flock game: it shapes *"subjective experiences that we nevertheless believe are uniquely our own."*[44] The modern

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[42] Dean, 1999, chap. 4.
[43] Dean, 1999, chap. 4.
[44] Dean, 1994, p. 185.

individual will always inscribe itself in systems of governmentality and relate to meaning created by particular historical discursive formations of power and knowledge. S/he can never escape these systems of governmentality; his/her very ability to relate to him/herself as a subject that can be altered is a result of the combination of the city-citizen game and the shepherd-flock game – a result of modernity. This is also why post-structuralism holds no possibilities for emancipation - a discussion we will return to later.

To properly understand the connection between the living individual and the population and the mechanisms binding them together we will now pay some attention to bio-power - technologies that should form the art of government in the 19th century.

Bio-power

Bio-power is to be seen as a technology centered on the government of life. Since the 17th century two sets of bio-power technologies have developed - separately, but with plenty of relations. The one is that of *disciplining the body*; the other of *regulating the population*. Discipline was the first pole of bio-power to develop. It is concerned with the political anatomy of the human body - of the body as a machine. Disciplinary technologies seek to augment the capacities, abilities and efficiency of the body, ensuring its' obedience and integrating it into economic, efficient systems of control. Later, towards the end of the 18th century, the other pole began to develop. Regulating control was concerned with the bio-politics of the population - of the population as species. Bio-politics are concerned with the body as species: of the living mechanisms and biological processes, of reproduction, birth- and death rates, health, longevity etc.
Around these two poles of anatomy- and biological politics the organization of power over life has developed - a power aiming at the complete penetration of life. The two poles should still develop separately during the 18th century. They were sought united in a general theory at the discursive level, but this should only succeed at the level of concrete arrangements - arrangements that should later constitute the power technology of the 19th century. One of them - and according to Foucault one of the most important - was as mentioned sexuality. During the classical age there was an explosion in different techniques for subjecting bodies and controlling populations - the era of biopower had made its entry.

Where the sovereign earlier exercised his power over his subjects by exercising his right to take life, power is now concerned with controlling life itself - it is no longer only concerned with legal subjects but with living individuals. With the entry of bio-power, the procedures of power and knowledge intervened in life to control and transform it. Life was no longer the unapproachable foundations upon which to take decisions; the biological was now reflected in politics. Bio-power "[…] *brought life and its mechanisms into the*

realm of explicit calculations and made the power-knowledge an agent of transformation of human life."[45]

Government & Governmentality

In common ways of thinking the question of government is identified as the exercise of state policy, *"...a sovereign body that claims a monopoly of independent territorial power*[46] thus the institutions and state apparatuses act for the benefit of the collective body of population, and the formal political authority is supposed to be separating the rulers from the ruled. If we take into account the discussion of power-relations and the repressive hypothesis, then this conception of government will in this assignment have to be reconsidered. The political act of ruling a territory has in the process of Modernity become insufficient, thus *"Having the ability to retain one's principality is not at all the same thing as possessing the art of government."*[47] Hence the government of a certain society is concerned not only with the ruling of the masses, the question of governing also includes the aim of making the subjects governable and to strengthen their capacity to master themselves: *"[...] government encompasses not only how we exercise government over others, or how we govern abstract entities such as states and populations, but how we govern ourselves".*[48]

The ongoing process from the 17th century to today is what Foucault calls 'the governmentalization of the state'. Where the art of government of the state was earlier concerned with the government of humans in relation to things, it is now concerned with the government of processes. As Dean points out:

"The point at which population ceases to be the sum of the inhabitants within a territory and becomes a reality (sui generis) with its own forces and tendencies is the point at which this dispositional government of the state begins to meet a government through social, economic and biological processes. This government through these processes would come to generalize the pastoral government of religious communities to the entire population within the state."[49]

When government involves a direction of the conduct of the governed and establishes the frameworks of identities for the governed and the governors, and simultaneous employs various forms of knowledge about who and what are to be governed with the use of certain techniques to achieve its goals, then it can be called an 'art' of government[50]. What Foucault has defined as the governmentalization of the state is a way of describing how

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[45] Dean, 1999, chap. 4.
[46] Dean, 1999, p 9.
[47] Foucault, 1991, p. 91.
[48] Dean, 1999 p.12.
[49] Dean, 1999, p. 96.
[50] Dean, 1999, p 18.

the process of Modernity has redefined the state as no longer essentially consisting of the territory - the surface, rather the governmental state is defined by the mass of its' population with its' volume and density including the area they inhabit[51]. Nikolas Rose states, that *"The exercise of modern forms of political power has become intrinsically linked to a knowledge of human subjectivity."*[52] This indicates that the two poles of bio-power are connected in the exercise of governing; Liberalism as a an art of government[53] which defines the citizen as a legal subject with rights and duties towards the collectivity is linked together with the knowledge of the individual human subjects; their capacities, needs and desires. *"The state's power (and that's one of the reasons for its strength) is both an individualizing and totalizing form of power".*[54] It is this relation between the individualizing and the totalizing, between the individual human subject and the collectivity of the city, that forms the foundation for the governmentalization of the state - for the conduct of conduct as the new form of governing.

Self-governing - The Conduct of Conduct

"From the perspective of those who govern, human conduct is conceived as something that can be regulated, controlled, shaped and turned into specific ends."[55] The conduct of the conduct can be understood both as the governmental purpose of conducting the behavior and inner discipline of the others, but also as the actions of the individuals, individuals behaving in certain manners according to their own subjective recast of the regimes of truth. This means that even though one is defining him or herself in opposition to, or in consent with certain discourses, i.e. regimes of truth and moralities, one is applying to the conduct of the conduct by means of examining the self-performance, self-guidance and self-regulation. Furthermore the conduct of conduct implies not only the technologies and techniques that are being utilized from the governors' side to create governable subjects. The disciplinary techniques, developed especially in the elementary schools, prisons and industries, aimed to develop docile subjects that could be reformed, educated and disciplined by means of the combination of guidance, punishment and regulations, also facilitated the development of disciplining collectively.

Hence the subjects who are subjected to the educational disciplinary techniques do at the same time take actively part in the complex net of power-relations. They will perform and recast the moralities expressed and learned from the disciplinary techniques towards others. Hence, the regimes of truth expressed by experts will be recast and redistributed not only among those who were subject to the educational guidance in the first place, they themselves will continue the reproduction of the moralities. The discipline does not only

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[51] Foucault, 1991, p. 104
[52] Rose, 1996, p.117.
[53] As an art of government Liberalism seeks to shape the capacities of individuals and collectivities trough disciplinary and bio-political means.
[54] Foucault, 1982, p.213.
[55] Dean, 1999 p.11.

work 'top-down' it also works as a disciplinary control within the group of subjects, who will be attempting to make sure that none will pass the line of normality, break the moral codes or the disciplinary regulations.

In this context it is important to stress that contributors to the post-structuralist approach do not as mentioned conceptualize human being as equipped with an essential person-hood, a natural unique and discrete entity[56]. In this perspective the individuals recast their subjective perception of their identity according to the different practices and regimes of truth existing in the relevant historic and cultural relations of power. But particularly to western modern societies are the widespread understanding of the person as such a natural locus of beliefs and desires, the individual has during the process of Modernity been constructed as a 'self'[57]. Furthermore we have to take into consideration that the governmentalization and the conduct of the conduct do not produce monolithic subjects, due to the subjective perception and ways of acting within the power-relations. *"Human beings are not the unified subjects of some coherent regime of government that produces persons in the form it dreams. On the contrary, they live their lives in a constant movement across different practices that subjectify them in different ways."*[58]

Expert knowledge
"There are two meanings of the word 'subject' - subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge".[59] The individual in the modern societies has become at the same time subject to her/himself and subjugated to the practices of the scientific knowledge about the categories used to classify human beings; the dichotomies of the sane and the insane, the normal and the pervert etc. The human sciences developed intensively in the same period as the disciplinary institutions mentioned above; in the attempt to formalize and elaborate the capacities of the human body and mind, the scientists focused on those individuals considered to be behaving abnormal. This process could be understood as techniques for the disciplining of the human difference: *"[...] individualizing humans through classifying them, calibrating their capacities and conducts, inscribing and recording their attributes and deficiencies, managing and utilizing their individuality and variability."*[60] These investigations of the attitudes and behaviors of the individuals acting in a non-appropriate way constituted the discourse on what could be included as normality in the scientific regimes of truth alongside with the formulation of who should then be excluded. *"This turning of real lives into writing [...] functions as a procedure of objectification and subjectification."*[61]

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[56] Rose 1998, p. 22.
[57] Rose 1998, p. 22.
[58] Rose 1998, p. 35.
[59] Foucault, 1982 ,p.212.
[60] Rose 1998, p. 105.
[61] Foucault, 1991, p.191.

Hence the human beings have been objectified both through the scientific investigations which aim to reveal the particularity and the bio-politics concerned with the overall regulatory purposes; birth-rates, longevity, health and purity-standards of the population. By means of imposing dichotomies the individual is divided or separated either within it self or from others. These dividing practices objectify and subjugate, simultaneously the individual makes itself subject to the categorization to which it is imposed. The term self-subjectification *" [...] designate all those heterogeneous processes and practices by means of which human beings come to relate to themselves and others as subjects of a certain type."*[62]

Thus the experts in modern societies play a crucial role in the definition of truth, due to the influence the scientific knowledge has gained in the everyday sphere; we use psychological terms to explain our emotions and define our identity equally referring to the objectification of human beings of the psychological-disciplines. The modern human beings interrogate *"...and narrate themselves in terms of a psychological 'inner life' that holds the secrets of their identity, which they have to discover and fulfil [...] "*[63] The scientific knowledge has in the contemporary societies reached a status where it is commonly imagined as providing validity for the definition of 'true' and 'false'. *"[...]modern relations of power and knowledge are modern, because truth is considered to be articulated through scientific knowledge."*[64]

Human technologies and techniques

We will in accordance with Nikolas Rose use the concept of self-subjectification to describe the process where individuals are not only objectified through the means of expert-knowledge. They are simultaneously subjectifying themselves and objectifying others by referring to the dichotomies and categories which have become naturalized. We, the modern subjects are also relating to ourselves as an ongoing creation, using 'the technologies and techniques of the self' to elaborate the conduct of the relation with oneself. *"Technology [...] refers to any assembly structured by a practical rationality governed by a more or less conscious goal."*[65] These technologies and techniques are of utmost importance within our assignment as it is through these we perform our analysis of the chosen case. Meaning that we will be investigating closely how and which technologies and techniques are embedded in what we have chosen to call gender-sensitive development.

The technologies of the self require one to relate to oneself epistemologically; know yourself, despotically; master yourself and care for yourself.[66] The techniques we resort to

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[62] Rose 1998, p. 25.
[63] Rose, 1998, p.22.
[64] Thomsen et al., RUC, 1999.
[65] Rose 1998, p. 26.
[66] Rose 1998, p. 29.

conduct ourselves can be embodied in particular practices. For example: confession, diary writing and group discussions. Techniques are the concrete practices with take place within institutions, courses or classrooms as well as the practices connected to the individual attending; the enrolment sheets, papers for examination or any other technical material used to gather and systematize knowledge about the participants. Very often these techniques, utilized with implicit or explicit reference to specific overall purposes; the technologies of the self, will be performed within the presence of a mediating person; the psychologist, the priest or the teacher. The process of self-subjectification has intensified the capacity of the individuals to govern themselves. The disciplinary techniques are also working when the facilitator; the mediator; the priest or the teacher are not present, thus the educational guidance and the regulation of behaviors promotes the subjects' ability to conduct themselves through rationality and self-evaluation. *"The modern subject is attached to a project of identity and to a secular project of 'lifestyle' in which life and its contingencies become meaningful to the extent that they can be constructed as the product of personal choice."*[67]

When Nikolas Rose states, that *"techniques of relating to oneself as a subject of unique capacities worthy of respect run up against practices of relating to oneself as the target of discipline, duty and docility,"*[68] he emphasizes the diversity between the subjects' interests in terms of authenticity of one's actions and the political and institutional demands of the citizens to abide the collective responsibility of organizational decision making even when one is personally opposed to it. Seen in this perspective modern individuals are simultaneously subjected to disciplinary techniques and free to act within the governmental practices, thus *"Government presupposes the existence of subjects who are free in the primary sense of living and thinking beings endowed with bodily and mental capacities."*[69]

To readers information we have now drawn up a modest but complex circumscription of our navigation space. This is to be understood as, the previously mentioned analytical tools are inseparable from the following, but the following call for a more profound methodological explanation since these stand as the most central focus in our analysis. We propose them to be Sexuality related to gender-identity; Practices of freedom as clusters of technologies of the self; and resistance as an inevitable ingredient within any emancipatory struggle (read feminism).

Constructing Gender Identity

As mentioned, having deployed a wide range of tools and contexts, we now wish to introduce you to a more specific analytical perception in order to investigate the field of

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[67] Rose, 1996, p. 119.
[68] Rose 1998, p. 35.
[69] Dean, 1999 p 13, ref. to Patton, 1998.

sexuality. When approaching the case of Peruvian radio-producers from CRF we find it necessary to de-contextualize the conventional categories of gender which feminists seem to resort to. We do this in order to question and problematize the universalities embedded in the feminist approach. To be able to do this we propose various central components, which we focus on in our analysis of the empirical material. Thus the following section will hopefully provide you with a useful clarification in understanding the interaction between the tools and the empirical material. The components we draw on and the cuts we have chosen to make, are however not universal – i.e. ones which show a correct or true picture of the women in Peru. Anyone who works with this empirical case and the post-structuralist approach might choose different components and thus slice out a different 'reality'. But for now we will return to Foucault focusing on his notion of *"History of Sexuality"*.

Science and Confession

As mentioned earlier, the two poles of bio-power were to be joined in the nineteenth century only at the practical level as concrete arrangements. One of these arrangements - and as mentioned earlier one of the most important - is the installation of sexuality. Sexuality as a discourse created the imagined principle: The desire for sex; to have it, to discover it, to have access to it, to liberate it, to articulate it in discourse, to formulate it in truth. The true discourse of sexuality constituted 'sex' itself as something desirable[70]. Sexuality thus became not a symbol or a mark, but an object and a target for interventions. Sex became an issue not only for the question of pleasure, law and prohibition, but also for the question of truth and falsehood. And even more important for the question of identity. What makes sexuality interesting within modernity is the way science with its monopoly of truth, and confession as the way to reveal the truth, is combined. The human being is placed outside history as a universal subject, and the truth of human beings as subjects and objects of science are to be revealed through the transparency and precision of science, and by the truth of the subject revealed through confession.

From early Christianity and up to today, sex was a very central theme in confession and hereby, in the truth telling process, the dominant discourse on sex emerged. The ritual of confession became a discourse within a power-knowledge relation in the sense that the confessor as the subject of a statement, unfolded her/his sins, troubles or whatever in the presence of an authority who required this confession. When science began to replace religion in the 'monopoly' of telling the truth, confession was transformed and distributed into a variety of institutions and practices. In this process confession was connected to science in a range of ways. *"It was a time when the most singular pleasures were called upon to pronounce a discourse which had to model itself after that which spoke, not of sin and salvation, but of bodies and life processes – the discourse of science"*[71]. The

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[70] Foucault 1990 p 156-157
[71] Foucault 1990 p. 64

confessing person's statements could not stand alone but needed to be guided and interpreted. In this way the individual subject on one hand possessed an inner truth that was to be revealed through the confession and on the other hand s/he had to talk and understand her/his own identity and inner secrets in accordance with the universal truth of science. In this sense the confessional discourse came not from above, but from below - and in this sense truth was formulated within a scientific discourse. Identity was and is thus closely connected to sex and formed in the complex connection between confession and science.

We have now located two modes of production of truth and the connection between them; civil and religious forms of *confession* and the discursitivity of *science*. The scientific systematization of sex produces the true discourse of sex which again produces 'sexuality by nature', embodying the truth of sex and its' pleasures. It is through sex that each individual has to pass in order to have access to her/his own intelligibility, to the body and the identity[72]. The slowly developed discursive *practice* of Scientia Sexualis[73] is in this sense to be seen along the line of confession as a technique.

Sex, Sexuality and Gender
Foucault's notion of sexuality and sex as discursive regimes and practices is thus unquestionable non-essential. Sex and sexuality can no longer be understood as natural and real; sex is a product or an effect of the regime of Scientia Sexualis. However we are missing a third term; that of gender, and here we find the works of Judith Butler complementary to the approach of Foucault. This third term needs an explanation in order for us not to fall into the pitfall of dichotomizing sex and gender. In conventional use of the two words 'sex' and 'gender' the latter is defined as the cultural interpretation of sex; that is gender as being a cultural inscription of a pre-given and natural sex. Needless to emphasize, this is not the definition of the words in this assignment. Rather, gender has to be problematized in the same way as sex is and then perhaps *"...the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all."*[74] At least this is what Foucault proposes when he recognizes that sex is the effect of regimes of truth about sexuality. However, by distinguishing the word gender from the word sex we are able to do a more differentiated analysis of the field we seek to investigate. Thus, we propose a definition according to the one introduced by Butler - Seeing *performance* as the mediating term between sex and gender, gender is the performance of sexual differences[75]. Likewise, both sex and sexuality are marked and lived and they function differently according to whether we are discussing a female or a male body. Gender is the performance of the body in the

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[72] Foucault 1990 p.155-156
[73] Scientia Sexualis is one of the two discourses that Foucault understands as producing the truth of sex. Resorting to Scientia Sexualis it is the procedure of confession which stands utmost central for developing of the truth of sex
[74] Butler 1990, p.11
[75] Grosz 199X p.139

experienced room expressing the inscription, functioning and practices of this specific body.[76]

"From this point of view, gender is not only the social construction of sexual difference, that is, of distinction between male and female, but also a primary site for the production and inscription of more general effects of power and meaning, a source of troupes that are key to the configuring of domination and subjection. Gender, […] is 'a primary way of signifying relations of power'." [77]

What is crucial here are the norms connected with the discursive practices including or excluding 'normal' sexual behavior. By categorizing perverted and abnormal sexualities, the one claimed to be the true and natural sex can be seen as excluding 'others'- as not true and not natural.

Gender norms and identity

Being aware of what constituted the 'truth about sex' as mentioned by Foucault, Butler shows us that the discourse of the true and essential sex is produced through what she calls the *regulatory practices* of gender- formation and division. These regulatory practices produce and generate coherent identities through the creation of coherent gender norms. The dichotomy of woman/man and the heterosexualization are overall objectives within the norms of cultural intelligibility, in which certain kinds of 'identities' cannot exist; that is, they are excluded or considered 'not true' fantasies. We refer to the stories about Nancy and the boys in Mexico City. But how is one to comprehend the ways in which the concepts of 'sex' and we can add 'gender' identity, are to be related to the different regimes of power? *"For Foucault the substantive grammar of sex imposes an artificial binary relation between the sexes, as well as an artificial internal coherence within each term of that binary. The binary regulation of sexuality suppresses the subversive multiplicity of a sexuality that disrupts heterosexual, reproductive, and medico-juridical hegemonies"* [78]. Thus, gender identity is produced in conformity with the norms of the cultural intelligibility; the discourse of sexuality producing the truth about a 'natural' sexuality. Sexuality and power are coextensive. That means, that a subversive or emancipatory sexuality liberated from power through struggle does not exist.[79]

"If sexuality is culturally constructed within existing power relations, then the postulation of a normative sexuality that is 'before', 'outside' or 'beyond' power is a cultural impossibility and a politically impracticable dream, one that postpones the concrete and

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[76] Grosz 199X p. 140
[77] Alonso 1995, p.76
[78] Butler, 1990, p.26
[79] Butler, 1990, p.38

contemporary task of rethinking subversive possibilities for sexuality and identity within the terms of power itself."[80]

Now having mentioned 'identity' once again it seems important to discuss our understanding of the word. What is identity? And more specifically, what are the discourses of gender identity? Before analyzing this it is worth mentioning that Butler does not mean that the category of gender is something that comes after the discussion of identity. *"It would be wrong to think that the discussion of 'identity' ought to proceed prior to a discussion of gender identity for the simple reason that 'persons' only become intelligible through becoming gendered in conformity with recognizable standards of gender intelligibility"*[81]. We thus suggest identity as a certain coherence between sex, sexuality and gender embedded in the body. And the regulatory practices as our reflections of the conduct of conduct - the subject's self-subjectification according to dominating gender norms. Summing up, in a post-structuralist inspired perspective we are in the selected case looking at the effects stemming from discourses on sexuality.

The body as a field of intervention

As previously emphasized, we argue for a non-essentialist conception of the body, rather it is to be considered as a blank page in which power/knowledge is engraved. The body as such does not exist prior to the application of techniques. Foucault considers the body as "*the inscribed surface of events",* [82]and hence clarifies its discursive character. In this manner he speaks of the destruction of the body:

"*As 'a volume in perpetual disintegration', the body is always under siege, suffering destruction by the very terms of history. And history is the creation of values and meanings by a signifying practice that requires the subjection of the body*".[83]

Thus we stress that gender is performative, and hence the body is a field of intervention of knowledge and forms of power. Keeping our focus on practices and effects (truth-effects) we resort to Grosz who distinguishes the ontology of the body from body pragmatics, in which the latter is central to attention, since it relates to what the body can do, rather than what the body is.

