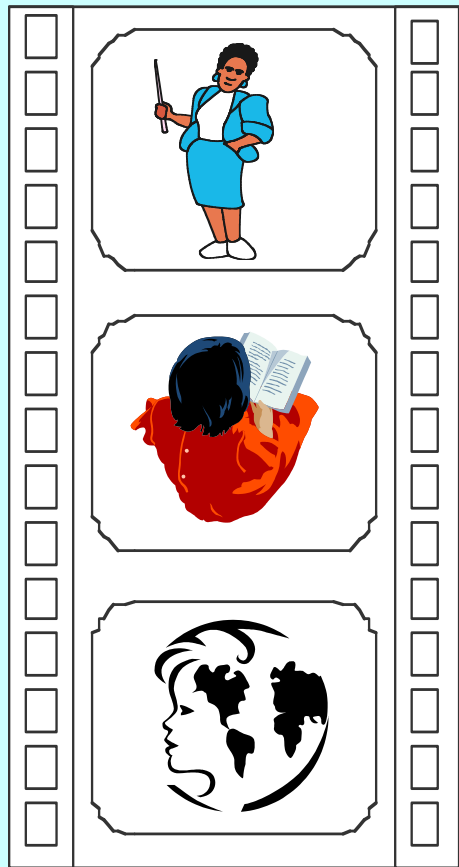


Geo-politics of Sexuality

An analysis of films
in development-intervention



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Fagligt Forum¹

1897: Specialarbejderforbundet i Danmark (SiD)
1912: Dansk Missionsråd
1922: Folkekirkens Nødhjælp*
1923: Ungdommens Røde Kors
1940: Dansk Ungdoms Fællesråd
1944: Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke*
1945: Red Barnet
1954: UNICEF Danmark
1956: Dansk Flygtningehjælp
1957: AFS Interkultur
1961: Amnesty International
1963: U-landsforeningen Svalerne
1963: Landbrugets Oplysnings- og Kursusvirksomhed
1966: U-landsorganisationen IBIS*
1968: IWGIA
1969: Center for Udviklingsforskning
1970: Geografforbundet
1970: FN-forbundet
1970: Internationalt Forum
1972: BØRNEfonden
1976: Kvindernes U-landsudvalg
1978: Sydafrika Kontakt
1979: Kirkernes U-landsoplysning
1980: SPOR-media (film-production and promotion)*
1982: Rehabiliteringcentret for Torturofre
1985: Dansk Selskab for Tibetansk Kultur
1985: Operation Dagsværk
1987: CARE Danmark
1987: ADRA Danmark
1987: Det Danske Center for Menneskerettigheder
1989: Oplysningscenter om den 3. Verden
1989: Arbejderbevægelsens Internationale Forum
1992: International Børnesolidaritet
1994: Max Havelaar
1998: Center for Kultursamarbejde med Udviklingslandene (CKU/"Images")
1998: Dansk - Indisk Børnehjælp
2000: Danmission
(?) De Danske Gymnastik og Idrætsforeninger

¹ **Fagligt Forum** is not an independent organisation. It is an open net-work between 38 Danish NGOs and/or member organisations working and co-operating in development communication and information to the Danish public about 'developing countries' and global relations. The net-work is behind the home-page www.uland.dk, "Nyt om Verden" (News on the World; list over educational material), Audio Visual consultancy on information about the 'developing world', "Jorden rundt på 45 minutter" (Around the world in 45 min; publication on development films and other educational material) and the development-film library **Mediateket**. The NGOs represented in the AV-committee (marked with*) under Fagligt Forum are in charge of the AV-consultancy.

List of Abbreviations

- BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation
- CEDAW:** Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
- CIA:** Central Intelligence Agency
- CNN:** Cable News Network (Time Warner Company)
- DANIDA:** Danish International Development Assistance
- DAWN:** Development Alternatives with Women for a New era
- DFI:** Danish Film Institute
- DRTV:** Danish Broadcasting Corporation
- EU:** European Union
- FAO:** Food and Agriculture Organisation
- FIDA:** Federacion Internacional de Abogadas
- FKN:** Folkekirkens Nødhjælp
- GAD:** Gender and Development
- GDP:** Gross Domestic Product
- GNP:** Gross National Product
- GS:** General Secretary
- IMF:** International Monetary Fund
- KULU:** Kvindernes U-landsudvalg
- ME:** Ministry of Education
- MFA:** Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- MS:** Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke
- NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
- NOVIB:** Netherlands' Organisation for International Development co-operation
- NUC:** National UNESCO Commission
- OECD:** Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
- OPEC:** Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries
- SAP:** Structural Adjustment Programmes
- UN:** United Nations
- UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme
- UNESCO:** United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
- UNICEF:** United Nations' International Children's Emergency Fund
- UNRRA:** United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Agency
- U-RISE:** Urban and Rural Institute for Social Education
- VOG:** Voice of God (critical term for voice-over)
- WAD:** Women and Development
- WB:** World Bank
- WID:** Women in Development
- WHO:** World Health Organisation
- WTO:** World Trade Organisation

1. Introduction

*The feminist 'we' is always and only a phantasmatic construction, one that has its purposes, but which denies the internal complexity and indeterminacy of the term and constitutes itself only through the exclusion of some part of the constituency that it simultaneously seeks to represent. The phantasmatic status of the 'we' however, is not a cause for despair. The radical instability of the category [women] sets into question the foundational restrictions on feminist political theorizing and opens up other configurations, not only on gender and bodies, but of politics itself.*²

Pointing to the historicity and contingency of truths, this study does not seek to find a new and better truth. It does not seek to bring forward complex solutions to complex problems in order to create a more 'perfect' world. It seeks to depict how (certain) fields of development-intervention are constructed, how these are acted upon and from within and how these can be analysed as assemblages, which 'happened' according to specific historically traceable rationalities. Thereby my study hopefully produces both critical effects, which make it more difficult for us to think and act in accustomed ways, and positive effects, clearing space for the possibility of thinking otherwise and reconsider the conditions of what we can become.

During my time at International Development Studies at Roskilde University, complex questions have in multiple forms and theories found their ways into my mind and some of them have to various extents been answered (though not necessarily solved). E.g.: How did issues of International Development come about in the geo-political set-up of Denmark? Who thought it necessary to develop 'the world'? Why and into what? Who was/is to do that? Who was/is talking about such issues? Who was/is to develop/intervene upon whom? How? And how were and are development-interventions legitimised? In most cases such questions have generated much further speculations in my mind, and even though this study can far from embrace just a tiny fraction of these, they are nevertheless central to what I here set out to do.

The following study concentrates on how one specific (and major) category of people has been and ceaselessly is constructed, represented and acted upon within International development discourse and practices. The category of 'Women in the 3rd world' and/or so-called '**Southern women**'. I am aware that I could have chosen to focus on indigenous people, poor people, men/fathers, children, etc. which are all constructed categories and clusters of societies that development-action intervenes upon. But as I in most cases experience myself as a woman and mother and to some extent as a

Northern/Western one, I hope that by re-politicising this field I can highlight some of the difficulties involved in thinking bodies, representing bodies and acting for, upon and with them. And consecutively look into: How women are made to be(come) women with an outset in the body and signifiers such as **sex, gender and sexuality**? How fe/male bodies are represented in specific **geo-political contexts** and made Southern, Northern and/or Western? How bodies are made to relate to their 'selves' as sexed subjects of place and space e.g. nation-states? And what could be some of the effects of such discourses? All questions which to certain extents interconnect my interests with those of **Women in Development** and a variety of other feminist developers³ (even though they move towards very different horizons than I do) and which situate my study within the realms of what I have chosen to refer to as gender-sensitive development discourse and practices.

It is in relation to gender-sensitive development discourse and the categorisation of 'Southern women', **development films** (u-landsfilm) **stemming from the Danish NGO environment** enter my study. Development films are predominantly contextualised as so-called documentary films utilized in development-communication and -education. Films which connect 'the said' to 'the seen' and supposedly represent and visualise a 'reality' that would otherwise only be imaginary. The 'real' thing. "See for yourself, this is how these women live, this is why we must react!" However, such stances founded in so-called realist discourse, have in many cases been opposed by both scientists and film-makers. And when certain film-theoreticians, state that there is no such thing as documentary⁴ and highlight the impossibility of truly representing 'others', their statements are obviously not meant as provocations. Rather as serious reminders of: The way and how we position our-selves in relation to bodies and things, when we construct knowledge and documents, are decisive for the results we reach. Having gone through several knowledge-constructions and produced a vast amount of texts and (some) films⁵ I share aspects of these thoughts.

² Butler 1990 p. 142 quoted in Bell 1999 p. 36. My insertion.

³ In the years since 1975 feminist engagement in mainstream development discourse has taken a variety of paths. They range from a call to include women in existing development approaches to policy and processes, to more radical viewpoints challenging the concept of development itself. There is a multitude of political positions, but the diversity is often separated into four broad perspectives: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD) and the most recent post-structural and post-colonial feminists in development. However, WID were the first to call into attention that women should be included into development policies and programs and over-all be more visible in Development (Schech et al 2000 p. 87-90).

⁴ E.g. Trinh T. Minh-Ha in *Refleksiv Dokumentarfilm* KUA 1999.