"*If a body is what a body does, then lesbian and gay sexualities, and above all, lifestyles, produce lesbian and gay bodies, bodies distinguished not just by sex, race and class characteristics, but also by sexual desires and practices*".[84]

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[80] Butler, 1990, p.40.
[81] Butler 1990 p. 22.
[82] Foucault in Butler, 1999, p. 165.
[83] Foucault in Butler, 1999, p. 165.
[84] Grosz 199X, p. 141

Thus sexuality is a matter of practice whose exercise is productive. Grozs is especially concerned with sexual discrimination as it is distinct from other forms of discrimination, primarily based on who they *are,* and not what they *do*. Nevertheless homosexuality is being enforced upon a set of norms, and reduced to a tangible category as a result of its own action.

Even though we argue for a bodily inscription, we cannot dismiss the idea of action itself being affirmative. As Grosz puts it: "*The body cannot be understood as a pre-inscriptive surface on which culture writes its norms, for such an understanding ignores the constitutive productivity of inscription itself: the inscription actively and retrospectively creates the surface on which it writes.*"[85]

In spite of recasting the current regimes of truth, Grosz is not aiming at de-contextualizing subjectivity or sexual identity, but rather at exploring its potential. While gay and lesbian sexual practices are discursive, they nevertheless challenge the dominant discourses of normalization.

"*In short, active force is that which stretches itself, takes itself as far as it can go, [...], moves along its own path without regard for anything other than its own free expansion, mindless of others*".[86]

This we identify as counter-narrative; it operates within power-relations, as a parallel, though resisting through the creation of new subjectivities. The hegemonic discourse of sexuality; heterosexuality, on the other hand, is reductive by imposing imperatives.[87] But one must not be blind to the naturalizing effects followed by discursive activity. Hence we find the deployment of technologies and techniques a necessity for articulating knowledge and truth. Distinct elements linked together through a unified entity, which is utmost disciplinary due to the current regimes of truth. We find this very problematic as it limits and restricts practices of freedom, and therefore we call for reflective questioning of the categories to which we ascribe. We do indeed propose de-naturalization or de-contextualization, and thus resort to Foucault "*to expose a body totally imprinted by history*".[88] It brings us to the awareness of 'the experienced room' in which we are confronted with the cultural values evolved around the inscription on our bodies; the cultural intelligibility.

Ethics and moralities

When inscribing ourselves into categories, conducting ourselves in accordance to norms and regimes of truth, when power relations contribute to the formation of our identities, it is due to certain relations between *moralities*, imbedded in regimes of truth, and *ethics*;

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[85] Grosz 199X, p. 139-140.
[86] Grosz 199X p. 142
[87] Grosz199X, p. 142
[88] Foucault in Butler, 1999, p. 165

that is, the way we relate to our selves. In the following two sections we will elaborate further on this relationship; on how moralities contribute to the ways we relate to ourselves.

Ethics

In *"On the Genealogy of Ethics"* Foucault is concerned with antiquity, where ethics has revolved around the fundamental imperative: *"Take care of yourself"*. Ethics concerned only a small elite, for whom it was a question of personal choice. Moreover classical 'ethics' were an aesthetic, and the aim was not to regularize behavior in terms of exclusion, but rather mediated as *tekhne tou biou, "art of life"*, i.e. how to live a beautiful life, and without enforcing any institutional structuring.

"In antiquity, this work on the self with its attendant austerity is not imposed on the individual by means of civil law or religious obligation, but is a choice about existence made by the individual. People decide for themselves whether or not to care for themselves." [89]

Foucault identifies four major aspects of ethics, the relationship to oneself. The first one is the ethical substance, i.e. the part of ourselves most relevant for ethical judgement. The second aspect is what Foucault calls the mode of subjectification, namely the concrete motivation, which could be an aesthetic choice, scientific rule and so forth. Further, one makes use of specific means, or to a certain extent adapts a paternalized way of behaving in the ethical elaboration of oneself. That is the third aspect, the so-called self-forming activity, i.e. the technique by which one constitutes oneself as an ethical subject. Finally there is the fourth aspect, the telos, the kind of ethical being which we aspire or wish for. How these relations are related depends upon the present ethics, in which different preferences or requirements are the issue.[90]

Taking care of the self implies knowledge. In order to conceive how the relationship between subject and games of truth is constituted, Foucault finds it necessary to focus on real practices, and how these techniques of the self, however present within all cultures, appear in different forms. The distinction Foucault makes, between the classical and the modern ways to how one problematizes oneself to oneself is that the former is an ontological and not a psychological form of contemplation.[91]

"You see that this idea that one must know oneself-that is, gain ontological knowledge of the soul's mode of being-is independent of what one could call an exercise of the self upon the self. When grasping the mode of being of your soul, there is no need to ask yourself

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[89] Foucault in Rabinow 1983 p. 271
[90] Ibid pp. 263-265
[91] Ibid p. 275

what you have done, what you are thinking, what the movements of your ideas or your representations are, to what you are attached. That's why you can perform this technique of contemplation using as your object the soul of an other. Plato never speaks of the examination of conscience, never!"[92]

Thus, access to truth was only from within oneself. The Epicureans on the other hand, were concerned with the kind of "practical end of mastery", meaning that with all possible knowledge one was able to take care of the self better. Consequently one applied to only what was important and necessary for oneself, one's existence, one's life. Thus in Greek culture knowledge, just as ethics, were a question of personal choice, a choice about an aesthetic existence. Gradually though the application of exterior impersonal knowledge becomes essential in order to perfectly master oneself.[93] For the Stoics ethics were no longer a matter of personal choice, but that of obligation. The modern subject, to whom ethics are imposed by means of civil law, are constituted through the practices of the self. As Foucault summarises:

"Here you have the idea of a logos functioning, as if it were, without any intervention on your part; you have become the logos, or the logos has become you.[94]

In other words the classical care of the self has by means of new techniques, been incorporated in institutional practices and in this manner the subject lost a large part of its autonomy.[95]

Foucault also considers the role of e.g. writing, in which the knowledge is exercised in a technical, material manner as crucial in the formation of the self, and directly coupled with the culture of the self , because: *"these new instruments were immediately used for the constitution of a permanent relationship to oneself".[96]* Foucault furthermore identifies a fundamental change brought about by Descartes given that he succeeded in substituting a subject as a founder of practices of knowledge with a subject constituted through practices of the self. In extension, Descartes substituted evidence with asceticism[97], and established the conditions for modern science to arise. A non-ascetic subject of knowledge is related to others and the world, in order to accede to truth, and thereby promising institutionalised knowledge, i.e. science.[98] Here we have a subject of knowledge in which the relationship between the subject of ethics and that of knowledge becomes problematic. With this followed Kant's introduction of a universal subject who is deemed to universals**.**

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[92] Ibid p. 276
[93] Ibid pp. 270-273
[94] Foucault 1984 p. 286
[95] Foucault in Rabinow 1983, p.277-278
[96] Ibid p.272
[97] Asceticism as an exercise of the self on the self by which one attempts to develop and transform oneself, and to attain to a certain mode of being. (Foucault p. 282)
[98] Foucault in Rabinow 1983, p. 279

"Thus Kant introduces one more way in our tradition whereby the self is not merely given but constituted in relationship to itself as a subject".[99]

Morality

The games of truth are no longer a practice of self-formation of the subject, rather they entail coercive forces, whose exercise takes a disciplinary form. Foucault understands moral as internalization of disciplinary practices, i.e. *realization of epistemes*. His focus is directed at human science, because these are sciences which have crossed the threshold of epistemologization[100], and the role these discursive formations play, is that of normalization, the legitimization of certain activities at the expense of others. What is crucial here are the norms attached to discursive practices, proposing a certain mode of knowing and hence a certain mode of being. In other words; we seek to construct a mode of analysis of how disciplinary practices have been instrumental in shaping the modern individual as both an object and a subject, by the establishment of moral imperatives; how power/knowledge simultaneously subjugates and contributes to the individual subjectivity.

When approaching the case, our focus is on how the women are objectified, and simultaneously the way they recast and mould their own being in accordance to the principles set forth. Hence we are concerned with techniques and technologies of the self, through which the subject establishes a relationship to itself, i.e. constitutes a herself as a moral subject.

Discipline and punishment must be included in a description of the moral of the modern subject, because it is these mechanisms through which the individual relates itself to the norm. We have described the status of confession-techniques above[101] and the way it is coupled with different power/knowledge constellations within society. The disciplining of the soul forces the production of knowledge, of truths. Sexuality as emphasized earlier, has been the main target of intervention, the platform from which the formation of the self as a moral subject is constituted. Moral exposes itself in the intersection of body and truth. The awareness of sexuality is an intensification of one's relationship to oneself, and a new way of experiencing and constituting oneself as a moral subject. This preoccupation with the self results in an increasing discursive activity, which includes a range of incitements to control and employ oneself with the self. Within this process of subjectification, the constitution of the moral subject if you like, the individual is being enforced upon a certain moral identity elaborated as a law of truth, to which it must submit both itself and others.

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[99] Ibid p. 280
[100] Foucault in Rabinow 1983, p.117.
[101] See Science and Confession

The notion of recast is a crucial matter when approaching our field of intervention. We have from the very beginning expressed our concern relating to the discursive practices, e.g. the moral of development intervention, since it holds an epistemological ground that is deeply rooted in power-relations, from which one nevertheless cannot escape. Moral as technology deployed by developers, and the techniques embedded in it - moral as practice - will be thoroughly examined below in our field of analysis, where we look into how truths and taxonomies are established.

Gender identity is perhaps the most prominent disciplinary, regulatory practice of all cultural practices. Gender is produced as the truth-effects of a primary and stable identity, our sex, culturally inscribed to our bodies. The body has been transvaluated into a domain of values and norms conducting sexual behavior towards an appropriate end for order to be created.

This mode of subjectification is unquestionably one of the most prominent features of modern power, and it must be conceived of as an instrument for society in the maintenance of norms for rational social behavior. It deals with the ordering of human life. The current regimes of truth concerning appropriate behavior will determine the ways in which the individuals conceive of themselves. In other words: The individuals are behaving in certain manners according to their own subjective recast of the regimes of truth. When the individual is questioning right from wrong, good from bad, it is indirectly accepting or verifying the forms of knowledge and morality through which it has been produced. Furthermore, in the subjective perception of identity, one is bound to certain behavioral patterns ascribed to one, thus one is supporting the functioning of normalization. Thus disciplinary power categorizes the individual, attaches her to her own identity, imposes a law of truth on her due to the modern state-apparatus. The subject is a product of power-relations. Hence, seeking to enfold the *how* of the formation of female subjectivities in our analysis, we are going to look at *how* moralities contribute to the formation of ethics. This *how* is embedded in practices of freedom; in government in the name of freedom.

Practices of Freedom

When studying how moralities contribute to the formation of ethics it is important to note, that it is the subject itself, that through self-subjectification inscribes itself into categories and subjects itself to moralities. In relation to Foucault's thoughts about the repressive hypothesis and the widely spread dichotomies North/South, man/woman, modern/traditional, rich/poor, democratic/non-democratic, notions of freedom conduce to important reflections within our research.

The concept 'freedom' would probably lead any (philosophical) thinker to a jungle of various interpretations and some profound confusion; since classical freedom[102] to a certain extent deals with the role of the human beings on this planet and how they choose to govern themselves and others it thus deals with 'the meaning of life?!' This section should give our reader an idea of where we have decided to place freedom within our grid of intelligibility.

Problematising individual role and meaning, the modern individual always runs the risk that:

"Helplessness and doubt paralyze life and to be able to live woman seeks to escape from freedom, the negative freedom. Doing this woman is driven into another kind of slavery. This type of slavery is different from the former. Since this is where authorities and other societal groups govern woman she is not completely left to herself. The escape does not give her back the lost security, but it makes her forget herself as an isolated unit. Thus she reaches a new and deceiving security at the expense of loosing her individual independence. She prefers to loose herself since she cannot live in isolation. In this way, freedom – freedom from – leads to slavery" [103]

Above quotation ignores some important Foucauldian key-words such as *resistance and recast*, but nevertheless the quotation leaves us with some complex thoughts about how modern freedom can (not) be and what a great paradox we are dealing with, when we are problematising modern freedom. In this sense we can pose the questions: What kind of freedom are we looking for? And how do we perceive the concept freedom? These are interesting and relevant questions in our assignment and we narrow them down to an open answer relating to modern freedom; Since it is absurd and rather un-interesting that in order to be 'free' we have to isolate ourselves from others, we approach freedom as a concept within an 'inevitable' collectivity. We concentrate on following definitions: The subjection of individuals to various governmental mechanisms always implies a choice. Freedom is not the possibility of the individual to break out of all rationalities; the subject is forever bound by the boundaries of discourse, and freedom thus implies the possibility to choose between discourses. This is where the notion of recast is important and stands as a very central issue in relation to where change comes from. As another possibility, and still as a concept of governance we resort to Rose's definition:

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[102] Referring to Rose 1999 we are aware that until the Enlightenment-period, freedom was not considered an ideal for all, but only for certain privileged sectors. Nevertheless, this does not mean that discussions about freedom did no take place before the Enlightenment-period. This freedom we call classical freedom, versus modern freedom, since we find that it would be too simplistic to refer to all notions of freedom as tools for government.
[103] Our translation from Swedish to English. In Swedish a human is always femininum, thus the woman and the she. Fromm 1976, p. 191

"Freedom does not arise in the absence of power: it is a mobile historical possibility arising from the lines of force within which human being is assembled, and the relations into which humans are enfolded. Freedom is the name we give today to a kind of power one brings to bear upon oneself, and a mode of bringing power to bear upon others. And freedom is especially problematic when we demand to be governed in its' name." [104]

By resorting to our understanding of some of the thoughts of Foucault and his followers, we draw attention to modern freedom in relation to the modern woman's 'private' *thought-space* and furthermore in relation to the woman's *experienced* freedom, within a given time and space/place. I.e. the *thought* and the *experienced* room. This gives us access to how the subject ascribes to ideals of freedom in her modes of knowing and in her modes of being. Elaborating on this, the way we furthermore approach freedom is by looking at practices of freedom as basis for technologies of gendered citizenship, technologies that have a history and technologies that are traceable via their techniques and effects. Referring to Rose's genealogy on freedom (1999) and Barbara Cruishank's genealogy on empowerment (1999), we utilize their reflections mixed with ours in the search for: How developers and facilitators through technologies of citizenship such as *emancipation and empowerment* have intervened in gender-sensitive development projects and hoped to fill out the holes of 'lacks', i.e. women's lack of freedom. And furthermore how modern subjects have inscribed and acted upon themselves in relation to these 'lacks'. In this sense we look at *emancipation through empowerment* as a discursive practice emanating from the repressive hypothesis and as a method for constituting citizens out of subjects by maximizing their political participation[105] in a given societal constellation.

In relation to question C in our problem-formulation we elaborate on recasting freedom and how/if we find that we can support political action.

Emancipation and Empowerment
Seeking a way for liberation, the building up of an emancipatorian struggle most often presupposes the framing of dichotomies. By deploying fields of intervention e.g. poor women in the South (as opposed to rich men in the North) the categorization of 'reality' in dualistic terms constitutes a power relation concurring with Foucault's notion of the repressive hypothesis. In this light *empowerment* is a power-relationship and since it most often is considered an 'unquestionable noble and sincere' development-strategy it is especially one calling for attention.

Elaborating and resorting to Cruishank's statement: *"Whether inspired by the Market or by the promise of self-government and autonomy (emancipation – our insertion), the*

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[104] Rose 1999 p. 96
[105] Cruishank 1999 p. 66

object of empowerment is to act upon another's interests and desires in order to conduct their actions toward an appropriate end"[106], we look at how empowerment as a technology is constituting interests and furthermore how empowerment-techniques act upon others by getting them to act upon themselves. Elaborating and again in accordance with Cruishank, empowerment was historically deployed in the 60ies as an important element in the 'war on poverty'. Leading developments agencies, radical feminists etc. realized that apathy was a greater threat to democracy than rebellion and thus empowerment was developed as a solution to the problem. The trick was/is that by empowering 'the poor' their subjectivity is linked to their subjection and thus activism is linked to discipline. It is a way to constitute 'active citizens' out of 'powerless subjects'. In accordance to our route, we will specifically look at how 'women in development' have made use of the concept 'self-esteem' as a strategy of empowerment and especially in relation to other women's lack of self-esteem; considered a barrier to emancipation/development.

In this light, we understand the empowerment technology as an important element of a modern liberal society which is closely dependant on the ability of citizens to recognize, isolate and act upon their own subjectivities to be governors of their own selves. I.e. "*the line between subjectivity and subjection is crossed when I subject myself, when I align my personal goals with those set out by reformers – both expert and activist – according to some notion of the social good."*[107] This is an inevitable power-knowledge relation and in the light of emancipation and freedom it is crucial, because this is exactly where power is directly linked to freedom; since empowerment acts upon ourselves, it appears to come from our quests for ourselves and it thus appears as a matter of our 'personal' freedom[108]. But as Rose and in relation to our problem-formulation we find it wise to distinguish between freedom as a formula of power and freedom as a formula of resistance. I.e. between freedom as it is deployed in contestation and freedom as it is instantiated in government. Thus, when we look at narratives on *development through emancipation and self-esteem*, we look at how modern subjects ascribe to them and furthermore how they recast them in their own 'place'.

Self-esteem
In common terms, self-esteem is considered as something neutral and natural within every subject, a personal subjectivity, a relation one has to oneself, which can be emancipated from repressing forces, from the moralities which are restraining the individual from being 'truly' itself. Thus, in this understanding the exercise of freedom is to find the inner 'truth' of oneself, to reveal what is suppressed, to realize one's potentials. According to this perception, the inner voice or subjectivity is hindered by power, rather than shaped and

[106] Cruishank 1999 p. 69
[107] Cruishank 1999 p. 92
[108] Rose 1999 p.

constituted by the power-relations. Hence, we can strive for emancipation from 'suppressing' moralities trough gaining self-esteem; through unfolding who we 'truly' are. This notion of self-esteem is closely connected to the development of liberal democratic societies in that it contributes to the individualization of personal responsibility and in that this technique creates the active participating self-reliant citizens. In the words of Cruishank:

"The liberation promised by self-esteem originates within the relation of self-to-self but is not limited to the self. Indeed self-esteem is advocated as a basis for the democratic development of the individual and society[…]."[109]

When striving for self-esteem, in order to fight the moralities restraining us from being free, from being who we 'truly' are; when seeking a 'truth' of who we are, we resort to yet other moralities and 'truths' into which we inscribe ourselves. As Cruishank states: *"Self-esteem is a technology in the sense that it is a specialized knowledge of how to esteem our selves, how to estimate, calculate, measure, evaluate, discipline and judge our selves."* [110]

Creating knowledge of who we 'truly' are, shapes at the same time systems of normality and exclusion. Thus, self-esteem as an individualizing technique is simultaneously a normalizing technique, hence the disciplinary power works trough subjectivity. In the quest for an imagined ideal-type individuals are contributing to strengthen discourses of normality. Or, in other words, the discourse of self-esteem is equivalent with self-governance, thus we *"make ourselves governable by taking up the social goal of self-esteem […]"*[111] In this sense the technology of self-esteem links power to subjectivity in a very productive manner, due to the appeal to the personal freedom of choice. Striving to be free and governing ourselves by means of self-esteem we link our subjectivity to subjection; we subject ourselves to 'truths' and moralities of who we are. Thus, governance functions through our own conduct of our selves in accordance to regimes of truth; power-knowledge.

The feminist movements have as mentioned above worked intensively with the concept of self-esteem as a strategy aiming at making women conscious of their own capacities, due to the notion that generating self-esteem will contribute to the emancipation of women. The quest for self-esteem is clearly a part of the technologies of the self, wherein feminist movements have among others contributed to the development of an assembly of specific techniques and practices. By contributing to the technologies and techniques of self-esteem feminist movements in accordance with social sciences, take their outset in proposing lacks as the causes of social ills. *"From the discovery of its absence, social*

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[109] Cruishank 1999 p. 92.
[110] Cruishank 1999 p. 89.
[111] Cruishank 1999 p. 90.

scientists have created a tangible vision of a 'state of esteem'[…]. In devising the methods for measuring, evaluating and esteeming the self, social science actually devises the self and links it to a vision of the social good[…]."[112]

Even though feminism seeks to build up counter-discourses, the notion of self-esteem is enmeshed in the relations of power and knowledge, and seen in this light it is very effective in extending and stabilizing the disciplinary power.

In this relation we are aware, that rather than undermining the forces they are struggling against, counter discourses work along the same rationalities and within the same context as the discourse they seek to fight. But nevertheless the ideals of freedom and the emancipatorian struggles do seem to arise on different grounds and from within the subject's *experienced room* and especially in relation to gender this cannot be ignored.

Through practices such as self-esteem and empowerment, the subject inscribes itself into categories, 'truths' and moralities. Still, it is the subject itself, that freely inscribes herself into these regimes of truth. In this way, when modes of knowing becomes modes of being, and when moralities contributes to the formation of ethics, it is both governance and freedom; it is governance in the name of freedom.

Resistance

A main aim of the gender-sensitive struggle is to resist moralities and 'truths' of gender identities. Doing this by resorting to empowerment and self-esteem is to resist dominant moralities by proposing new ones, and, as we have just mentioned, this shapes new conceptions of normality. In Brett Picketts reading of Foucault's notion of resistance he states:

"The purpose of contestation is not the construction of a new, better system, based upon reason, truth or humanity. Any such system will have similar effects of exclusion, which is why Foucault repudiates the desire to oppose the current law in the name of a new law. Such a desire is, in his view, self-defeating."[113]

By opposing current law in the name of another, new and totalising moralities are created. This leaves few possibilities for the formation of a space for self-creation. Hence Foucault proposes a mode of resisting dominant regimes of truth not linked to the production of yet other ones. Taking an outset in the subject as a product of power, the practice of resistance is linked directly to the practice of self-creation, which necessitates forms of self-subjectification not resorting to a new set-up of totalising categories and moralities. Thus resistance against existing categorizations and moralities should not take its outset in seeking to define a 'true' self; to define what the individual 'really' is. Or, in other words;

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[112] Cruishank 1999 p. 93.
[113] Pickett 1996, p. 450

"Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are."[114] This is why Foucault in his later works suggests that instead of living our life according to our 'nature', we can seek to practice our life as 'a piece of art'; we can seek to create more space for self-creation apart from the political world. This can, he suggests, be done through practical engagement in creative activities. Thus, he argues for *"disconnecting ethics from the state or the juridical realm, and instead leaving it up to the individual subject"*[115], and for experimenting with creating new forms of subjectivity.

To avoid producing new, totalizing regimes of truth, resistance must take its outset in de-naturalizing existing categories. This is why, *"Instead of opposing the ideal to the real, Foucault suggests that the new intellectual oppose the real to the real."*[116] Meaning that, instead of creating narratives of an utopian freedom 'out there' waiting to be realized and revealed, we can perceive of resistance as a mode of exposing *'intolerables'*; of exposing the historicity and politics in what has become naturalized; of taking an outset not in what *ought to be*, but in what *is* in the form of specific, concrete events or tasks.

Learning from those who have been an explicit target of power and repression, is one of the most effective ways of resisting. By attacking various taboos and breaking the ideals of 'normal' subjects, resistance is proposed to center its focus on the individual. Thus, *"Foucault sees a need to listen to the voices of the excluded and marginalized, particularly because this is a spur to struggle"*.[117] Furthermore, Foucault stresses, there is most often some kind of resistance to the imposition of different forms of subjectivity, which means that resistance and subjectification are intertwined. In accordance with this notion of subjectification, the body stands utmost central. Foucault proposes a genealogy of the body as a way to 'recapture'[118] it from power/knowledge regimes of truths which have subjugated it through history. Thus, 'bodies and pleasures' should be *"'the rallying point for the counterattack' against, among other things, the deployment of sexuality by the modern power regime"*.[119] Proposing a genealogy in order to undermine narratives of this modern power regime, Foucault seeks to build up a 'strategic knowledge', and thereby propose more ways for resistance.

Coextensive power and resistance

As Foucault developed and shifted his focus throughout his literary activities, we find that the term resistance is more easily understood if we perceive power as a moveable substance within a power-diagram. Elaborating on this, we see that certain structural positions within that diagram enable certain individuals and groups to control *more* of a diagram's mechanisms of power than others. Power is thus neither inherently negative nor

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[114] Foucault in Pickett, 1996, p. 464.
[115] Pickett, 1996, p. 462.
[116] Pickett 1996, p. 454
[117] Picket 1996, p.457
[118] Picket 1996, p. 460
[119] Picket 1996, p.460

inherently positive. As power-mechanisms are structured and reproduced by a multiplicity of power-relations, which are not reducible to the individuals who exercise them, they are necessarily incapable of being controlled by any particular individual.

"[The power-diagram, ed.] is a machine in which everyone is caught."[120] As, *"Neither the caste which governs, nor the groups which control the state apparatus, nor those who make the most important economic decisions direct the entire network of power that functions in a society (and makes it function)."*[121] Or, *" […] every relationship of power puts in operation* [mechanisms of power, ed.] *which are at the same time its conditions and its results."*[122]

Another way to explain this is by resorting to the communication researcher Yoshikawa, who has developed a reciprocal communication model in which he suggests a lemniscate structure. He calls his model the "Double swing communication model" and he uses the structure to illustrate that communication between to parties is a never-ending dialogical process in which both parties change. The communicating agents in this process are not senders and receivers, but they are constantly co-processing the communication. Or in Yoshikawa's words: *"He* [the communicator, ed.] *is not a passive reactor to outside stimuli but the active creator of his own stimuli"*[123]. In accordance with the lemniscate structure this is a good way of explaining, how modern subjects constantly change positions in a power-knowledge-resistance relation. The two bubbles of the lemniscate structure could be seen as an equal relationship, or one side of the structure could be smaller and thus, the other side respectably larger – and the size of the bubbles could furthermore blow up and down throughout the communication. We suggest this to be a kind of power and resistance communication-process. Doing this, it renders clear what Foucault means, when he states: *"As soon as there is a power relation, there is the possibility of resistance."*[124]

Resisting in groups

According to Heller there is a crucial difference between power-relations involving individuals and power-relations involving groups. The important thing here is that only a power-relation between two individuals can lead to a relation of domination. But it is impossible to dominate a group in the same way, because no individual or group can control all of a social formation's mechanisms of power in the power-diagram. What

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[120] Foucault in Heller 1996, p. 86
[121] Foucault in Heller 1996, p. 86
[122] Foucault in Heller 1996, p. 85
[123] Yoshikawa in Jensen 1998, p. 195
[124] Foucault in Heller, 1996, p. 153

happens when an oppressed group resists the hegemonic group, is that they build up a counter-narrative, based on the same discourse, that the hegemonic group resort to. The resistance of an oppressed group against their oppressors will in this way enhance and thereby 'naturalize' even more the dichotomy between e.g. 'oppressed women' and 'oppressing men'. This makes the discourse seem more 'natural' in turn stabilizing the existing social order and making possible the continuation of this. By resorting to the very same discourse, the 'oppressed' accept the discourse, the dichotomy of the discourse and the objectification, this dichotomy renders possible.

Thus, what we look at in our analysis is how the gender-sensitive struggle seems to be strengthening dominant regimes of truth they seek to fight, and at the same time we approach resistance from the two mentioned rooms: The *thought space* and the *experienced space*. Thus, we take varied positions whether we are in the first or the latter. When looking at gender-sensitive resistance (and hope for emancipation) we furthermore resort to the queer-theorist and by Foucault inspired Elizabeth Grosz. We find that she gives a valuable contribution in her elaboration of oppression concepts and furthermore, she focuses on the difficulties that dominated groups could *experience* in their wish/struggle for changes. She states:

"Relations of domination and subordination are characterized not simply in terms of tangible material benefits, although these are readily documented, but also in terms of the ease and ability of dominant groups to produce systems of meaning, signification and representation, which present their interest, perspectives, values and frameworks in positive terms and define their others … in terms of these interest. This ease is denied to members of subordinate groups. Here I do not want to suggest that the capacity to change meaning, to develop new meaning and frameworks, is impossible for dominated groups, but it is none the less made considerably more difficult, and is a matter of bitter struggle and contestation".[125]

This leaves us in a rather complex position where we on one hand do recognize the reciprocally and flexible power-resistance intertwinement, but on the other hand we cannot deny that even though we believe reality is not out there – there are situations in which strengths and weaknesses are not equally distributed.

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[125] Grosz, 199x, p. 136.

5. Field of intervention

As mentioned, gender is the main component of this assignment; that is gender with the female gender in focus. The aim of bringing the debate about gender back is to highlight the very present theme and 'player' of our case which seems to undertake the role of advocating the conditions of women: Feminism. However, we would throw ourselves into a pitfall if we took the right to define gender-sensitive epistemes without mentioning the huge amount of interpretations and definitions 'feminism' has. It is apparently a current that effects and embraces women in all kinds of positions in various geo-political set-ups, and therefore feminism is not recast as one homogeneous political movement.

"Feminism is not a unified movement. While all feminists are agreed that women are subordinated and that it is necessary to develop strategies to liberate them, there are fundamental disagreements about the causes of that oppression and the strategies for achieving liberation. There are even disagreements about what the feminist project is about, and indeed, what women are!"[126]

Though recognizing the existence of more 'feminisms', we will in the following only mention it in a singular form. Our focus on feminism will be the one defined in the Peruvian context which also includes KULU and their interpretation of feminism. In spite of the difficulties our purpose in this section is nevertheless to try to encircle a common ground for the intelligibility of feminism in order to be able to grasp the field of our analysis.

Tracing the roots of feminism would take us way back in history. This however is not the ambition of this paragraph, rather we find it relevant to trace the over-all context in which we place the case. Thus the choice of starting in the 60ies does not mean that women's movements did not exist before or that the inspiration between the different movements in time and place is indifferent. Nevertheless, what occurred in the 60ies, when the political protest movements came into being, is still playing a significant role; quoting Linda Nicholson, these movements *"...meant that a radical questioning of gender roles was being carried out not only by isolated scholars or marginalized groups, but in front of and with the attention of many national publics."*[127] This lead to the formulation of a theory, which stressed the presence of the oppression across large stretches of history, likewise its fundamentality in the principles of the social organization. The Patriarchy became synonymous with a world-wide structure of oppression responded by the proposal of unifying all women in sister-solidarity. Encircling patriarchy, Abbott and Wallace take as a point of departure the view that women are oppressed; Freedom to act is limited by the power of men, grounded in the fact that men possess more economic and social resources

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[126] Abbott and Wallace, 1997, p. xiii
[127] Nicholson, 1997, p.1

than women. A different way to explain patriarchy is to emphasize the importance of this dominance in dichotomizing man and woman, most often justified in biological differences. Likewise, this horizontal dichotomy is a vertical dichotomy appearing in a hierarchy where the dominant gender sets the norms.[128] The notion of the patriarchy is important in order to understand feminism as a resistance; that is both feminism as political movements and as academic disciplines; Feminist Theory.[129]

We do not find it relevant going over the various tendencies within feminism, rather we would like to elaborate the perspective of feminism recognizing itself as a resistance. As outlined above feminism is a reaction to the subordination that women are generally said to face. By politicizing this problem under the parole 'the private is political and the political is private' the feminists movement has tried to break down the individualized problems in the public sphere as well as the domestic sphere, focusing on the structural level. Thus feminism is a reaction to the established society which is perceived as dominated by male norms turning its reaction not only against men, but against structures. Formulating the subordination and visions of equality among women and men; that is producing technologies of emancipation and freedom, has on one hand been the strength of the feminist movement, though emphasizing that there was never one agreed 'emancipation' or one agreed 'freedom'. On the other hand, it suffered from one serious weakness: It tended to deny differences among the category of 'women', *"The description of women's differences from men seemed too often to involve homogeneous visions of 'womanhood'."*[130] This way of defining feminism, as Nicholson stresses, lead to critiques of it as being exclusionary politics, from primarily lesbians, women of colour, working class women, etc. The assumed homogeneity of women was described from the perspective of those of privileged positions; experiences of privileged women often expressed universality and normative stands *"The discussions of such issues led to what became perhaps the major theoretical debate of the 1990s, around 'essentialism',"*[131] influenced by post-structuralist ideas.

Having this narrative of the feminist movement in mind, knowing that this presentation contains the points which we find important, we will now turn to the concrete field of intervention in Lima, Peru, and point out techniques that seem crucial for the identification of womanhood. Our aim is to provide our readers with an overview of the differences among the Peruvian women's movements.

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[128] E.g. Yvonne Hirdman in "Kontrakt i Kris", Stockholm, 1992
[129] Abbott and Wallace 1997, p.xiii
[130] Nicholson, 1997, p.3.
[131] Nicholson 1997, p.4.

Recasting a narrative on feminist movements in the geo-political set-up, Peru

Our presentation of the case takes its outset in the shanty town of Villa El Salvador in Southern Lima. However we find it important before going about the case to depict a wider introduction on the tendencies within the context of women's engagement in politics in Peru. First of all, we stress that the mobilization of women in Peru can be divided more or less into three different fields - but they are at times overlapping: The popular women's organizations, women working in political parties and explicit feminist's movements. What is not commented here is the organizing of rural women, most often indigenous women, which has had a great impact in the country side. Furthermore we emphasize that this present narrative of feminism in Peru is mainly based on two articles concerning the relationship between feminist' movements and the state. The articles are written by two Peruvian feminists; Virginia Vargas and Cecilia Olea[132].

A significant part of the women who were participating in the feminist's movement in Latin America including the Peruvians in the 1970s and 1980s had political relations to the broad assembly of left-wing political parties. The feminist groups continued to develop a subversive perspective, which aimed at uniting the struggle for changing the subordination of the women along the transformation of society. But due to political confrontations between the women's movements and the left, most of Latin American feminist movements and groups were re-named and erased their former revolutionary or socialistic 'surnames'.[133] *"On the theoretical level we took for granted the patriarchy as the axis from which we analyzed the social and personal relations, in other words the public and private sphere. We did not only question the power relations in the personal sphere, but also in the institutions and in the practices of power, including those among women."*[134]

"But maybe the most subversive, provocative and that which generated and still generates the greatest resistance was to place the acknowledgement of the body as a place from which we carried out politics, revealing the power relations which are constructed from this outset." [135]

The feminist's movement in Peru aimed at the de-enchantment of motherhood as the supreme destiny of the woman and carried out campaigns for legalization of abortion and access to contraception. The focus on the woman's right to make decisions concerning her own body also meant that the feminist's actively began to denunciate violence towards women.

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[132] Representatives from the movement Flora Tristan.
[133] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p.9
[134] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p.9, our translation.
[135] Vargas and Olea, 1998, our translation.

<u>Alliances between women working in different fields</u>

In 1983 some of the feminist groups opened development centers for women; among them were the organizations Flora Tristan and Manuela Ramos. These centers began functioning as meeting places for a broader alliance between the feminists and women organized in trade unions and other popular women's organizations and groups[136]. Among the popular women's organizations is the local network of women's groups in Villa El Salvador, FEPOMUVES[137], which consists of the women's committees organizing the civic restaurants, the women working in 'Vaso de Leche',[138] the women working in the day-care centers in the district and the mothers groups.

But in spite of the positive results, according to Vargas and Olea, the formation of the centers also created ambivalence in the feminist groups, due to the extended workload and the complexity of the relationship between the centers and the movements; the difficulties in separating the social professionalism from the engagement in militant activism.

<u>The women's movement and the civil war</u>

It is not possible to ignore the 'dirty war' in Peru beginning in the late 70ties or early 80ties. The civil war is an armed fight between the Maoist guerrilla Sendero Luminoso[139] and the military forces of Peru. After ten years where the fighting mainly took place in the highlands of Peru, the dirty war moved to Lima and hence also into Villa El Salvador. Needless to say, the war was also present in the capital before, but never to the same extend as from 1990 onwards.

Between 1985 and 1990 the feminist's movement continued their activities e.g. the special annual feminist days; the international day of the women and the international manifestation against violence towards women. Nevertheless in this period their main political activity was concerned with the defense of human rights and to protest against 'the dirty war'. This included protesting against the terrorism of the state. *"Defending human rights and denunciating the terrorism resulted in the movement as a target of both the terrorist and the paramilitary groups."*[140]

And,

"The sharpening of the political violence in the country in the years of 1990 to 1992 caused dramatic effects in the women's movement." [141] As mentioned it was not only the paramilitary groups but also the guerrilla Sendero Luminoso, which represented a danger to the political activists.

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[136] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p. 10-11.
[137] Federación Popular de Mujeres en Villa El Salvador.
[138] Distribution of milk to children, pregnant women and elderly.
[139] For a further description see enclosure.
[140] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p 15. our translation.
[141] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p 17, our translation.

According to Hee Petersen the women's movements were an explicit target of Sendero Luminoso,[142] and the constant threats had an impact on everyone. An assassination in 1991 was the culmination of a series of threats towards the leading members of the national coordination of civil restaurants and *"The fear and distrust became part of the dynamics in the women's organizations."*[143]According to Vargas and Olea the feminist movement functioned as a platform where strategies to overcome this fear were developed. Gradually social and political forces united in an alliance, coordinating actions to confront the threats of Sendero Luminoso. Thus many people gathered at public manifestations against the violence. One of the women who publicly spoke of this issue was María Elena Moyano, feminist and former leader of FEPOMUVES. She was assassinated February 1992 in Villa El Salvador.

Negotiating feminism

The third wave of feminism in Peru in the 90ies is according to Vargas and Olea characterized by the increased co-operation between the feminist movements and the state apparatus. The Fujimori government, which has been ruling since the beginning of the decade, has often been criticized for violating human rights and is furthermore accused of corruption. However we will keep our focus on the women's organizations and at the same time mention that the same Fujimori government: *"has been the government which has included most women at minister levels and generating a new institutionalization through the new governmental office dealing with women's issues"*[144]

According to Vargas, the government has opened up for negotiations with some feminist members. Furthermore the government maintains several agreements or contracts with NGOs working with gender-sensitive development, with the purpose of implementing reformative programs. *"Various proposals from the feminist' groups have been converted into laws and public politics concerning the women [...] such as the law against violence on women and the family planning program [...] the concretion of the latter signified a direct confrontation with the ecclesiastical hierarchy[...]."* [145]

But in spite of these concrete results of the feminist's negotional strategy it is precisely in this 'dilution' of the feminist's 'original' demands that Vargas and Olea are critical and ambivalent. They stress, that these laws and programs represents a weapon for the women, but a weapon with a double blade: *"The implementation of laws which support the rights of the women to control their own body and fertility, but simultaneously the same rights are violated with the politics of forced sterilization[...]*[146]

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[142] Interview with C.H. Petersen 00.05.08
[143] Vargas and Olea, 1998, p 17, our translation.
[144] Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarollo, Vargas and Olea, 1998, p.22, our translation.
[145] Vargas, 1998, p.13, our translation.
[146] Vargas, 1998, p.13, our translation.

According to Vargas and Olea, one of the significant changes in the feminist's agenda in Peru in the 90ies is this NGO'ization of the movements, a process which is characterized by a low incorporation of new members and little space for radical and spontaneous inputs. The 'NGO'ization' of feminism in Latin America[147] is the way the feminist movements in the region in the last decade, mainly have expressed their political points of views. Now having access to external financing and a full-time employed professional staff. This means, according to Vargas and Olea, that these organizations are in a better position to define the most visible feminist' strategies.[148] Furthermore this process of institutionalization has resulted in a privileged position of certain aspects of the feminist's politics e.g. the strategy of negotiating with the state. In this process of 'NGO'ization' other aspects on the feminist's agenda have been diluted, as Vargas exemplifies it: *"crucial aspects, such as transforming gender representations, changing consciousness, cultural transformations, the incorporation of the diversity and multi cultural dimensions of our society, and maintaining the alliances with other oppositional sectors."[149]*

But in spite of the ambivalence of feminists such as Vargas and Olea, the feminists hold an important position in creating space for participation in shaping national democratic structures. In their opinion the creation of a 'feminist and democratic pole' with an outset in civil society holds possibilities for generating: *"solid political, social and economic institutions, which could control and equilibrate the exercise of the public powers in peoples lives."[150]*

Gender sensitive radio production
Moving closer to our analytical field, we will shortly present the three main components of our focus on gender sensitive radio production in Peru.

The radio production team in Villa El Salvador consists of four women, who have for 12 years been producing and transmitting the radio program *Pásame La Voz (Give me the word)*.
The movement Manuela Ramos has been supporting and training the women in the communication team since 1986. The aims of the program are to make the inhabitants in Villa El Salvador conscious about the inequality between men and women and to develop a strategy for the radio communication with a gender perspective in the community. Other priorities are to promote information about the needs and demands of the local community and to support the local organizations and women's groups.[151]

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[147] Alvarez in Vargas, 1998, p.10.
[148] Vargas, 1998, p.10.
[149] Vargas, 1998, p.10.
[150] Vargas, 1998, p 16.
[151] KULU, Kvinders rettigheder, 1995, p.

CRF - *Colectivo Radial Feminista* was formed in 1991 as an alliance between five different women's groups working with e.g. things radio production.[152] The purpose of the network was to co-ordinate, educate and interchange information and experiences between the production teams. By organizing the radio-teams, the radio-collective aimed at promoting and professionalizing radio-programs with a gender-sensitive perspective, and furthermore develop actions and strategies that improved the impact of the programs. The radio communication team from Villa El Salvador participated in this network until the CRF decided to create their own radio station Milena Radio, which began nationwide broadcasting in 1999.[153]

The Danish organization *KULU ('Women in Development')* have since 1986 functioned as a donor to and educator of the Peruvian radio producers with gender sensitive perspectives, in collaboration with the feminist movements Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristan and the Colectivo Radial Feminista.[154] The aim of KULU is to contribute to the empowerment of women[155], and in order to do so they support women's organizations in 'the South', as they call it, treating development at grassroots level. It is stressed by KULU that they only supports those women's organizations in 'the South', which are identified as, implemented by and controlled by, women.[156] It is of great importance to KULU that women themselves are able to participate and present their own points of view. Hence the organization considers radio communication as an important component of the strategy. The first contact between the Peruvian and the Danish feminist were made in 1980, the year of the UN women's conference in Copenhagen. The following year some Danish feminists organized an international meeting in Denmark. From this outset the relationship began to develop, as Wolf explains it:

"We invited women from different places, among them some women from ALIMUPER[157] and Flora Tristan [...] They asked us to make a course in Peru about how to make slide-shows [...] Later when we came [to Lima ed.] *we realized that there were many women's organizations, and we were asked to arrange several courses... and at the second course some of the women from Villa El Salvador participated [...]." [158]*

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[152] The founding women's groups where Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristan and Calandria from Lima and Micaela Bastidas from Trujillo and Amauta from Cusco.
[153] Evaluation report, 1999, p. 42.
[154] Evaluation report, 1999, p. 41.
[155] KULU, Self-esteem in Focus, 1995 p. 3.
[156] KULU, 'Hvem, hvad, hvordan om Kvindernes U-landsudvalg', 1997, p. 7.
[157] ALIMUPER is the national coordination of womens movements in Peru
[158] Interview with Karen Wolf, April 2000. Side B [27.0 -30.4].

6. Field of Analysis

Introduction

To return to Colectivo Radial Feminista in Lima: The way we approach this feminist network is that we focus on the female radio producers; especially women from Villa El Salvador, and educators working with gender sensitive technologies and techniques. We look at their actions and articulations about ways of knowing and ways of being, and furthermore at how they are practicing gender sensitive development through courses and radio production. In relation to their epistemes and modalities we focus on the radio courses and the dialogue women have participated in at Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristan; courses held and developed in co-operation with KULU professionals, building on patterns of action developed between Peruvian and KULU feminists. Furthermore we look at the supervision, advice and evaluation of the courses and the gender sensitive radio production elaborated between CRF and KULU. Meanwhile we also include how the women are constructing their struggle as a mode of resistance. We stress that we are not only approaching subjects, but mainly have our focus on power-relations and their effects, processes of subjectification and objectification. In this sense we find that we are able to identify the link between the self-subjectification of the female radio producers and gender-sensitive development discourses and practices. Thus, throughout the following two chapters the red line is, how modern subjects are ascribing to various categories, taxonomies and moralities and along this line how these subjects are objectifying others and thereby subjectifying themselves once again.

When resorting to the empirical material we are aware that we are navigating within a time-frame of approximately ten years, meaning that some of the quotations we bring forward as self-subjectification and objectification have taken place before the archaeological document, we use to present gender sensitive rationalities, was elaborated – "*Recordando el futuro*".[159]

We are navigating in a 'feminist room' in Lima, meaning that we bring in quotations from a variety of women who have participated in gender sensitive courses with the aim of empowering women and teaching radio production. **We are thus proposing a genealogy on the body in a gender perspective**, looking at patterns of subjectification and objectification of women in a certain geo-political set-up. We focus on power/knowledge relations, rationalities of governing through techniques and technologies and link this to the analytical tools presented. We stress, that we are not navigating in a historical chronology, but in patterns of action within circular processes. This means that the subjectivities of the women are not purely based on the courses and the radio-production,

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[159] "Recordando el futuro" (Remembering the future) is a book on feminist techniques and technologies. The how to work with women from a feminist point of view. The book is written in Spanish and it has been elaborated through co-operation between the feminists in Peru and Christina Hee Pedersen from KULU. The book is circulating in feminist movements in several countries in Latin America.

but the courses and radio-productions are also based on the women's shifting modes of being.

During the analysis we bring in various examples from *'Recordando el futuro'* to give an idea of the content of the courses with a gender perspective, in which the women have participated. We have agreed to focus on this book due to a range of reasons. The author of the book has lived in Lima and been a part of the feminist movements there for ten years all together.[160] The book is a result of many years of both working with women and giving courses in gender-awareness and in the 'how' of working with women. The book is thus an outcome of an exchange of ideas and inspirations within this environment of feminist epistemes and patterns of action, especially within the environment of Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristan and KULU, which is also where our main focus is. Thus, we use the book as a document exposing gender sensitive rationalities in Peru.

Gender sensitive rationalities in the geo-political set-up, Peru

Gender identity and feminism

"I wanted to study, to be somebody, but my husband said no, because you have your children – you must look after them. When they grow up you can realise yourself. […] Before I claimed my rights, but since many women did not share these demands there were moments where I thought that I was asking too much."[161]

These words are expressed by one of the female producers behind the program Pásame la Voz, from Villa El Salvador. In the above quotation she talks about her sentiments in relation to her gender performance before she engaged in the radio. The fact, that she expresses the feeling of restrictions from her husband and lack of support from other women in claiming her articulated rights, indicates that she before her participation in radio production, had the experiences that the surrounding world encompassed her gender performance. Another woman from Pásame la Voz elaborates on what she has gained through engaging in the radio:

"I have become reaffirmed to take the lead and have overcome my doubts due to the feeling of being a marginalised woman. I have been reaffirmed as mother, as woman and as partner."[162]

She has re-evaluated her gender identity: Being a woman now contributes differently to her identity and practices than before. The women quoted above express two different

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[160] Interview with Hee Pedersen 8th of May 2000, Side A [07.3]
[161] Interview with Lili from Pasame la Voz, KULU, 1993, [2636-2602]. The quotations have been collected from raw film which we have borrowed from KULU. The raw material contains an interview with Lili who are one of the producers of the programme Pasame la Voz, which is disseminated in Villa El Salvador.
[162] Evaluation report, KULU, 1999, p. 41.

reflections of their experiences of being a woman. The latter is concerned with overcoming her own perception of the modalities of womanhood within the regimes of truth, whereas the former is more concerned with the ways in which the surroundings inhibit her by referring to these same modalities, e.g. the duties of being a mother. She goes on talking about the reactions of her husband responding to her decision to participate in radio production:

"Sometimes he moralized, sometimes he supported me, and sometimes he discouraged me. [...] Raul said: 'how can you leave the children? Is it really worth leaving behind the children in order to produce radio?' [...] But he didn't work, only occasionally. But he said: 'you are my woman, you have to do it! You are the mother.'"[163]

The women quoted above are members of the team producing the program Pásame la Voz and they are demonstrating a tendency within this group. The way we recast it, these two women are not the only ones to problematize their 'subordinate' roles as women or to have undergone a process of re-thinking themselves in a gender perspective. The female radio producers have participated in various courses arranged by Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristan, CRF and KULU. Let us now have a look at the pattern of action in these courses, taking an outset in *'Recordando el futuro'*, the book on gender sensitive techniques mentioned above.

Re-evaluating the past

The chapter also called *'Recordando el futuro'*[164] is divided into three parts: 'The past', 'The present' and 'The future'. The following exercise '*Sexist messages from my childhood'* is from 'The past'. This exercise as a technique is utilizable in a woman's re-evaluation of her subjective experiences. By sharing her personal experiences with other women the subject is participating in the creation of a collective narrative about shared woman-hood.

"Guidelines for 'Sexist messages from my childhood':
Conversation in small groups with outset in the following questions:
- *Which messages about being a woman were repeated or frequently insinuated during your childhood?*
- *Who was the person that in this sense influenced you the most in your childhood?*
- *Were some persons contradicting these messages either in their articulation or behavior?*
- *What was your relationship with this/these person(s)?*

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[163] Interview with Lili from Pasame la Voz, KULU, 1993, timecode [1204-1503].
[164] Introducing paragraph: "The collection of dynamic exercises presented in continuation are freely chosen examples which illustrate the diversity of ways of working with the themes concerning subjective experiences. Taking an outset in the past and arriving in the future." Christina Hee Pedersen, 'Recordando el futuro' p.133-134.

The issue is treated in a second session by the following questions:

- *How is my current life affected by these messages?*
- *Positively or negatively?*
- *How could you possibly overcome the negative effects?*
- *How does this affect my relations to other women?"* [165]

The educators have chosen 'sexist messages from my childhood' as the title of the narrative which the women are going to tell. The word 'sexist' is apparently not pre-debated and in this way, the fact that there probably have been sexist experiences during childhood becomes naturalized. Using phrases such as 'which messages' and 'how does it show' the educator is not questioning whether or not these events took place, but only in which way. In this way the participating woman might feel that she is the one telling the story the way she perceived it, even though she is fitting her personal experiences into a theme of sexist oppression. Thus, the exercise is a confessional technique. 'Truth' as defined by dominant feminist discourses meet the subjective experiences of the women. When the women inscribe themselves into this 'truth', e.g. that their childhood has held sexist experiences, it is an act of their own will, it is a process of government in the name of freedom. The women tell a narrative of their childhood and might feel that this is uniquely their own; still, their re-evaluation of previous experiences are guided by confessional techniques and professional educators. The educators are thus setting up a frame-work in which the women have the possibility to inscribe themselves into a shared truth, and in this sense the participating women are given tools in the how to conduct themselves.

We are not doubting the good intentions of the educators, if they presuppose that the women have had sexist experiences in their childhood. Using this exercise as a technique is presumably not a way of intentionally exercising power upon the subjects, but according to our understanding of power as always embedded in power-relations it is however an exercise of power. Based on expert-advice the women are motivated to confess, and in this sense their confessions are generating new categories for the women and the educators to act upon. These categories have their outset in suppression stemming from sexist treatment during childhood. The women are indirectly made aware that they have lacked freedom throughout their lives. Thus, this is an example of how the repressive hypothesis works. Revealing the truth, and reconstructing a 'new' and collective truth this exercise renders clear that the women should resist and act upon their subordinate positions. According to our point of view, their resistance will function as a counter-discourse sustaining the dominant gender discourse, the dichotomies woman/man and superior/subordinate.

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[165] Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 133-134.

Having an imagined understanding of some notion of a shared truth, the educators can furthermore encourage the women to reveal their personal stories: The book suggests that in case there are difficulties in getting the conversation started, if the women have no suggestions to a narrative within this certain theme, the educators can supplement by listing phrases which will help them in getting certain associations. The book suggests concrete phrases for the educators to use, such as *"Always be aware of your appearance", "Don't walk alone in the street", "One must suffer in silence", "To be a virgin until you marry", "Serve others", "Not letting them know how you feel".*[166] In this way, by giving suggestions to the themes of the subjective narratives, the exercise is in a sense moulding the women's re-writing of their childhood memories. Furthermore, when ending the session the women have to evaluate their acknowledgements:

"Then each participant is asked to make a personal reflection about what they have become aware of during the previous work-sessions, later they share this with the whole group by completing the following sentence: 'I have become aware of […].'"[167]

The women are asked to express how they recast the exercise. Again, the context and the way of asking contribute to forming the way of answering. This motivates even further the way the women self-subjectify in accordance to the narrative of suppression. *'Sexist messages from my childhood'* is one of many gender sensitive techniques presented in the book seeking to work through the subject, in order to break with modalities of female subjectivities formed by dominant gender-norms, and thereby ascribe to other modalities of womanhood. The author of *'Recordando el futuro'*, Hee Pedersen says about this principle:

"Nobody tells you how to do. It [reflecting on your gender identity, ed.] *demands of you, that you sit down on your butt and learn something new. […] You don't engage at a professional*[168] *level. But what I wanted with the book was to give people at different levels – those who had been working with gender as well as those who had not – a tool that operated at different levels. [...] To provide people with no time for reading access to some concepts, some ideas, some political provocations, perhaps, which could motivate them to experiment by themselves – make use of their own resources."*[169]

Thus, according to Hee Pedersen relating to your gender is something, you have to learn; it is a question of expertise. What we especially find interesting is who's expertise?!

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[166] Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 133-134.
[167] Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 133-134.
[168] 'Professional' is our translation from the Danish word 'faglig'
[169] Interview with Hee Pedersen 8th of May 2000, side a, time-code: 20.00

<u>Women in lack – a collective narrative</u>

That an extended amount of women have had sexist experiences in their childhood is a notion KULU shares. Despite having empowerment as their main aim, and despite arguing that women should be subject to their own makings, they state, that women - or at least some women in 'the South' have common problems. KULU writes in the report *'Self-esteem in focus'* that the majority of the by KULU so-called 'South women':[170]

"have a series of common experiences such as: a short education or no education at all, poor salary, low expectations, lack of recognition, and violence. It is not only within certain classes or ethnic groups that women hold negative images of themselves. These images are created, because women have been neglected and had lower value than boys throughout their childhood; because women have often not received any reaction to questions, which would otherwise have been answered had they been posed by men; or because they have been the victims of sexual harassment, which has made them feel that men regard women as things and not as human beings."[171]

In this way women are objectified and made a category of women in lack; a narrative is created of women's shared experiences of suppression transversing cultures, classes and ethnicity. This exposes a general tendency within dominant gender sensitive developmental discourses, including those characterizing the geo-political set-up of Peru. These modes of knowing contribute to shaping modes of being through the gender sensitive technologies and techniques mentioned above. I.e. gender sensitive developmental practices are objectifying these 'women in the South' as lacking, under-valued, poor, violated, neglected, harassed and even by men defined inhuman (things), and thereby conducing to the creation of categories and taxonomies, in which subjects can inscribe themselves and act upon. Furthermore, by proposing these categories they sustain the dichotomies woman/man, rich/poor, North/South, superior/inferior, powerful/powerless. Thus, KULU as a gender sensitive developmental agent contributes to strengthening the continuous naturalization of these dichotomies.

Creating a general narrative of women in lacks can also be seen in the courses. Like the above quotation expressed by KULU, the courses also present categories and techniques to motivate the women themselves to create this notion of a common experience of suppression.

Let us return to *'Recordando el futuro'*: *'Pandora's box'* is an exercise presented in the same chapter as the previous exercise, this time in the part called 'The present'. It also takes its outset in the personal experiences of the participants articulated in accordance to

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[170] To us the dichotomy North/South is a historical construction, just as many others; Man/woman, rich/poor etc.

[171] Self-esteem in Focus, KULU, 1995

a certain theme.[172] The women are asked to write down their answers to three questions on three pieces of paper: What problems affect them the most as women in their 1) personal life, 2) family life and 3) their surroundings. They are then asked to put their answers into three boxes matching the questions. The women are divided into three groups who each work with one of the boxes. They analyze the answers, divide them into themes and write down how many times the same answers are repeated. On a piece of cardboard they summarize and arrange the answers in accordance to importance. Finally they exhibit the result and discuss in plenum.

When dividing the questions and analyzing them in accordance to the common theme and not taking the author of the answer into consideration, the answer is de-contextualised from the subject and her individual history and subjectivity. At the same time the answer is re-contextualised in a common experience of a problematic womanhood. By doing statistics on the answers they are creating new knowledge about the group as a whole - of a category of women with lacks. By inscribing themselves into this category and thus subjectifying themselves, they are re-evaluating their identity and at the same time inscribing them-selves into a 'truth' created by the group in common. This is also where the group becomes something else and more than just the sum of individuals; it becomes in itself something to gain knowledge from and to analyze. They create a narrative of womanhood based on quantitative measures which is non-subjective, a collectivity into which they can enroll themselves. This notion of a 'we' is also present among the women in Pásame la Voz. One of them states:

"We were not only valuable as housewives. We are not only for domestic work, cooking, cleaning and serving. We have other values. Through Pásame la Voz we constantly spread the message, that we must be valued."[173]

In this section we have been looking at how radio-producing women confront dominant and suppressing structures, e.g. hindrances to study and obligations to sole responsibility for the children. We have been looking at how they mould their gender identities through feminist techniques and technologies utilized in courses held by various feminist movements. And furthermore how the women inscribe themselves into narratives of another conception of 'the right to do' and 'the right to be'.

The processes of re-evaluating and re-writing gender identities take outset in the expressions of the women and in the 'truth' about general suppression of women; of a category of women in lack. This is where the city-citizen and the shepherd-flock game meet: it is where the women are regarded at the same time as self-governing citizens and

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[172] Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 139.
[173] Interview with Lili from Pásame la Voz, from raw material to KULU documentary, 1993, timecode: [16:48]

as members of the flock of women who are governed. They are at one time members of the self-governing community of female subjects and members of a governed population, of a category of lacking women. They are at the same time subjects with subjective experiences and members of a collective 'we'. They have their subjective story and at the same time inscribe themselves into a narrative which is non-subjective. This is where these processes hold elements of Foucault's notion of demonization of society; where the intertwinement between the city-citizen game and the shepherd-flock game shapes *"subjective experiences that we nevertheless believe are uniquely our own"*.[174] Thus the modern woman inscribes herself into systems of governmentality and relates to meaning created by particular historical discursive power/knowledge formations on gendered experience. By re-evaluating their past and inscribing themselves into a category of women in lack, the women re-write their identity under the guidance of educators from CRF, Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristan and KULU. And in this sense they are recasting their conduct of conduct for governmental purposes. Hence, when the participating women are subjected to the educational disciplinary techniques expressed by the educators they are at the same time taking actively part in the complex net of power relations. They perform and recast the moralities expressed and learned from the educational techniques towards others subjects. In this sense the regimes of truth expressed by the educators are recast and redistributed not only among the women who were subject to the educational guidance in the first place, these women themselves will continue the reproduction of the moralities. This will be unfolded in the section on gender sensitive radio production.

Sexuality embedded in expert-knowledge embedded in Sexuality
Constructing their 'collective' gender-identity the women participating in the courses, both the educator and the educated, are obviously resorting to expert-knowledge about sexuality.[175] I.e. the exercises from the book 'Recordando el futuro', are based on experts' elaboration of useful methods to work with women and their identity-creation, and as an important component of this, the women's perception of their bodies. This can be considered also in relation to the overall aim of feminism presented by Olea and Vargas, to intervene in the politics of the body. I.e. women's rights to govern their own bodies in order to self-determine sexual preferences, the aim of procreation including the right to abortions, the conception of physical violence, and the right to reclaim your body and sex as something beautiful. These are crucial components in the building-up of self-esteem and when we relate the right to govern your own body to the exercises presented in Hee Pedersen's feminist methodologies we partly resort to an interview (included in 'Recordando el futuro') with the teacher and sexologist Susana Silva. She is one of the founders of Manuela Ramos and has functioned as an active member of the feminist movement and furthermore as an expert in developing new techniques to work with women and their self-perception of/and their bodies. Silva is interviewed by Hee about a

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[174] Dean, 1994, p. 185.
[175] We refer to our chapter Sex, Sexuality and Gender

method she developed in co-operation with doctors and anthropologists, in order to solve a 'medical' problem in the Andes. As our focus is on Lima and Silva's interview explains a situation in the Andes, the reason for us bringing in this interview, is that it reflects technologies that have been utilized within the feminist movements also in Lima, and furthermore in the courses in which the radio-women have participated.[176]

The *how* to work with sexuality according to feminist epistemes and rationalities
When Silva elaborates on her technologies and techniques in working with sexuality within a feminist framework, she stresses: *"To me, working with sexuality has been easy in a valuable and cognitive way. I have always perceived that working with sexuality is at a level where the intimate and the quotidian could meet the social. You cannot state that you enjoy your intimacy if your social, mental and cultural context does not allow this".* [177]

This tells us about the epistemes of first of all the sexologist, but furthermore of Manuela Ramos, other feminist movements and of KULU, due to the fact that this quotation is placed within an educational gender sensitive context where women should learn from other women's experiences. The articulation of the feminist sexologist is thus a way to establish (within the frame-work) concrete practices and know-how (technologies and techniques) about the *how* to treat the politics of the body. This could thus function as an example of *how* the feminists include expert-knowledge in their clusters of action conducing to transformed epistemologies and ontologies. Another interesting perspective, are the categories which the sexologist brings forward in order to reach the subject's sexuality; through the social, the mental and the cultural. In this sense she circumscribes the experiences of the body, not only as something inherent in the body itself, but intertwined within what we call power-relations, among others including psychological disciplines and moralities. This goes hand in hand with Foucault's '*History of Sexuality*', and it is a statement about the *how* of bio-power.

Bio-power as 1) the mechanical body; the political anatomy of the human body, seeking to augment the capacities, abilities and efficiencies of the body. And bio-power as 2) the bio-politics of the population as species concerned with biological processes procreation, health, birth and dead rates. Through sexuality the individual/body is linked to society and the anatomo- and biological politics embedded in sexuality function as a kind of grammar of *how* modern subjects can imagine the experience of themselves and their practices. Thus sexuality is a crucial field of intervention in shaping modern society; sexuality is the nexus of organizing power. Our gendered identities are products of the procedures of power-knowledge intervening in life to control and transform it. Bio-power works through the human body in search for the truth about human existence e.g. about oppressed sexuality. And by intertwining body and population and relating it to sexuality, gender

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[176]   Interview with Christina Hee Pedersen, 8 May 2000
[177]   Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 45

sensitive rationalities are resorting to the *how* of bio-power. Thus, Silva's attempt to build up a counter narrative, reflects the biological body intertwined in politics, and the way she refers to the social, mental and cultural context that does not allow people to enjoy their intimacy, oppressors vs. oppressed, she presupposes power in terms of the repressive hypothesis. Thus, instead of undermining the discourse she as a feminist is struggling against, the counter-narratives end up stabilizing dominant regimes of truth to the extent, that they resort to and operate through the same rationalities.

To elaborate, Silva explains in continuation of the above: *"The way we understand sexuality is that, it is the biggest fraud of history, because it seems to be something for everyone. When a person states that "I want to live my life the way I prefer" and imagines to live her/his sexuality the way s/he prefers, it is not necessarily so. The entire life of the person is terribly directed, classified and encompassed."*[178]

Keeping in mind that Silva's statements are placed as expert-knowledge within the book used on gender sensitive technologies and techniques, her statements function as truth-telling within the feminist framework. It is therefore important to notice *how* she objectifies 'others'. According to Silva sexuality as a pleasure cannot be practiced by everyone and people cannot live the way they prefer or practice their sexuality as they like, due to societal structures which are apparently suppressing them; direction, classification and encompassing. But is there a true sexuality out there, just waiting for us to come and get it? We find that exactly in this nexus it becomes clear *how* she in her feminist resistance against suppressive structures is participating in the re-enforcement of the overall discourse about sexuality. She herself is bringing in other 'more true' categories (ideals) and an awareness about *how* you can liberate yourself from these suppressive forces, by reclaiming your body and your sexuality. I.e. in a Foucauldian perspective she is sustaining 'the repressive hypothesis' through her explicit resistance towards suppressed sexuality. The following will hopefully clarify this.

Reclaiming your body
One of the *how*'s in feminism to liberate yourself is through reclaiming your body and your sexuality: *"For example I remember a theme we did not know how to treat. The pressure in the couple, when the man wanted sex with the woman, without her wanting it. How can we make the women aware that this is real pressure, and that it is harassment, and that it means that they can say: "I am not in the mood"*[179]. In this relation Silva explains *how* the 'experts' invented a role-play in which half of the women should imagine themselves as men, and the other half as women. *"The ones acting as 'men' started to use their husbands' demanding arguments* [about sex, ed.] *towards the women, and the 'women' answered as at home. It was a very interesting diagnosis. It was a*

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[178] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 45
[179] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 46

mixture between them beginning to understand what their partners said to them, and how it sometimes is difficult to simply say: "No I don't want to". They themselves lived out the process while they listened to each-other meanwhile reflecting about the answers, and suddenly one said "no I don't want to" and everybody looked"[180]

This role-play gives an example of a technique, used as a technology of the self based on expert-knowledge and advice. As the technologies of the self require one to relate to oneself epistemologically, know yourself, master yourself and care for yourself, the above-mentioned role-play seems to be linking these components quite well. In the women's articulations about themselves, their expressed subjectification on *how* they ascribe to various categories, the women come to know themselves anew. And by listening to the other women's articulations about themselves and their resistance towards their suppressed positions, this rewriting of identity is sustained. Furthermore the self-subjectification is also working at the level where the women are objectifying their men and thereby sustaining the dichotomy woman/man. They are 'othering' in order to know, master and care for themselves. I.e. by subjectifying themselves and by objectifying others, they are self-subjectifying anew, and in relation to sexuality it is thus impossible to separate the bodied experience from the perception of ones identity. This example is thus linked directly to our perception of modernity, in which sexuality renders clear the way science with its monopoly on truth, and confession as the way to reveal the truth, are combined.

Furthermore when bringing in Butler's concepts on regulatory practices on gender-formation and division, and sexuality and power as coextensive, the above-mentioned examples render clear that our identities are moulded within power-knowledge relations. And in this sense is becomes impossible to separate sex, sexuality, gender and power from each other. This is also what Foucault suggests when he recognizes that sex is the effects of regimes of truth about sexuality. The above role-play is a clear example of this. The women's performance; the fact that they are to perform (in a theatrical understanding) another and 'better' gender-identity is how the conduct of conduct works through the individual woman's re-gestalt of her body and her self. In this relation, Butler's notion of *performance* becomes a good contribution to our theoretical framework. As performance refers to the mediation between sex and gender, gender identity becomes the performance of the body in the experienced room expressing the inscription, functioning and practices of this specific body. And as Butler says *"[...] The distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all."* [181] Summing up in relation to the women's participation in the role-play, it thus becomes crucial which regimes of truth are embedded in feminist rationalities including or excluding 'normal' (sexual) behavior.

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[180] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 46
[181] Butler, 1990, p. 11.

Another way Silva has approached sexuality and dominant narratives is by bringing forward a theme on masturbation. *"I have found out, that the best way to do it is by comparing masturbation to intercourse. I.e. if masturbation makes you crazy, intercourse would also make you crazy. It is returning to the scientific explanation about how the body functions, where you explain the phase of stimulation, which is the erection or the lubrication-phase. Then the next phase where "I come but I hold back" in which you rest for a while and then "I came" where you reach the orgasm. OK, that is what happens during intercourse. From there I ask: "What happens during masturbation?" It's about discovering: Is there stimulation, how is this stimulation? From there they begin to understand. I give them simple scientific explanations so they understand that masturbation is not dangerous"*.[182]

This example shows us very clearly *how* Silva is resorting to expert-knowledge in her technique, and to stress the potential of her statements, we quote her in relation to her validation of the truth embedded in the expert-knowledge she resorts to. She explains how the women keep coming back asking her, if it is really true that masturbation is not dangerous. She says: *"First it has to be a firm "no". I found out, that against the myths one needs a scientific validation, which makes people understand, and afterwards a look in the eyes which says "this* [the myth ed.] *is a lie!"*[183] Thus in order to tell a lie, there must be a truth. Silva is basing her truth on science and according to our epistemological framework this is another example where we can point out that since she is not outside power, scientific narratives are outcomes of power-relations, and not descriptions of a reality that exists by itself out there. Here we stress, we are not intending to show that the mentioned myth could be more or less true than Silva's scientific explanation, but rather to problematize the way knowledge is constructed within power-relations. We could consider Silva's technique an act of empowerment, as empowerment techniques act upon others by getting them to act upon themselves. But as already mentioned facilitators are not the solution to problems, they are part of the problem. The fact that she finds, she can provide people with the 'real' truth illustrates, that she indeed is part of the game. This brings us back to, that in order to empower the women, there subjectivity is linked to their subjection and thus activism is linked to discipline. In this sense we find that the emancipatory project in itself leads to subjugation. In spite of Silva's 'good' intentions, in which she aims at/intervenes in women's sexual pleasures, and finds that masturbation should be for everyone, she is still an expert with an advantageous position within the power-grid, and therefore she holds a truth-telling position, which could lead to unexpected and unintended consequences. Thus we are not trying to knock Silva and her techniques, but we are contemplating the *how* to know and the *how* to act accordingly.

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[182] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 47
[183] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 47

Violence

When taking a closer look on *how* Silva has worked with violence (domestic violence, rape and incest) it is a rather different story. Within this theme the technologies and techniques recommended are also based on expert-knowledge, but Silva stresses that *violence* as a theme should be approached within a secure collectivity. *"I think that the first thing to do, is to make sure that the person is understood and not alone. It is important to initiate violence as a theme within a calming ambience, in order for the person to reveal the big secret. They have to understand that it is a room of confidence where you can confess if you like to [...] I am convinced, that the way you help the person is by saying: "It is terrible what has happened to you, I think it is something you must live with your whole life and I am your solidary in your pain."*[184]. This quotation sums up the *how* of confession linked to objectification and self-subjectification. The acknowledgement the abused woman receives from the expert supports her in her pain, her pain is unfolded and verified, but the statement also to a certain extent 'locks' her in a category, circumscribing people living within an inescapable feeling of pain. For this episteme to arise, that you cannot escape pain, pain must be defined. We are not at all intending to neglect that people do feel pain, this is quite obvious, but we are questioning what pain is and how it has come to be defined as something shameful and bad. Something we should/could avoid. And furthermore *how* experts have made use of pain and sorrow in order to get people to act upon themselves. This can be elaborated by bringing in another quotation from the same paragraph.

"Not long ago in Tacna we worked on the theme rape on small girls. One of the women was very interested in this, and the following day she came up to me and said: "Señora, it is terrible what has happened to me. My young daughters have always walked around [alone ed.] *in the streets without problems. Yesterday, seven o'clock at night when they had not come back; I imagined that something had happened to them, it is very tough to work with this Señora, ay I don't like it". And it is also* [to know] *that consciousness about violence restrains your happiness, and there are people who resist."* note

This quotation tells us something about, that in order to avoid pain one should make oneself aware of societal dangers, and act accordingly. Your lack of happiness, too much pain or pain that could come to you unexpectedly, conduces to action. In this specific and to us extremely sensitive context 'rape on small girls' it is also clear, that in order to avoid pain one should conduct oneself and others. Thus (avoiding) pain is creating active citizens/bodies acting upon themselves and others in order to reach a notion of some kind of social good. It is self-subjectification as a practice of freedom (this we get back to below). According to our moral it would be terrible if the two girls were raped, but nevertheless the interesting question to ask is; who gives the expert the right to intervene

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[184] Silva in Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 48

in the mother's conduct, if the mother does not feel that she has a problem? Knowledge creates the problem, and in that sense this quotation also highlights an unintended consequence stemming from knowledge and/or insight, and furthermore a 'good' intention leading to resistance. The question here is, what is the most dangerous and therefore it operates on the level of the ethics of the expert, and furthermore *how* these ethics are recast as morality, provided by scientific narratives.

<u>The female 'looks'</u>
Another theme taken up in '*Recordando el futuro*' is an exercise on *how* women perceive of themselves and their bodies according to the way they look. The way this exercise is incorporated is by making the participating women reflect about two pictures on two different women.

Our reception of the pictures are: **The first picture** shows a woman in her mid 20'ies, wearing a tight black top without sleeves. Her breasts are visible, though not completely and the woman has her arms folded in front of her body. She has a serious look in her eyes and is wearing make-up. She has long black hair which is hanging loosely and we consider her to be quite beautiful. **The second picture** shows another beautiful woman. This one is older though, maybe in her early 50'ies. She is wearing so-called 'folk-clothes'. A semi-tight patterned dress with long loose sleeves. Her breasts are visible though not naked. She has her hair tied in a knot at the back of her head, and a serious expression. Her arms are closed in front of her body though not completely.[185] (See Appendix B).

Some of the answers from the women are included next to the pictures:

Picture number one: *"An angry woman": This is not a happy woman, she has an ironical look in her eyes. I like her eyes, but I don't like her gesture and her dress, "The lonely woman": She does not know what she wants, I don't like it, "Phew": I don't like this picture of a woman, I don't like the make-up, "How do I look": Serious gesture with very little communication, it doesn't tell me a lot, it's just an exposition of a body, "Shy and ashamed": Her face, her eyes, show this, and she has big breasts, "Are you happy?": Her expression is very sad, she seems to be insecure, as if she has a bad feeling. I don't like it."*
Picture number two: *"Resolute woman", "Serious", "Strong woman", "A man in disguise", "Majestic", "Arrogant and hard", "Inca woman".*[186]

One of the interesting things in relation to the two pictures are the different ways in which they are treated in the book. Next to the picture of the young woman, categories are proposed and some of the women's comments have been quoted below these categories. As for the older woman this is different. What is said about the older women is written in

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[185] Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 74 and 75
[186] Hee Pedersen 1997, p. 74 and 75

very short statements. Nevertheless what we find most interesting is *how* the women are made to reflect about their bodies, looks and gestures according to categories elaborated on other women's opinions about *how* to express yourself the best way. This exercise renders clear the moral of the participating women and also of the educators because this material is resorted to during the courses. The opinions expressed about the younger woman are mainly on the looks of the body. As for the older woman, the words predominantly used are adjectives. Thus the older woman is more closely connected to abilities. The static (looking) body and the active (participating) body. This exercise is a very effective technique in order to objectify, subjectify and self-subjectify, i.e. to work on what you are and why, and what you are not and why, and thereby sustain your 'self' once again. And as it is hopefully not a secret by now, feminism needs active participants for it to work, so the fact that the older woman is more closely connected to action, makes her a more attractive ideal. But, we stress that we cannot predetermine, not even know, what happens when the individual confront these pictures. That the older woman is seen as a more attractive ideal, is not at all certain as there could be courses and situations in which the participating women would recast these pictures very differently according to different values, and we suppose there would be women who would relate more to the younger woman. This could be what is expressed in the comment: *"a man in disguise"*. Thus, in this exercise, expert-knowledge is transformed within the individual woman's self-subjectification and she herself is turning into an new expert within a feminist framework, recasting the collectivity according to her scheme of things and rewriting herself according to notions of a common ideal.

Procreation and abortion
The way intervention in the female body is closely linked to intervention in the population is through intervention in physical procreation. By resorting to expert-knowledge this is practiced through feminist technologies and techniques especially in the disseminated radio-programs. The following is a quoted discussion between two women from Flora Tristan's radio-producing team in Lima:

[1st woman:] *"We have found the focus of the day. Abortions have been carried out in public toilets. Yes, the police has found out, that during the past six months 30 women have undergone abortions in a public toilet in the center of Lima* [The abortions were, ed.] *carried out by three 'doctors'. Nature-doctors who had their stands there."* [2nd woman:] *"A 17 years old girl almost died. That was the only reason for it to come out. It has been going on for quite a while"*. [1st woman:] *"How do we approach the subject?"* [2nd woman:] *"We have to find an angle. This is revolting. It's treated as a police-matter, and not at all as a case about women's health."* [1st woman:] *"It calls for a campaign. We can*

bring it up for several days.” [2nd woman:] *“Yes, let's treat it thoroughly, there is stuff enough for days.”*[187]

The discussion about the specific case is taken up in the studio and an expert, a gynecologist, is invited to debate the matter. The listeners are invited to call in with their comments. As one of the radio-producers explains: *“I would like you listeners to participate in the debate. Call us and give us your opinion. A lot of you know the problem and you have gone through abortions due to several reasons. But women are not heard. You can call anonymously, but call! Let us know your opinion about abortion! Abortion, when the woman's life is in danger, and carried out illegally.”*[188]

This shows us, *how* modes of knowing become modes of being and then again modes of knowing etc. What the women are doing is, that they are disseminating another regime of truth about the female body, than the ones presented by the dominant abortion discourse embedded in the bio-politics in Peru. The women are clearly navigating in the sphere of bio-power; the procedures of power and knowledge to intervene in life and control and transform it. They are contemplating the danger they face when they have to undergo illegal abortions, and they are instigating other women to release their voices and their protests, within their radio-program. In this sense, through resistance, they are directing the conduct of conduct, and they are doing it in the name of freedom. Freedom from having to risk an illegal abortion, freedom as the women's right to get an abortion on a legal basis. I.e. they are on one hand deploying freedom in contestation – they protest, and on the other hand the are instantiating freedom in government – they unite and act.[189] (this is elaborated below).

The female sex – the vulva

Bringing back in the sexologist Silva presented in the book '*Recordando el futuro*', we finalize this chapter by looking at gender sensitive technologies and techniques deployed to make women re-think and reflect on their physical sex, and thereby their gendered identities. Silva elaborates on a stay she had in the Southern part of Peru. She was working with doctors, nurses and anthropologists and their objectives were to teach women *how* to care for them-selves in relation to their sexual life and in relation to their hygiene. She explains:

“Before we started the education, a woman came to speak to a nurse and she said: “I want you to look at me because my husband has told me, that I have a bad disease here,

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[187] 'Med egen Stemme' (With our Voice). Documentary developed by KULU about the radio-producing women in Peru, in which they have visited and filmed a large amount of radio-stations and women's centres. The quotation is from Flora Tristan and the female radio-producers behind the program "Short Circuit", 1993, time-code: [25.20]
[188] Radio-producer in the program "Short Circuit" from the video 'With our Voice', 1993, time-code: [23.08]
[189] See chapter on Freedom, emancipation and empowerment.

and he want's to leave me, he says I'm full of knobs" […] *Her husband had told her, that she had scabies on her vulva and was full of knobs, and now he did not want to know of her. Then she sat down on the bed and we looked at her. Her vulva was very clean, no knobs, beautiful. We showed her with the mirror, and it would have been fantastic to film her face. Before looking at herself* [her sex, ed.] *she had a sad and worried expression, then curious, then surprised and smiling, smiling. This confirmed the importance that the women should see their vulvas."*[190]

Silva explains further, that on this basis a new technique was elaborated in which the women should look at their sex and make drawings of what they saw, and later compare these drawings to each other.

"We also made drawings of the vulvas. The most beautiful drawings were the ones where the women trusted the educator, and where the educator let them make their own drawings. With the educators who doubted if the women could draw, and helped them, this would immediately be apparent because it would be a schematic, hard [drawing ed.]. *The others had their little bump in boiling water, with the small cloth, with the herb, and the vulvas were this big, big like suns. They enjoyed drawing and they laughed. And afterwards they showed them with naturalness."*[191]

Silva concludes on this, that the technique was a success due to the fact that the women articulated their experiences with violence, their experiences with their bodies and they learned *how* to take care of themselves in a 'better' way. As mentioned we are not intending to state whether this is good or bad, but that it is. Thus in this context, where women are looking at or drawing their physical sex in a collectivity with other women, it becomes clear *how* feminist rationalities operate through bio-power, and as Foucault states in *History of Sexuality* it is highlighting how power-relations operate through the most intimate, insignificant and individual modes of being, in order to shape modern society.

Emphasizing the body as our mortal frame for our gendered performance, we stress that the body in itself is not a material blueprint; our bodies are indeed a construct. But the body is materialized, it is an asthetisation of the performance of identity. Thus when the educators suggest that the women should look at their sex in the mirror, they are in a sense providing the women with an image of what a female body 'truly' is. And by furthermore suggesting that the women should illustrate their images of their sex, this act of drawing becomes the women's graphic self-objectification. They are re-inscribing themselves into their own bodies, a literal inscription of the body as cornerstones for releasing feelings that are deemed suppressed. This is yet another slice of self-hood within the gender sensitive enlightenment game, where power relations are completely penetrating life and the cluster

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[190] Silva in Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 49
[191] Silva in Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 50

of discourses concerning sex, confession and rules of self-examination operates on all levels within this game. Rendering possible frame-works of moulding women identities, gender sensitive social action could in this sense be referred to as an art, an art of government.

Generating Self-esteem

When asked what she thinks about the experience of cooperating with the movement Manuela Ramos, one of the women working in the radio team of Pásame la Voz, stresses: *"I owe them a lot. Thanks to them I now feel that I am worth more.*[192]*"* Another woman from the radio team relates directly to her experiences from the courses held by Colectivo Radial Feminista, when she states: *"[...] I learned how to overcome my distrust towards the gringas and the white women from the NGO. Once when I was participating in a work-shop with Tachi*[193] *to whom I told about my reservation and prejudices, she replied: You will see that throughout one year, when we meet again, then you will still be continuing in the radio."* [194]

The above quotations express the subjects' reflections on their achievements in respect to the sensations of trust and appreciation, and they relate these new experiences to different practices; the support and training they have received from the feminist movement and the experience of working together in the radio producing collective. The women express that by working with gender sensitive radio production they have become able to identify and re-evaluate their personal capabilities, or in other words they have gained self-esteem. Thus the collective practices embedded in the courses and the radio team have provided the participants with techniques to remould their identity and performance. Furthermore when identifying these new acknowledgements the women simultaneously indicate, that they before engaging in the women's groups had the feeling of not being able to perform and participate as active citizens in the way they wanted. Or to describe it in another way, the statements indicate that the women were lacking self-esteem or power to act in accordance with their desire. In that manner they inscribe themselves in the repressive hypothesis. Referring to the chapter 'Self-esteem' in our analytical tools, we will again stress that the notion of self-esteem belongs to the realm of the individualizing techniques of modern disciplinary power. Hence it is a mode of governing the self, or as Cruikshank expresses: *"Self-esteem is a technology in the sense that it is a specialized knowledge of how to govern our selves, to estimate, calculate, measure, evaluate, discipline and to judge ourselves"*[195]

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[192] Interview with Lili,from Pásame la voz 1993, timecode: [26:02]
[193] Tachi Arriola from the network of women working in radio communication in AMARC -Quito. In the period mentioned she worked for Flora Tristan and was educator in the Colectivo Radial Feminista.
[194] Evaluation report, p.41
[195] Cruikshank in Jones, 1998, p. 22

<u>Self-esteem as a gender sensitive developmental technique</u>

Gaining self-esteem is a crucial point for the feminist's movement, due to the understanding that self-esteem holds possibilities for emancipation. Hence generating self-esteem is also one of the key-issues in the strategies of KULU. Their engagement in the 'North/South' corporation takes its outset in the women's organizations in the so-called 'South' working at a grass-root level and in the developmental strategies of these organizations. These organizations have: *"[...] used the concept of self-esteem as a lever, by developing the potential of women through self-reliance activities, which simultaneously affect several aspects of the women's lives. [...] in these activities the women try to develop their abilities within the political , economic, social and cultural areas [...]"*[196] Furthermore KULU states that educating women is a central element in the task of reaching a higher level of self-esteem and additionally the content of education must be relevant to women's needs. Therefore the structure of the educational programs: *"must accommodate the daily life of the women and its methods must encourage cooperation and a feeling of responsibility for other people and the environment. In short, education must be seen holistically and provide support to women in attaining a higher degree of self-esteem and self-confidence, so that they acquire more influence over their lives, both in the family and in society. In other words, the object of education is that women can reach an awareness of being able to be independent in all areas of life - and be proud of that."*[197]

The concrete educational techniques aiming to generate the self-esteem of women are indeed present in the practical part of Hee Pedersen, *'Recordando el Futuro'*. When examining some of the proposed exercises it becomes clear that the techniques to raise self-esteem, initiate by getting the participants to reveal their feeling of restraints. Advancing trough the construction of the collective narrative of suppression, the participants are 'taken by the hand' when the educators teach them additional methods of continued self-examination. These techniques function as tools for strengthening the building-up of a collectivity among the women. In other words the techniques used in the courses contribute to the reformulation of the participants conduct of conduct, aiming to reach an alternative formulation of the modalities of womanhood.

One of these techniques of continued self-examination is the exercise *'How is my mental health?''* [198] The educators distribute two lists among the participants who are divided into smaller groups. Here the participants mutually reflect on the feelings raised by the listed *healthy* and *problematic* attitudes and furthermore relate this to their personal situation. The listed healthy reactions includes among others: *"think that it is possible to fight difficulties; be able to express a broad scale of emotions; be realistic and consider that all*

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[196] Self-esteem in Focus, KULU, 1995, p. 3-4
[197] Self-esteem in Focus, KULU, 1995, p. 4
[198] Hee Pedersen, 1999, p. 142

people have both positive and negative aspects; take responsibility of one's own life; have the spirit to live every day and to learn new ways to act; confide to others and ask for help when necessary"[199]. Some of the attitudes which according to the second list can be indicative of forthcoming problems are: "*To think that things cannot be rearranged and that it is not worth fighting; to try to be perfect or fulfil an ideal; be obsessed with the emotions of oneself; not wanting to get out of bed or act at all and postpone decisions indefinitely; loose the orientation of one's needs or be unable to register the needs of others; not confide in others and believe that the whole world is hostile or that whatever is negative."*[200]

When the exercise presents the healthy and the problematic attitudes for the participating women, it is a presentation of a certain knowledge of normality presented by the educators - the expert, and then remoulded within the collective. By discussing their reactions and comparing this with their personal situation the women are given a tool to search for their inner self and evaluate their conduct. In this way the women are presented to a certain notion of normality, obviously recast by them, but nevertheless a certain 'truth' of right ways to be, think and to act; a normality into which they can strive to be included. This new notion of normality functions as means to resist the morals and notions of normality perceived as suppressing women, as the ones described in the section *'Gender identity and feminism'*, e.g. *"Always be aware of your appearance"* and *"Not letting them know how you feel"*. In this way, they confront these 'suppressing' categories and modes of action by proposing new ones.

Creating new moralities

The feminists' educational practices take their outset in teaching the women how to understand themselves as free subjects with an inner self, an essence possible to be revealed and emancipated. By using the psychological disciplines or techniques adopted from these, the exercises are focusing on gaining self-esteem through self-understanding. This is another mode of self-governance in the name of freedom: presented to the 'truth', the women can use the educational techniques to conduct themselves by their own free will. The psychologist or other experts who are guiding 'the ethics of autonomous self-hood' promulgate, in the words of Rose, *"new ways of planning life and approaching predicaments, and disseminate new procedures for understanding oneself and acting upon oneself to overcome dissatisfactions, realize one's potential, gain happiness and achieve autonomy."*[201]

Let us have a look at another interesting assembly of techniques of how to reach the capacity of fulfilling one's potentials and carrying out the restrained visions. These

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[199] Hee Pedersen, 1999, p. 142
[200] Hee Pedersen, 1999, p. 142
[201] Rose, 1999, Powers of Freedom, p. 90

exercises draw on a technique of assertiveness[202], presented by Hee Pedersen in the chapter concerning 'how to gain self-esteem'[203]. This chapter lists various schemes concerning different types of conduct. According to Hee Pedersen, to practice techniques of assertiveness is one entry among others to help the women to obtain more clear and healthy reactions and to maintain their self-esteem when communicating with others.[204] The exercise we have chosen to focus on deals with all tree types of conduct: The passive, the assertive and the aggressive. The tree types of conduct are formulated in a diagram. This reflects how the individuals act with different attitudes in the same situations. When the person with a passive conduct is "shy", the person with the assertive conduct is "direct" and the person with an aggressive conduct is "arrogant". When the passive is "apologizing oneself", the assertive is "including own sensations and opinions" and the aggressive is being "sarcastic". The passive is presenting herself as a "victim", while the assertive is being "clear and honest" and the aggressive is "dominant". Similarly the passive conduct of being "martyr" is completed by the assertive conduct of "accepting the other" and the aggressive conduct of "manipulating". When the passive is "dependent", the assertive is "taking risks" and the aggressive is "taking the offensive". The passive is "defenseless", while the assertive is "acting" and the aggressive "reprimanding". The passive conduct of "self-destructiveness" is put up against the assertive conduct of "forgiveness" and the "vengeance" of the aggressive. The passive do not according to this scheme "possess power", the assertive has "internal strength" and the aggressive exercise "power above others".

By being presented to three modes of being and acting and by discussing how they act themselves and what they in general perceive as good and bad ways to act, the women are creating new morals of modes of conduct. Even though it is not explicitly estimated which mode of acting is the right one, it is strongly indicated. The women might still disagree, but by being confronted by three lists and asked to place themselves, they might consider which are the good and which are the bad ways of acting. In this way, by setting ideals for modes of acting, new notions of normality is created. The women can now try to conduct themselves in order to strive for an imagined ideal type. By using these techniques of self-esteem, a notion of which modes of being and acting ought to be adopted in order to find one's healthy and assertive self and fulfil one's potentials.

The process of generating self-esteem is at the nexus where the subjectivity is linked with power in a very productive manner. Thus it appeals to one's own personal exercise of freedom and the imagination that by gaining self-esteem one will be able to realize the inner quests and desires. As Hee Pedersen writes:

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[202] Hee Pedersen, p. 151, with reference to Anne Dickson: 'A woman in your own right'.
[203] Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 151 - 158
[204] Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 150

"The female socialization teaches us to be dependent of the image reflected in the eyes of the others, and this is damaging our self-esteem. The dependency of this acknowledgement and acceptance from the surroundings is a central mechanism of subordination and oppression of the women, such as the difficulties which the majority of women encounter if we try to create an equilibrium between our own vision and that of others. [...] Being so occupied with listening to the judgements of the others, we ignore our inner voice. Self-esteem is concerned with the capacity of listening to, respecting and caring for this inner voice."[205]

In this way, by finding and respecting our inner capacities and voice, women should be able to fight the surrounding morals and in this way gain autonomy. This presupposes that there is an inner self that is repressed and can be released. This contradicts our approach. The notion of an inner kernel, which is supposedly previous to discourse must be understood like this inner voice or kernel is not inflicted by the surrounding morals. In our understanding of discourse there is no reality previous to discourse, and it is thus not possible to fight dominant regimes of truth by finding an inner voice which is uniquely one's own. When seeking for this 'real' self , when desiring to be fully one self; when seeking to reveal what *is* there, but suppressed, we still subscribe to 'truths' about who we really are. These 'truths' we recast by resorting to experts, to science or to other collectively constructed narratives.

By resorting to self-esteem as a central technique of resisting dominant discourses and aiming to constitute an alternative mode of conduct, gender sensitive development is producing new categories and new moralities. Thus, by rewriting their identities so as not to ascribe to morals conceived to be suppressing, women inscribe themselves into gender sensitive rationalities. Furthermore, by creating these morals in proportion to dominant regimes of truth these contesting categories and moralities function as resistance and contribute to the strengthening of dominant discourses.

Radio production with a gender perspective

The chapter you are now entering focus on the gender sensitive radio production in which the women are practicing what they have learned in the courses, meanwhile contributing with their own creativity, and furthermore the programs are seen as a part of the continuous struggle for emancipation. Through dissemination of feminist epistemes the women hope to be able to contribute to a 'better' society, just as the radio production is an important element in legitimizing continued donor-funding.[206] In this part of the analytical field we also focus on *how* circular processes in the radio-production contribute to formation of subjectivities of female radio-producers. Of *how* modes of being become

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[205] Hee Pedersen, 1997, p. 148
[206] By donor-funding we especially think about the funds CRF have received from KULU. An important thing to bear in mind, is that KULU is predominantly funded by Danida. Danida has throughout the last decade increasingly focused on media and communication strategies as important measures in sustaining democratisation processes in the South

modes of knowing which again become modes of being; *how* ethics function as a foundation for the formation of moralities which again contribute to the formation of ethics. Our outset are some of the articulated experiences which the gender sensitive radio production have generated.

Active citizenship - empowerment through radio transmissions

"It is an emotional sensation to make radio for so many people – in Villa El Salvador. I like the way of working, it is a kind of art – the technique is magic – to be able to say what I want to so many[...]

"We are from Pasame…" –"Why are you sad?"[...] It is related to how your mind is working: What do you have to say to reach your listeners, so people understand you? After half an hour you feel that you can see your listeners. You talk to your own people in Villa El Salvador. It is art, it is magic."[207]

The woman quoted is from the program Pásame la Voz[208]. Expressing how she feels the 'magic' when talking into the microphone, she exemplifies how gender sensitive radio production contributes not only to the subjectivities of the listeners but also to her own self-subjectification. By disseminating information and 'new' categories, creating a 'we', interviewing and objectifying others, acting in the spirit of solidarity, spreading the message - all these practices contribute to the radio-producers' re-writing of themselves and others.

" We are grateful that women like us are heard. We are not educated, but women from La Villa, right? Housewives sewing, cooking and caring for the children. We are not just somebody who cooks; we are worth something, we share our sorrows with other women, for example [the women, ed.] *in the civic restaurants."*[209]

The women from Pásame la Voz find it important to identify themselves with the women they are addressing through the radio. In this way they possibly function as role-models for their female listeners and for the women in their neighborhood. By 'talking like one them', the women in the neighborhood, the female radio-producers seek to contest the experienced limitations imposed by the 'suppressing structures', and thus they open a 'new space' where the female gender identity can be re-evaluated. At the same time, by speaking from within a 'we' and still functioning as potential role-models, the radio-producing women possibly receives respect within the community, and this further contributes to their self-esteem and identity creation.

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[207] Video-interview with Lili, 1993, time code [04:04]

[208] The radio-program 'Pásame la voz' is an outcome of the partnership between KULU and the movement Manuela Ramos. As we explained in the chapter 'Field of intervention' the collaboration concerning radio production between the Peruvian feminists and Danish feminists has a long history. The radio team in Villa El Salvador initiated the transmission of their programs in 1988.

[209] Interview with Lili from Pásame la Voz, 1993, time code [06:00]

"We received compliments. People thought we were tall, white women. They did not picture us as women from La Villa, just like them - from the southern part of Lima. They didn't imagine. [...] They were happy that we were women like them, and they would certainly not accept new speakers. [they said ed.] *"How are they* [new speakers ed.] *to know our realities, our ways of living - we want Pasame".*[210]

And again, through gaining respect and authority, the radio-producers may feel that they can address the women in a more personal manner. According to Wolf:

"The radio has authority, so if somebody says on the radio that you are beautiful, they [the listeners ed.] *actually believe it. They* [the producers, ed.] *have found out by making investigations. The speakers say: "Go to the mirror and look at yourself, smile at yourself and feel that you are beautiful" [...] And then, through surveys on the listeners, people have expressed, that they then got up and said: "Oh, yes, that's right!".*[211]

In this way, working with self-esteem in the gender sensitive radio-production is a circular process. The fact that the producers themselves are living in the neighborhood contributes to the relation between the listeners and the producers. The broadcast is so to speak aimed directly at the neighbours of the producers, it constitutes a certain relation with the listeners, which differs from the commercial radios. We find it relevant to stress, that several of the radio-producers in Villa El Salvador have themselves been active in the women's groups[212] in the area. Thus when they interview women working in the civic kitchens or in other community activities, the interviewers are speaking with women to whom they are closely related, even if the participants in the interview do not know each other from before. The fact that the producers experience similar living conditions as their listeners, makes a difference in the interchange between the producers and the listeners. As stated in an initiating sentence during transmission: *"We are reaching you, you are reaching us."*[213] The program is thus working through the community, and the local foundation contributes to legitimizing and strengthening the acknowledgement of the radio producers. In this sense, the radio producers are not solemnly communicating information and gender sensitive rationalities to the listeners; but the listeners in the community also contribute to the formation of the rationalities disseminated by the radio producers. The program is especially establishing its notion of collectivity through relations to the local women's organizations. This is seen in one of the speaker's greetings to her listeners:

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[210] Interview with Lili from Pásame la Voz, 1993, time code [09:58]
[211] Interview with Karen Wolf, April 2000, time code [29:00]
[212] As mentioned in Field of Intervention there are hundreds of women's groups in Lima and in Villa El Salvador.
[213] Video: Med egen stemme, KULU, 1994,time code [31:18]

"We are sending warm greetings to all the organizations, to the markets, to Vaso de Leche [the milk-distribution committees, ed.] *the mothers' clubs and the pedagogues, who are doing a very important job. And also to our health-educators and to our friends in the women's organization* [FEPOMUVES ed.] *We are sure, that we women continuously will be strong, especially through the organization. Move on, women!"*[214]

In this way the radio producers contribute to the shaping of a collective narrative based on contestation, disseminated among the women in the 'Villa'. This 'we', on one hand takes its outset in local women, local organizations, local struggles and local news, but on the other, it is based on a narrative of common womanhood traversing ethnicities, classes and cultures. One of the women from 'Pasame la Voz' refers to a collective experience of suppression and a common struggle:

"You have to go on struggling for change. We must not go on like this - we must not become conform. And not only in Lima, but also in the provinces. The villages in the most isolated areas of the country. There are a lot of marginalized and maltreated women. We can do a lot. It is worth a lot. There are still undiscovered places. Feminism must not be centralized, but must be spread out at a global level, cooperating with women we still don't know and with those who already knows it. Ask them for support, then it will continue to exist. So it doesn't rest at this level. We have to go on fighting."[215]

Again, by creating a collective narrative, possibly supplemented, reinforced and intertwined with local narratives, but still totalizing in that it generalizes on a social and global level, the radio-producers build up a 'truth' which becomes naturalized and furthermore a 'truth' into which women can inscribe themselves. Still, as mentioned before, it is important to bear in mind, that this 'truth', this narrative of collective womanhood, is a contestation seeking to break with dominant gender norms, encompassing female scopes of action. Thus, gender sensitive radio-production contributes to the radio-producers' re-writing of their gendered identities and furthermore it conduces to shaping clusters of patterns of action. The radio-producers are moulding their own subjectivities meanwhile they are seeking to promulgate a collective narrative based on a telos of a social common good; the ideal of a society based on equal rights between equal citizens.

Radio as a technique - programs with gender sensitive developmental perspectives
Approaching gender sensitive radio-production as a main development-strategy, KULU high-lights *local* gender sensitive radio-production as a central and efficient strategy for the women's movements to influence 'public opinion'. The potential of the radio-media in gender-sensitive development is according to KULU, that the media could contribute to

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[214] Video: Med egen stemme, KULU, 1994, time code [29:55]
[215] Interview with Lili from Pásame la Voz, 1993, time code [30:00]

changing the stereotyped gender-roles and furthermore contest patriarchal suppression. KULU furthermore finds local radio-production based upon communication strategies about gender sensitive development, productive as an empowerment tool to make women gain self-esteem; thus KULU seeks to raise money to fund and support this type of communication projects.[216] KULU perceives the radio as an effective tool in the strategy of the women's movement to create change through the enlightenment and awareness about gender inequalities. They furthermore stress that there are many reasons for supporting radio programs like these that are valuable in projects aimed at sustaining gender awareness, e.g.:

"In this way we perceive of the programs as a part of this movement to create changes in the unequal relationship between the sexes, and at the same time it is a media of communication, which has an intern function in the women's movement and an extern function directed at the civil society."[217]

Suggesting a list of features characterizing gender-sensitive radio-production, KULU e.g. high-lights radio production as a way to reach people in isolated areas, to reach low-income and poor people, to reach both women and men, etc. In an evaluation report KULU furthermore explains **:**

"The radio is a media which in most places has a lot of authority in the local community. People consider, that what they hear on the radio, has a high truth value . Among other things, this is due to the fact that they have a possibility of listening to different opinions on the radio, and that there are 'ordinary' people, expressing themselves. That is why the radio is also suitable for discussing men's and women's attitudes to the opposite sex"[218]

Or,

"... it [the radio ed.] *can create public consciousness of the inequalities between men and women by creating knowledge about women's rights; by making visible their activities; by valuing female values, which are being undervalued by the patriarchal society; by encouraging the creation of common field of interests between different groups of women*[...].*"* [219]

What KULU does here, is that they through objectification, forms a certain truth of subordinate individuals who have to reclaim their rights through gender-sensitive radio programs; However, in spite of this need of women to reclaim their rights, based upon a

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[216] 'En køn udvikling' by KULU, 1999
[217] Evaluation report, 1999, p. 12
[218] 'En køn udvikling' by KULU, 1999, p.31
[219] Evaluation report, KULU, 1999, p. 3

feminist contestation, the utilizing of discursive categories and taxonomies with their emanating effects, becomes a strengthening of existing discourses: Of female values vs. the patriarchal society and of women's rights vs. men's rights. However the questions remain; How is it possible to define *female values* and how can you speak of *women's rights* separated from the very context in which the women are practicing their lives? We find that the crucial point here is the danger of articulating women's interests as a naturalized *common field of interests* and thus as something essential for womanhood.

Creating 'space' for self-creation

Taking an outset in resistance as linked to the practices of self-creation, we found within the case an interesting section in a report[220], evaluating points of how ideas and notions of emancipation are practiced. The consultants from KULU are questioning, discussing and criticizing the way radio producers in different manners are subscribing to moralities stemming from the commercial radio stations from where they broadcast; of their own collectively constructed notions of what good radio production is about. The authors of the report present their objective as; *"We do not have the answers. We can only help by contributing with a critical point of view to the collective construction."*[221] They stress, that the concepts of the gender-sensitive radio-production are concepts that constantly have to be in a position of re-definition. Thus, the evaluation-report points to certain themes of interests. One of them is the striving of many of the programs for a more stream-lined profile, e.g. a coherence in style in order to create a unity between all elements of the programs; in order to shape a more 'professional' image. The authors of the report problematize this, by stating that the point of reference for e.g. 'Pásame la Voz' seems to be the commercial radios. By questioning the exclusion of 'other' cultural values, 'other' idioms, 'other' modes of expression, the report calls for a broader representation which could be a way to express the richness in modes of being 'a woman in Lima'.

Another theme problematized by the KULU consultants is the relation between the content and the creation of the program. Many of the female radio producers are, according to the authors of the report, not reflecting in which ways the creation in itself contributes to the content of a program. The authors problematize how regimes of truth are embedded in language, in journalistic genres and in radio-phonic strategies, and how it is important to be aware of *what* this means to transmission. They stress, that *"[…] to create a 'counter-culture' demands special strength to experiment […]."*[222] Before elaborating further on the problematizations, let us bring in a third point regarding the professional creation of the programs. Good quality in the programs is often understood as professional quality,

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[220] Produced by representatives from KULU
[221] Evaluation report, KULU, 1999 p. 25
[222] Evaluation Report, KULU, 1999, p. 26

which again is often associated with the 'styles' adopted by the popular programs at a national level. Again, the authors of the report do not propose solutions, but questions such as:

"Do the female speakers experiment with masculinity in their voice? Do they feel more legitimacy and acknowledgement if they talk of subjects from the so-called public world? What is conceived as news? [...] How do the subjective, emotional and professional words fit together? To evaluate quality in a program; what is then used as points of reference?"[223]

Problematizing themes of what has become naturalized and de-politicized, and in this way what contributes implicitly and explicitly to the creation of programs, the report is seeking to question the gender-sensitive development epistemes and practices in gender-sensitive radio-production. By not proposing better ways, but rather by posing questions for debate, we find interesting elements in these considerations in the evaluation report. The formation of a 'space', in which participating women can reflect upon themselves, the report emphasizes the concern with ethics. According to Pickett;

"Through practical engagement it is possible to work upon the self, and to create more 'space' for self-creation apart from the political world.[...] disconnecting ethics from the state or the juridical realm, and instead leaving it up to the individual subject."[224]

The authors of the report seek to conduce to the creation of this 'space' of female radio-producers' self-creation. By pointing out issues which have become naturalized and de-politicized, the KULU consultants thus contribute to 'liberating' ethics from the regimes of truth embedded in the epistemes and practices enframing the radio-project. However, we find it crucial to stress, that it is a way to resort to moralities as well, meaning that the mode of pointing out dangers, the dangers chosen and those not chosen etc. are in themselves reflecting moralities. Referring to the processes as government in the name of freedom, and recasting their struggle as based upon the repressive hypothesis and totalizing moralities, we find elements in the gender-sensitive radio-production with potential for creating 'space' for the women's self-creation.

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[223] Evaluation Report, KULU, 1999, p. 28
[224] Pickett, 1996, p. 462.

The programs - Transmission of gender sensitive rationalities

Having presented some of KULU's objectifications and the regimes of truth they resort to, we now return to the gender-sensitive radio-programs in Lima, based on similar feminist rationalities. One of the radio-women from Flora Tristan says:

"Knowledge is like a weapon, through which women become familiar with what happens around the country. In this manner she can take a stand, and avoid manipulation. Only in this way, a woman can become an equal citizen".[225]

We find this expression very interesting due to the connection the woman makes between an empowered woman and a participating citizen. That by providing women with knowledge and thereby empowering them, they gain the possibility to become equal participating citizens. Thus in this statement we see, how a particular understanding takes an outset in a perception of knowledge as a kind of salvation and knowledge as a transferable substance to be immediately adopted by the individual receiving it. This understanding thus contradicts our understanding, as we find that all individuals will recast information according to their subjectivities. In other words, if manipulation should be avoided by directly transferring 'valuable' knowledge, then this knowledge must be seen as isolated and excluded from power-relations; as a kind of pure and untouched knowledge, just as the individual subjectivity is overruled and the person would function as an open book for the provider to write into. We find, that this is impossible, but nevertheless it is a perception which is very dominant, also within gender sensitive development discourses. In our understanding the risk of this perception is, that empowerment and emancipation become naturalized entities, due to the perception of the existence of neutral and untouched facilitators transmitting 'clean knowledge' into open 'books'. Mediators who themselves supposedly should be outside power-relations guiding the members of the flock in a direction towards a better future with equal participation.

The above quotation furthermore reflects the perception, that people must be educated and informed in order to be able to practice their freedom as citizens with legal rights. Thus, the quoted woman, even with all her 'good and sincere intentions' is in a way overruling other women's subjectivities, and she is thereby ascribing to power as something diffusable and possessable. This furthermore indicates that these 'ignorant others' do not possess sufficient knowledge and power to practice a 'good' life, hence they are in lack of the ' right knowledge' to defend themselves from being manipulated. Thus according to our approach we find that she does not take into consideration that we exercise power in all human relations even though the extent of influence differs according to different subject-positions.

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[225] Video-tape, KULU, 1993 time code [19:18]

Some of the sequences disseminated in the program Pasame la Voz are:

"The Southern Satellite"
Information about activities in the district, Southern Lima, through direct telephone interviews with public institutions, organizations and companies, promoting their services.

"In Confidence"
A professional consultation program, dealing with pediatric advice, general medical questions, gynecology, psychology, juridical advice and other themes proposed by the listeners.

"Grandmother Ruperta"
She includes experiences from her whole life, funny and teasing in a modern and entertaining form. Racism, violence and male-chauvinism are themes, which are considered critically by the Grandmother.

"It's not Forbidden"
Treats the theme of sexuality, predominantly aimed at young people to encourage their participation. Interviews from high schools performed with flexibility, spontaneity and in a funny ambience.[226]

This tells us that the women in the radio team are moving on many levels, and aim at broadcasting gender-sensitive themes to all categories of the population in the area. This means both men and women. They are in the sequences resorting to all kinds of experts within their field. Even the listeners are included as experts within their respective domains. The radio-team is moving around in clusters of society, and aiming their information at different segments. They are combining different aspects of life and resorting to different modes of communication. Besides providing their listeners with 'facts' they are making the 'private political' and the 'political private'. This is as mentioned one of the aims of the gender sensitive approach. On this basis they are able to get their listeners' attention and open up for participation in a variety of areas. This is important in order to influence the conduct of conduct; to reach the listeners subjectivities. However, we are obviously not in a position to explain what the listeners are experiencing. But what we can say, is that the counseling program is especially popular, according to one of the producers who states: "*According to a survey on the listeners, there is an enormous interest for counseling. It is very popular to listen to the statements of experts*". [227] And professionals working in Villa El Salvador do also stress, that they have benefited from their possibilities to participate in local gender sensitive radio transmission, as explained by one of the experts, a psychologist: "*Working with sexuality and women*

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[226] Evaluation report, KULU 1999, p. 64
[227] Video-tape, KULU, 1993 time code [34:05]

realizing themselves has been very difficult in Villa El Salvador. Psychologists have a bad image. The radio has helped me and opened a lot of doors."[228]

As we have already elaborated on the theme of sexuality, we will continue to another important theme.

<u>Modern radio production</u>

A lawyer explains how the radio as a technique has had effects; how modes of knowing have become modes of being: *"Women started coming to my office, asking for advice concerning issues like violence and women's rights. They had heard about it through the radio, and would like to know more or receive juridical help. Through the radio, they can pick up these messages. The number of consultations especially concerning divorce have increased due to the motivation from radio-programs".[229]* Thus the listeners in question are recasting the proposed epistemes presented through the radio, i.e. they are acting upon their subjectivities, and furthermore they are not only 'performing' in the thought space but also in the experienced room. The radio has in one way or another made them aware and responsive about their rights as equal citizens. Thus, the effect of the radio-programs, making use of professional consultations, has evidently mobilized women (and possibly men) in their fight for formal rights.

We are moving into the Shepherd-flock/city-citizen game. The combination of the care of the self with the government of populations makes up a complex set of relations. As Dean States:

" [...] human beings are regarded as both self-governing citizens and members of the flock who are governed, members of a self-governing political community and members of the governed population."[230] Thus, through the gender sensitive radio transmission, citizens from a self-governing political community (women in la Villa[231]) are acting upon themselves, claiming their rights as members of the flock (women in Peru). Thus when the self-governing citizens act upon themselves in their quest for emancipation, they are crossing the line between subjectivity and subjection and thereby they subject themselves and align their personal goals with those set out by reformers - both experts and activists - according to some notion of the social good. Thus freedom as a formula of power (feminist epistemes disseminated through the radio) meets freedom as a formula of resistance (the woman claiming her rights is acting upon governance as resistance). This brings us into the conduct of conduct, which is not only understood as the governmental purpose of conducting the behavior and inner discipline of the others, but also as the actions of the individuals behaving in certain manners according to their own subjective

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[228] Evaluation report, KULU 1999, p. 42
[229] Evaluation report, KULU, 1999, p.42
[230] Dean 1994, p. 185
[231] Villa El Salvador is as mentioned organised in a vivid cluster of various women's movements.

recast of the regimes of truth, here based on feminist rationalities disseminated through radio.

Furthermore: *"It is worth noticing* [a radio producer says ed.] *that before, women were taking advice from priests, as opposed to today where they prefer expert-advice"*[232]

When we recast this quotation, it shows us that the radio producer finds that the religious regimes of truth is diluted by scientific narratives claiming to speak the truth. Here we find that it would be a shame not bringing in more explicitly bring in the concept of modernity. Following Foucault's two tracks back in time, one leads us to the conception of political power exercised in the self-governing community in ancient Greece, whereas the other leads us to the pastoral techniques of government in early Christianity. Having completely different origins they meet in the modern welfare state, the geo-political set up called Peru. Their intertwinement in a whole set of relations, of which we have presented a miniscule amount, makes up the foundation of conceptions of power in Peru. The on-going process of this intertwinement of a whole set of relations which have carried us into modernity, is also what Foucault calls the governmentalization of the state. A state which no longer essentially consists of the territory, but is defined by the mass of its population with its volume and density. And as Rose states *"The exercise of modern forms of political power has become intrinsically linked to a knowledge of human subjectivity."*[233] Summing up, one of the crucial governmental issues in modernity is the *how to know* human subjectivity, and *how* we as subjects subscribe to dominant narratives conceived to be speaking the truth, and furthermore *how* we act upon these. Thus, the above quotations related to gender-sensitive radio production and its effects, do not indicate, that people are no longer religious, but rather that the confessional techniques and the clusters of truth-telling today is predominantly based on scientific narratives, resorting to knowledge about the population, and practiced in the game of (self) governance.

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[232] Video 'Med egen stemme', 1993 time code [33:40]
[233] Rose 1997, p. 117

7. Reflections on questions A and B

A) How are current representations of women in Colectivo Radial Feminista (CRF) influenced by and related to gender-sensitive development discourses and practices, with a special emphasis on those presented by KULU?

B) How are these discourses recast as part of the self-subjectification of the female radio-producers?

Having studied technologies and techniques in *how* gender-sensitive epistemes contribute to the formation of radio-producing female subjectivities, and in order to propose an answer to our question A and B in our problem-formulation. we now elaborate these processes in a broader light of modernity, freedom and resistance. We sum up on the processes of government and modes of resistance we have unfolded during our analysis and open a discussion of the perspectives of resistance in feminist movements involved in radio production in Lima.

Governance in the name of freedom
The struggle of the feminists in CRF as we have studied it in the case is operating in the meeting of the city-citizen game and the shepherd-flock game. When creating a narrative of shared womanhood both in the radio and the courses, the women become members of a population which is no longer only the sum of its inhabitants. They are members of a population to be measured and analysed; a population which feminist movements gain knowledge of and seek to govern for the common social good. When guiding the women to express their own subjective experiences, guiding them to re-evaluate their own modes of acting, seeking to know their inner self and desire, supervising them in how to gain self-esteem, guiding them in how to perceive of their looks and their vulva, the educators become shepherds concerned with every member of the flock and caring for their well-being and salvation. When articulating a narrative of shared womanhood, contributing to the creation of a narrative of suppression and a common struggle for a better society, gaining knowledge through developing statistics of the female share in high positions in society, the educators become shepherds concerned for the flock as a whole, gathering it and guiding it.
They become shepherds concerned with the well-being and emancipation for each woman and all Womanhood.

At the same time, by producing radio, gaining self-esteem and struggling for a better society, the women become citizens in the city-citizen game. They are part of a sisterhood of free citizens in a society, which is subject to its own makings. They have the rights to control their own bodies, and they are free. Free to the extent that they are gaining self-esteem, controlling their own bodies, participating and becoming empowered; to the extent

that they contribute to the well-being of the city. Hence the interest in being active citizens and in taking part in the struggle for a better society; of doing good for the city, is one of self-interest. Participation takes its outset in the women's desire for a better life, for self-esteem, for emancipation, for being free. Their relations to each other and those who 'rule' are those of solidarity between free, equal citizens.

Thus, feminism in our case is an art of government in the meeting point of these two poles of bio-power. The feminist struggle is functioning in the intertwinement between the city-citizen and the shepherd-flock game of modernity. The women are considered as both members of the governed flock and as free, self-governing citizens, as members of a governed population and as members of a self-governing political unity.

This combination forms a complex set of relations. Practices stemming from the epistemes of feminism as they are practiced in the case, is on the one hand taking their outset in the creation of other knowledges of womanhood, other categories and other morals. On the other they are taking their outset in the individual woman, her situation, her subjective experiences of suppression and her desires. The way the individual woman conceive of herself and her life is motivated into these gender-sensitive discourses, these morals and objectifications of feminist epistemes, through governmental technologies and techniques. Thus, the practices unfolded in our analysis are contributing to the demonisation of society. They shape invisible power-relations in that they shape *"subjective experiences that we nevertheless believe are uniquely our own."*[234] Feminism is in our case functioning as an art of government – of government in the name of freedom.

Resistance

Throughout the case, the women's movements are using expert knowledge and truth as a weapon to fight power. A quotation already used during our analysis formulates very clearly what seems as the main strategy in the modes of struggle treated in our analysis: *"Knowledge is like a weapon […]. In this manner she can take a stand and avoid manipulation. Only in this way can a woman become an equal citizen".*[235] During the courses exemplified in the first part of our analysis we unfold how the participants in order to break with their 'manipulated' gender identities are offered the weapon of 'truth'. The women are telling the 'truth' about sexist experiences in their childhood. They are told the scientific 'truth' about masturbation in order to fight 'myths'. They are confronted with listings of 'healthy' and 'problematic' attitudes. To fight 'manipulation', according to Hee Pedersen, you have to sit down and learn something new. And during the courses women are provided with tools to re-mould their 'manipulated' identities so as to find an identity previous to power that was always there, but suppressed. They are asked to complete the sentence *"I have now become aware of…"*, to express which powers, 'truths' have helped them to see and to avoid. In this way, by fighting power with 'truth', they will be free:

[234] Dean, 1994, p. 185.
[235] Video: Med egen Stemme, KULU, [0.19.18], 1993

"[…] the object of education is that women can reach an awareness of being able to be independent in all areas of life [...]."[236]

As it should be clear by now, we do not state, that the educators conceive of what they do as governance. Taking the statements brought in during this assignment as face value we believe the educators are seeking to 'help' the female participants by revealing the 'truth' about their suppression, their potentials, their value, their bodies, their sex, their sexuality, their pleasure and pain, so that they in this way can be free from 'manipulation'. In this way, by seeking to fight power with 'truth', they are inscribing themselves into the repressive hypothesis, and hence they are also contributing to the strengthening of the narratives and modalities they oppose. Any new system based upon Reason, Truth or Humanity; on any totalizing and universalizing conception of what is the right to do, to know and to be, will have similar effects of exclusion[237]. Gender-sensitive development discourses and practices seek to oppose the current law by proposing another; to oppose current regimes of truth by constructing 'Others'. Thus, meanwhile resisting the feminist epistemes and practices are strengthening dominant discourses. This is explained very precisely by Pickett:

"If we are the products of modern power, then all of our behaviors, gestures, and thoughts, draw upon our norms and moral codes to place limits upon what forms resistance and self-creation can take, we will actually be entrapping ourselves in the very system we are trying to escape because it will be rebellion in the name of ideals drawn from modern power." [238]

De-politicizing

This main strategy of fighting power with 'truth' we have also found in the practices of the gender-sensitive radio production within our field of analysis. The radio is seen as a tool to enlighten people. Communicating scientific narratives provides people with:

"[…] some concrete information, which assists you to get a better position, because you know your rights; you know where to go, right? You learn about childcare [...] you get some practical advice, which makes you change your ways of acting in one way or another, and you stand stronger."[239]

By founding their struggle in 'truth' as a weapon to fight power, feminist movements in Lima are naturalizing their epistemes. Their constructed morals are de-politicized and appear as if they were outside power-relations. Hence, the 'truths' presented during the

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[236] Self-esteem in Focus, KULU, 1995, p. 4.
[237] Pickett, 1996, p. 450.
[238] Pickett, 1996, p. 465
[239] Interview with Karen Wolf, April 2000

courses and the supervision in radio-production are de-politicized. This naturalization and de-politicization of morals and regimes of truth leaves the gender-sensitive epistemes and practices in Lima dangerous[240] in that it leaves little space for the self-creation of the ethics of the women instructed and supervised. When resisting those morals set up by dominant, suppressive regimes of truth, the women do it by seeking to create their lives according to their 'nature'; that is, according to what they *really* are. And what they *really* are must take an outset in the notion of a reality of their selves previous to discourse; they resort to 'truths' of what they are. And in this way, seeking to be free of suppressing moralities to create their own lives, they are nevertheless inscribing themselves into other moralities. The epistemes and practices of feminist movements in Lima unfolded in our analysis focus on discovering what we are/not; to gain knowledge of the nature of women, and in this way they are taking their outset in totalizing moralities. We stress, that even though the gender-sensitive rationalities treated in our analysis are practiced in contestation, they are embedded in yet another set of totalising, naturalized, de-politicized moralities entangled in dominant regimes of truth related to gender-sensitive development discourses and practices.

Freedom to choose between discourses

The movements working with epistemes and processes of gender-sensitive radio programs and courses in Lima are basing their struggle on governance in the name of freedom and are resisting by taking their outset in the repressive hypothesis. How then, can they contribute to the creation of a 'space' for the female radio-producers' self-creation? If freedom is to be able to choose between discourses, and if these epistemes and practices are taking their outset in 'truths' and totalising moralities; how then, can they contribute to the 'freedom' of these radio-producing women?

Here it is important to note that the formation of female subjectivities in Villa el Salvador or anywhere else were and are never previous to discourse and never shaped independent of moralities and objectifications. Before even joining the gender-sensitive movements these women were inscribing themselves into moralities and objectifications set up by various regimes of truth – morals and 'truths' that has become naturalized and de-politicized and which are thus somehow 'highly dangerous'. Presented with gender-sensitive epistemes and practices, even though these are indeed likewise based on totalizing moralities and 'truths', the women are still free to inscribe themselves or not, and to recast in various ways. And by re-politicizing and de-naturalizing some of those moralities and 'truths' imbedded in dominant regimes of truth, the female radio producers can re-evaluate some of the ways in which these moralities and 'truths' are contributing to the formation of their ethics. Even though likewise totalizing, we do find, that the gender-sensitive epistemes and practices, by offering other moralities and 'truths', by offering other discourses to choose from, leave the women a little more 'free'. Not free from

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[240] Pickett, 1996, p. 453.

moralities; this they will never be, but a little more free to choose between them. Gender-sensitive epistemes and practices still contributes to the creation of 'space' for the women's self-creation, and this is why we after all consider, that maybe it could be *less* dangerous for the women to participate in the feminist movements than *not*.

8. Supporting political action, Question C

At this stage of our assignment we have now reached the question C in our problem-formulation, where we as mentioned will 'dig' into the following: How can we as female knowledge producers take a stance in the 'what to do' about the regimes of truth we are caught in, in relation to dominant gender-norms. Can we change dominant epistemes? Is it possible epistemologically to produce a more flexible gender-fiction without becoming messed up in the repressive hypothesis? Thus, this chapter is our 'room' to more explicitly expose our morals, our doubts, our ethical considerations and furthermore reflect our position as gendered women and students of International Development Studies navigating in this complex and sensitive grid of intelligibility.

Through writing this assignment we have been confronted with some rather emotional issues. Touching upon 'sincere' solidarity and 'best' intentions around a struggle trying to fight what we consider problematic societal matters, such as domestic violence, rape and illegal abortions, it has indeed within our moral understanding been difficult. That is, by denaturalizing truths about pain, pleasure and ideals we have at certain moments in our writing process felt almost paralyzed by the lack of solutions to problems: The awareness, that we within this approach are not to suggest solutions to problems (moralize!) but to remain within the realms of problematizing practices, has been difficult for us to accept. However, we have all to certain extents become intoxicated with our operationalized methodology. I.e. by undergoing the analysis you have just read, in which we have investigated the techniques and technologies used in a 'noble cause', we have ourselves been confronted with the how of a 'social experiment' which we ourselves probably could have been a part of, but now at various levels find rather problematic. Our ethics have been trembling! But, and this is the big BUT, we will however not stop here. We have come to be aware, that certain readings and perceptions of Foucault result in paralysis, e.g. people withdrawing from idealistic engagement and political activity. This is not the way we have chosen to recast the messages of Foucault & Co. On the contrary! But, and here we stress, we are not calling for a re-engagement in solidaric activity and party-politics, as our focus is elsewhere.

In order to discuss, how to support an 'emancipatory' political action at an epistemological level, we need to resort to experimental modes of knowing in the *thought space*. But before that let us elaborate on how we understand 'emancipatory' political action. We link the epistemological 'emancipatory' political action to the individual and turn it around within our reflections on ethics[241], and the how of our ethics? As Foucault is quoted in *"On the genealogy of ethics"*, he refers to classical ethics as different from modern ethics; he states, that the classical care of the self has by means of new techniques and

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[241] Ethics as the relationship one has to one-self.

technologies been incorporated in institutional practises and in this manner the subject lost a large part of its autonomy. This autonomy is of our utmost interest. How did we throughout Modernity loose a large part of our autonomy? And did we loose it? An ethics based on *"a choice about existence made by the individual."* Or in other words, the right to exercise our being as a self-forming activity.

It is from this epistemological level we intend to go normative, but as Butler we perceive: *"[...] the term 'normative' also pertains to ethical justification, how it is established, and what concrete consequences proceeds therefrom."*[242] But how can we refer to this as a political action? As taking care of the self requires knowledge, we find that the 'we *are* free to choose between discourses' is linked to an awareness of this as an epistemological choice. Furthermore, while demonstrating how our present ethics is elaborated through scientific knowledge about the self, whereas the classical care of the self was independent or separated from any social system, Foucault wants to reveal the essentialist idea of a connection between ethics and other societal structures, and simultaneously the conditions are set for a practice of freedom to take shape in an ethos that is *'good and beautiful'*. Thus the political action implies that we experiment with our modes of knowing (and modes of being in the *experienced room*) and furthermore make these experiments accessible. In this sense it could be argued that instead of making an enormous effort in unveiling the moral shortcomings of certain scientists in order to separate the 'good ones' from the 'bad ones' – it would be more relevant to inquire about the 'nature' of scientific practice itself, upon which we base most of our regimes of truth, just as a large part of our ethics.

Practicing experimental knowledges and beings
What we have aimed at in our analysis is to depict a slice of the Peruvian feminist emancipatory struggle; a slice of that which is. Throughout the analysis we have not positioned this gendered developmental action neither on the good side, nor on the bad side. Nevertheless, we now intend to problematize the technologies and the techniques of the self presented in the analysis by introducing other epistemological ways.

"Where feminism remains committed to the project of knowing women, of making women objects of knowledge, without in turn submitting the position of the knower or subjects of knowledge to a reorganisation, it remains as problematic as the knowledges it attempts to supplement or replace."[243]

Or,

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[242] Butler 1999, p. xx.
[243] Grosz, 199x, p. 149.

"The mobilisation of identity categories for the purposes of politicization always remain threatened by the prospects of identity becoming an instrument of the power one opposes".[244]

What Grosz and Butler refer to in these contexts is in our understanding the notion of the repressive hypothesis which intertwines dominant discourse and resisting counter discourse; this we have elaborated in our analysis. Referring to feminism as a counter-discourse, Butler stresses that the juridical formation of language and politics which represents women as 'the subject' of feminism is in itself an effect of dominant gender discourse; that is a given counter version of representational politics. In this sense Butler states, that feminism operates with the same rationalities as it seeks to undermine and furthermore she states that the premature insistence on a stable subject of feminism inevitably generates multiple refusals to accept the category. *"These domains of exclusion reveal the coercive and regulatory consequences of the construction, even when the construction has been elaborated for emancipatory purposes."[245]* We can in accordance with Butler conclude that the political task of problematizing gender is not to deny dominant discourses as the risk is, that it becomes an instrument of the power one opposes.

The language and politics constituting feminism is thus at the same time constituting the contemporary field of power: *" [...] there is no position outside this field, but only a critical genealogy of its own legitimating practices."[246]* Butler finds it necessary within feminist political practices to radically rethink the ontological construction of identity in order to revive feminism on other grounds. This includes 'liberating' feminist theory from constructing one single category on behalf of which it speaks and acts, and at the same time 'liberating' it from its exclusionary practices. To Butler, a feminist genealogy of the category of women is to trace the political operations that produce and conceal what constitutes the subject of feminism. To Butler the paradox of feminism, is that 'representation' will only make sense for feminism when the subject of 'women' is nowhere presumed.[247] This means, that in order for feminism to work, a collective fantasy, or fiction has to be created. She is problematizing this by asking: *"Is 'unity' necessary for effective political action?"[248]* Butler proposes, that coalitional politics require neither an expanded category of 'women', nor an internally multiplicitous self that offers its complexity at once. However, coalitional politics, defined as political efforts that do not presuppose what 'women' are[249], is not her answer to the question of 'necessary unity'.

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[244] Butler, 1999, p.xxvi
[245] Butler 1999, p.7
[246] Butler, 1999, p.8
[247] Butler 1999, p.9
[248] Butler 1999, p.21
[249] Butler 1999, p.20

Nevertheless, she does suggest that an open coalition is possible if it *"[…] permits that of multiple convergences without obedience to a normative telos of definitional closure."*[250]

Bringing in de Lauretis, problematizing the conflict between 'woman' as a fictional construction and 'woman' as *real historical beings* she is trying to re-conceptualize 'woman'. According to Alcoff's reading of de Lauretis, her main thesis is that subjectivity is constructed through an on-going process constantly renewed and confronted through its interaction with the surrounding world; this she calls *experience*. Subjectivity is thus produced by the individual's practices, discourses and institutions which give meaning, value and affect in the subject's meeting with her surroundings. Subjectivity is thus not an outcome of external ideas, values, or material causes. The interrelation where the individual gets the experiences also becomes the process of 'engendering' identity. However, this statement calls for a more explicit formulation if the argumentation is not to be positioned and misplaced within existing dominant discourses. De Lauretis emphasises that essentialist feminism is constrained in its conceptualisation of female subjectivity distinguished from the male subjectivity because of a fundamental confidence in the core of biology. *" This appears to produce a dilemma, for if we de-gender subjectivity we are committed to a generic subject and thus undercut feminism, while on the other hand if we define the subject in terms of gender, articulating female subjectivity in a space clearly distinct from male subjectivity, then we become caught up in an oppositional dichotomy controlled by misogynist discourse".*[251] This dilemma, nevertheless, does not bring de Lauretis to a feminist concept of subjectivity, nor does she resort to the gender-less concept of a generic human subject. In her attempt she intends to develop a new concept, a way out of this dilemma by focusing on subjectivity as experiences defined as a complexity of practices steaming from subject's interaction in her 'outer' and 'inner' world. As she states: *"[…] the continuos engagement of a self or subject in [the subject's, ed.] social reality."*[252] De Lauretis finds that all subjects categorized as women are within this power relation, the outer and the inner world, and that all women *"[…] can (and do) think about, criticize, and alter discourse and, thus, that subjectivity can be reconstructed through the process of reflective practice."* [253] Even though we are aware that de Lauretis sustains a dichotomy between 'the outer' and 'the inner world' which is not in accordance to our approach, we find her quite useful when we translate these 'worlds' into morals and ethics. Thus, the bargaining of gendered subjectivity is in this sense taking place in a fluid interaction in constant motion and open to alteration by self-analyzing practices intertwined in morals and ethics.

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[250] Butler 1999, p.22
[251] Nicholson 1997, Alcoff p.342
[252] Nicholson 1997, Alcoff p. 342
[253] Nicholson 1997, Alcoff p. 343

Taking an out-set in queer theory, Elizabeth Grosz is focusing on rethinking sexual politics and specifically looking at the rather 'old-fashioned' concepts of gay and lesbian sexualities, oppression and identity. In attempting to expose systems of oppression, Grosz stresses as her goal the understanding of the inflections any particular category must undergo when it is coupled with or related to other categories. But contrary to post-structuralist approaches, which seek to de-naturalize and de-conceptualize sexual 'identity', Grosz intents to rewrite and reclaim these identities and subjectivities. The reason for her intention of rewriting is that she refuses *"to give up terms, ideas, and strategies that still work, whose potentialities have still not been explored".[254]* In her intention to recast formulations she emphasizes that the notion of power, as put forward by Foucault, is clearly linked to subordinate positions. However, the notion of subordination has to be considered as very sophisticated: *"It has taught us that those who are assigned inferior social values are not automatically made passive and compliant victims or sufferers; those occupying subordinate social positions cannot be stripped of all capacities and all modes of resistance".[255]* Thus, resistance produces its own counter-strategies. Speaking from reformulating and expanding queer theory, Grosz suggests counter-strategies against the norms of heterosexuality as strategies of experimenting new concepts of sexualities outside the sphere of sexual 'normalities'. This is however not to be understood as a naive return to a 1960s-style polysexualism:

"Rather it is a refusal to link sexual pleasure with the struggle of freedom, a refusal to validate sexuality in terms of a greater cause or a higher purpose (whether political, spiritual or reproductive); it represents a desire to enjoy, to experiment, to make pleasure for its own sake, for where it takes us, for how it changes us and makes us, to see it as one, but not the only, trajectory or direction in the lives of sexed bodies".[256]

Or,

" […] there is no position outside this field, but only a critical genealogy of its own legitimating practices."[257]

Summing up, Butler's notion of open coalitional politics allowing multiplicity of convergences with no defined normative telos and her call for genealogies on dominant gender-related legitimating practices, De Lauretis' notion of subjectivity re-constructed through the process of reflective practice, and Grosz' counter-strategies as experimenting with new concepts of sexual practices we find that we are able to circumscribe a field of 'emancipatory' action. By converging the three proposals we find a 'room' for sustaining

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[254] Grosz 19XX, p.134
[255] Grosz 19xx. P. 137
[256] Grosz 199XX, p. 153
[257] Butler, 1999, p.8

individual self-creation in which the kind of relation one has to one-self, could be left more to the individual. In this way other forms of subjectivities based on self-defined interests are made possible, other identities which challenge the dominant discourse(s).[258] Thus, space for 'life as a piece of art' is unfolded. I.e. the how to live a beautiful life without enforcing any institutional structuring. Foucault states:

"Freedom is the ontological condition of ethics. But ethics is the considered form that freedom takes when it is informed by reflection".[259]

Staying inside the thought space, and resorting to the three theoreticians we find very inspiring, we would like to support political action as an experimental understanding of subjectivity as discontinuous. We thereby reject the notion of essentialism completely, and the gender (science) fictions then become re-writable based on individual experimenting with life. As Foucault says: *"The genealogist/new intellectual should use history to introduce "discontinuity into our very being" and thereby deprive us of the traditional grounds of "reassuring stability" and its concomitant blindness."*[260] In other words, and still staying with Foucault, we should not propose the ideal to the real, but the real to the real. That is, science as discursive regimes of truth can no longer proclaim to speak the truth. However, this does not mean that we do not take peoples' experience seriously. We find that rape, illegal abortions and domestic violence to mention some, are indeed very real to the people experiencing it, but we are just not in a position to make universal 'truths' about it. Thus turning to the case we have analyzed, the feminist epistemes, are epistemologically problematic as long as they are resting on notions of essentialism and furthermore proclaiming to be true and universal.

But, and this is when we continue into a slightly different realm, that of the experienced room. According to Foucault, a genealogy of the body is a certain kind of strategic knowledge. *"A construction of an account of the body and its history, which embedded in power/knowledge, especially in the form of universal theories, frequently subjugates this history."*[261] It is the kind of strategic knowledge about the body as a field of intervention, an object of knowledge and forms of power shaped through history. Referring to our denomination of identity as a convergence of sex, sexuality and gender embedded in the body, we find that this is where the experienced room meets the thought space. Thus our body could also be considered an ethical performance. A fictional mortal frame in which we are 'caught'. But can we get beyond the regimes of truth in which we are caught?

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[258] Pickett, 1996, p.462
[259] Foucault in Pickett, 1996, p.284.
[260] Foucault in Pickett 1996, p. 454
[261] Foucault in Pickett 1996, p. 460

We find that in order for us to practice freedom on an ethical epistemological level we have to resort to the body as our personal stage from where we perform. In this sense epistemology cannot be separated from ontology, modes of knowing cannot be separated from modes of being. Retrospectively we bring back our short stories on *'Nancy'* and *'The boys from Mexico City'*. These existences are performing their beings within their mortal frames and they show us that is possible to re-mould your gender-identity according to a choice of who you have decided to be/come, based on ethical considerations. In this sense they have crossed the norms of heterosexuality as an ideal and found their own ways. We are aware that this is not without moral consequences; risking exclusion could be painful, but as we have already mentioned in our analysis, pain is also to be contemplated, thus we find that it is possible to live a 'beautiful' life without necessarily enforcing institutional structuring.

An interesting question would then be: Is it possible not to resist? As mentioned in our analytical tools power and resistance are coextensive, thus it is not possible not to resist. But what is important, is how resistance is exercised. By revealing controls of the body in its historicity, the way it is done in a genealogy on the body, possibilities of resistance are thereby unfold, and shared experience of subjugation could then possibly find expression in collective action. *"The boys from Mexico City"* could be linked to this, instead of them fighting the real with an ideal, they fight the real with the real. In their gender-performance they revolt against regimes of truth about 'real men'
without resorting to morality. This, *"[...] is one way of acting in solidarity, not in the name of an ideology or theory, but rather as a revolt against shared 'intolerables'."[262]* And bringing back in Foucault: "This is why bodies and pleasures should be the rallying point for the counterattack against, among other things, the deployment of sexuality by the modern power-regime." Considering these proposals with the ones presented above, from Butler, de Lauretis and Grosz we find that we now have a good basis to sum up.

According to our analysis and the case we have been working with, we are now able to distinguish an emancipatory struggle based on moralities from an emancipatory struggle based on ethics. A struggle based on feminist epistemes about the *how* to unite female subjects upon an ideal of a social common good from a struggle based on 'the art of living'. And this is how we have come to, that even with all its 'good' intentions and sincere wishes for a better future for suppressed women, feminism resorts to truths embedded in moralities based on scientific gender-narratives. We do not pretend that we stand outside this game of morality, but the point is, how one practices ones morality. In relation to our position within International Development Studies this is a crucial consideration. Can we as 'developers' resist intervening in a 'room' in which individuals

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[262] Pickett 1996, p. 460

experience oppression, without resorting to morality. No, we cannot! However, we do need to decide what constitutes the greatest danger, intervention or not, thus there is a daily ethico-political choice to be made

9. Brief Afterthoughts

Here, at the end of our journey, we want to question our selves and our future engagement in political action for the 'common good'- Development. During our readings, our discussions and the creation of this assignment, we have seriously been confronted with our own ethics. Working with what we find a radical approach, we have in turn felt paralyzed, refusing to give up political action, thought that we had found a way out, felt paralyzed again etc. Hence, before landing, we will briefly invite you into sharing some of our ethical considerations during the process. Wrapped up in Modernity; we will confess!

Reflecting ourselves as situated within a field referred to as International Development Studies, our performance as coming facilitators, is in the light of a post-structuralist approach very ambivalent and extremely problematic. Certain inevitable speculations that have arisen in our discussions are still very present. First of all, especially when reflecting what we have decided to call the 'materia', we have had a lot of difficulties in accepting that resistance is solemnly a matter of creating a space for creative individual self-creation. With 'materia', we refer to the 'materia' which is present in our experienced room, e.g. economic resources, things and bodies. Stressing that we do not want to contest the real to the ideal, but the real to the real; Even though reality out there is not there, and no one can claim to know the truth about what is real, the effects emanating from this 'materia' are indeed real to the subjects. Thus, when the 'materia' is somehow not available or maybe even taken away from you, it could be quite difficult to relate to your life as a piece if art.

We are aware that by taking up this issue we are also objectifying and presupposing *lacks*. But continuing in the same line, when a woman is beaten and raped by her husband and it is very difficult for her to leave him, due to the fact that he owns the 'materia' on which her children feed, what then does it help that she has room for self-creation? And what to do with one's subjectivity and daily ethico-political choice, when the most present task of the day is to get food for oneself and the children? Violence and hunger might not be reality 'out there'; but nonetheless they are very present in the experienced room, and could even cause death. This has been one of our most dominant pre-occupations, but nevertheless, by re-reading this paragraph, it is very obvious that we are constructing reality out there, in which people are lacking. We could turn this right around; How do we know the truth about peoples possibilities? We do not! And according to the above-mentioned woman, we find that she is always in a position to resist, recast and shape her own 'beautiful' ethos, not based on our 'bleeding hearts' as 'sincere' developers with good 'intentions'.

Another thing that has provoked us during our work with this approach is the specific notion of making one's life 'a piece of art'. This again has something to do with the 'materia'. Turning your life into a piece of art might be a project only for intellectuals. But what one can achieve will mainly concern the formation of one's own subjectivity.

Moralities or not, government or not; we still have difficulties in giving up the concern for others and for the 'common good'. And we imagine that while we are turning our life into a piece of art and starring at our navels, history will continue and the 'tie-guys' will go for it! Hence, making one's life a piece of art might be a noble project, but it can also be an intellectual and luxurious project. This again we can turn right around. Who says that we need 'true' knowledge to practice freedom. What is an intellectual, claiming to know the right way to turn life into an artistic performance. She is an expert resorting to power-knowledge and scientific narratives based on regimes of truth; and even though she is acting in contestation intending to liberate 'others', she will simply by opening her mouth articulating her 'good' intentions be practicing moralities.

This goes hand in hand with, that an extended amount of our discussions have reflected the danger of moralities. If subjects are products of power then we are all surrounded and moulded by moralities;
By participation in any form of collective, we are shaped by and contributing to moralities and there are no ethics to be found previous to this. We recast our own subjective ethics on the basis of surrounding moralities, we do resist, reflect and *contribute* to the sustaining and reformulation of new moralities. Don't we to a certain degree need moralities then, to exist in a society, to relate to each other and to relate to ourselves? We find we do! But who gives us the right as developers to provide people with the 'true' and 'best' moralities? Hence, our contemplations in the introduction are still very present. We are not the solution to the problem, we are indeed part of it, and by practicing development in the name of freedom we will always be colonizing.[263]

Thus what we are left with in relation to our participation in the development game, is the ongoing ethico-political choice of what we as individuals find most dangerous.

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[263] We refer to bell hooks qoutation in the introduction.

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<u>How we used the empirical material</u>
As you can see we have in this assignment used an extended amount of material, both in Danish, English and Spanish. Since not all of us understand Spanish, this has resulted in a lot of translations.

The video *'Med Egen Stemme'* produced by KULU is a documentary shot in Peru. The language of this video is Spanish but with subtitles in Danish. Quotations were translated from Danish to English to be used in the analysis. In the video we noticed an interview with one of the producers from *'Pásame la Voz'*, the interview with Lili. We required the full un edited interview from Karen Wolf from KULU who is the director of the video, and she was kind to let us have this. To be able to work with this material it was necessary for us to transfer the tape from Beta-format to VHS tape. The interviewer is Karen Wolf and the dialog is in Spanish. Thus the interview with Lili was translated from Spanish into English.

'Recordando el futuro' by Hee Pedersen is written in Spanish, thus for all of us to be able to use it, large parts were translated into Danish, from there translated into English according to the Spanish version.

We primarily based the *'Field of Intervention'* on two articles by Vargas and Olea, which are also in Spanish.

Besides a lot of material from KULU in Danish and English we also had KULU's Spanish evaluation report. Large parts of this was translated to Danish, so we could all use the text in the analysis. Thereafter it was translated into English checked according to the Spanish version.

Our interviews, one with Christina Hee Pedersen and one with Karen Wolf, were obviously carried out in Danish. Both interviews were recorded on tape and word by word their statements were written down, the quotations selected for this assignment were then translated into English.

The above-mentioned material is registered in our assignment with reference to either pages or time-codes. The way the time codes are to be deciphered is. E.g.: As for videotapes, time code [14:05] means, the numeric time-code from a VCR. As for the taped interviews: side A, time code [20:00] refers to side A of the tape and [20:00] to the numeric time-code from the tape-recorder.

The mentioned material can be required from us if needed.

Enclosures

Appendix A

The following appendix is an edited extract from the international magazine 'Clash', 1993

The Communist Party of Peru - Sendero Luminoso Mariátegui has its roots in the Peruvian region of Ayacucho. The leader of the party, Abimael Guzman, founded Sendero Luminoso after being excluded by the Communist Party of Peru; a reaction to the dispute between a pro-soviet and a Maoist fraction. Mainly professors and students were the base of the party in the mid-seventies, likewise Guzman who was a professor of philosophy . Opposite to the left-wing groups which organized in unions or built up different popular fronts and farmers organizations; that is social or grass-root movements, Sendero Luminoso was based on Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology. The party was constituted by trained and organized cadres from top to bottom in what was called 'created organisms'; small and strictly trained cores, which acted as groups within the different left-wing organizations. Later they became the 'thousands eyes and ears' of the party and formed the base for the parole of 'a new state under construction'.

The changing political currents in the late seventies/early eighties had an important impact on the redefinition of Sendero Luminoso. These currents were among others that the left-wing turned out to become an effective power after having had many internal disputes. Also the shattering of the cultural revolution weakened the international communist movement which Sendero Luminoso was part of. This lead to the changing of the strategy of the party in 1979 to the priority of an armed struggle. War was the most important duty and the violence became the highest form of the revolutionary struggle. Similar to Mao, Guzman stated 'that you will reach power by violence and you will defend it by dictatorship[264]'. As they started the armed struggle in the region of Ayacucho in 1979, they followed the Maoist strategy of popular war aiming at three phases; strategically construction, balance, and offensive. The purpose of the 'new power' was to build up the revolutionary struggle in the rural areas where after the cities would be encircled and the upraising would be prepared. The 'new power' expressed itself in the 'new-democratic people's republic under construction' with their popular committees in the controlled areas. They rejected a national liberation struggle, because this would give no guarantee for a victorious revolution. The claimed goal of the democratic revolution under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist party was to change the national victory directly into socialism. By pushing forward the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' the transformation would continue until a world-wide revolution and the world-wide setting-up of communism.

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[264] Clash, 1993 p. 46

It has often been talked of Sendero Luminoso's ideological references as being polpotism of the Khmer Rouge. However, it is important to mention that Sendero Luminoso correspond to profound tendencies in Peru which are not comparable to other geo-political set-ups. As the full name of the party indicates the inspiration and interpretation of one of the greatest Peruvian Marxist writers, Carlos Mariátegui is deeply rooted in Sendero Luminoso. Mariátegui emphasizes the usefulness of the communal traditions of the Inca-society for the construction of a socialist Peru; only by knowing the symbols and myths of the Inca-society one can understand the strength and extent by Sendero Luminoso. In the Ayacucho-area the Inca-myths have profound importance of the people living there e.g. they belief that the dead who are buried in the earth, will come to life again in different shapes. Also the leader of the Incas, Tupac Amaru killed by the Spanish conquers, will raise and then the Andes-people will have the power to act. Opposite to the linear thinking in the Christian/occidental hemisphere the thinking of the Andes is shaped by dualism; the everlasting circle of shadow and light, the new which is born in the breakdown of the old. These circles continues in different times, likewise the recreation and return of the dead and whole epochs are changed radically in circles of 500 years. Such a radical change was the conquest, the 'pachacuti', of the Spanish. This 'pachacuti' is interpreted first of all as a radical change and not as liberation from a ruling system. According to this it is no contradiction in the 'consciousness of the Andes' that liberation is not a central point of the politics of Sendero Luminoso. They connect revolution and 'pachacuti'. The 'Pensamiento Gonzalo'; the thinking of Guzman, expresses the idea that with blood, violence, and death the old will be destroyed and the new will arise. Because of the living conditions for most of the people in Peru an improvement within the existing structures is out of imagination. Only a complete and radical change gives them hope, rooted in the religious believes of the Andes. In order to understand the support that Sendero Luminoso have gained among the rural populations this is an important point; Sendero Luminoso does not promise improvement but power and they do not talk but act.

Compared to other Marxist inspired parties or guerrillas, Sendero Luminoso has a very high amount of women organized. This is not because of 'women specific issues' within the party. Rather, feminism is seen as a 'bourgeois theory, which has its sources in the division of men and women because of their sexual differences'(Laura Z. Padilla; cadre of Sendero Luminoso/'Clash nr.9/93 p.48). However, this difference is not a theme, but what matters is the class antagonism which is the focus of their politics. Likewise, homosexualities are seen as 'bourgeois decadence' and is therefore an explicit goal of the 'people's war', that is gays and lesbians being threatened with death. But the practicing of discipline through 'Popular Education Programs' which is enforced in the areas they control can in many ways be seen as protection and security of women lives; rapists are sentenced to death, alcohol abuse or a man leaving his family is punished as well. This is obliged by the women because of the hard economical effects such a behavior has on the

fundamental situation of the family. In this sense the disciplining of the small communities is a positive progress for some women.

When this war has been called 'Peru's dirty war' it is due to its embedding in a threefold struggle: The militarized state, the armed struggle of Sendero Luminoso, and the social movements, counting popular organizations, NGO's, the feminist movement, unions, etc. The latter are however a target of both the state and of Sendero Luminoso. "Yet precisely because of their capacity to propose alternative forms of politic, these organizations have in fact played a major role in the dirty war as the victims of both Sendero Luminoso and the Peruvian security forces"[265]. The fact that Sendero Luminoso threatens with death and execute killings to silence the opposition is to be understood as 'whoever is not with Sendero Luminoso is an enemy'.

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[265] Poole and Renique, 1992, p.28

Appendix B