⁵ I have participated in film-productions in: Denmark, France, Uruguay, Argentina, Mozambique, Mexico, Guatemala and Guinea.

I believe, that ‘others’ are constructed by those who do the ‘othering’, by those who reflect upon that ‘othering’, and by ‘others’ own representation of themselves. And that there is always a reason for choosing one certain mode of representation from another. Hence, the positions (in themselves power-knowledge products) from where we utter are constantly intermeshed in complex grids of power-knowledge relations, which are simultaneously conducive to the results we reach.

Within the realms of gender-sensitive development discourse, Women in Development have (simultaneously with the technological development of a variety of apparatuses and decreasing costs on film-production equipment) been raising their voices that Development Studies and development agencies should investigate into women’s lives and experienced realities. Since so-called ‘Southern women’ are often categorised and conceptualised as some of the poorest citizens of the world, it is according to Women in Development important that developers recognize differences and look into concrete lived experiences of women in different cultures. Seemingly and according to some (feminist) developers this requires, that studies of ‘Southern women’ should reveal these women’s lives as meaningful, coherent and understandable, instead of being infused by us with doom and sorrow.⁶ But, and this is my major contemplation, what if there is no homogenous and consensual **‘reality out there’**? What if the ‘Southern woman’ as a ‘reality out there’ is a construct? How can one then reveal her and her experiences on film? Could it be that ‘experience’ (in the viewer’s mind) is what makes the ‘Southern woman’ in the first place? And if one is aware that mediated filmic representations are ‘nothing in themselves’ – that they are filtered through minds and stamped by opinions – how can one then possibly make a fully coherent and meaningful representation of a so-called ‘Southern woman’s life’? In other words, how is it possible to represent ‘coherent realities out there’ if ‘realities’ are not out there, and if the readings of such ‘realities’ are filtered through minds whose present mental pictures and references make it very difficult to see a supposedly meaningful coherence? What if so-called ‘others’ are always already constructs in our minds, and at the same time a necessity for ‘us’ in order to create and sustain our ‘selves’? Is it not so, that gazes and deciphering of ‘reality out there’ are always linked to specific contexts (whatever they might be) socio-cultural ‘suitcases’ and/or cultural intelligibilities? If this is the case, I find the imagery, symbolism and narratives, of the texts, films and mappings by which Danish development clusters and NGOs chose to represent and construct ‘others’ in developmental contexts, a study of high political importance.

⁶ E.g. Lazreg in Parpart 1999

In the light of such contemplations my study resorts to various **post-structuralist assumptions**, primarily those inspired by Foucault and some of his main followers. There are obviously many readings and multiple receptions of Foucault's works and thoughts and these are not to be considered as the only possible and suitable approaches to a study like this. However, I find Foucault's writings and speculations about power, knowledge, truth and government, webs of human and societal relations, and his denouncements of essentialist notions of human nature, inspiring and inciting perspectives, and interesting points of departure for studying representations of gendered subjectivities in development-films. Furthermore, the development-films I draw upon in this study are obviously far from the only films representing people 'out there', which have been exposed to the population of this geo-political set-up (DK). But I believe that by highlighting some of the technologies enframing their construction, production and distribution, meanwhile looking into objectifying and self-subjectifying processes of 'Southern women', I will be able to touch upon some of the dominant regimes of truth flourishing in the Danish (development) society at a given time in history. Just as I will propose, that such regimes of power-knowledge-truth are conducive to informing and moulding minds of their viewers. Hence my study is highly informed by post-structuralist thoughts, navigating through gender-sensitive, post-colonial and dominant development-discourses (partly operating audio-visually qua development films) circulating in development-communication and education clusters.

2. Problem-formulation

According to my introduction it should be clear that I am very interested in how development discourses and practises work and establish realities in peoples' minds and matters just as I have a strong passion for the film-medium and its 'doings' in development communication as well as in general. Thus, what I concentrate on in this study, is to give a personal contribution to my field by looking into:

- **How do Danish Development NGOs represent 'Southern women' in selected development-films?**

Problematised, discussed and responded to partly through the following questions:

- What is a 'Southern woman'?
- How and why were films implemented into Development discourses and practices?
- How are issues of gender and geo-politics applied to represented bodies in development films?
- Why do representations of 'the other' matter?

- Are there any comparisons to be made between gender-sensitive development-films from Africa (Uganda), South America (Bolivia) and India (Tamil Nadu)?

2.1 Outline

Circulating around these central questions, I open up **theoretical speculations** primarily informed by post-structuralist thinkers on: How bodies turn/ed into **female positivities** and how **geo-political references** were/are attached to bodies as dominant stratifications of subjectivity, inventing us as e.g. sexed, racial, cultural and/or geographic ‘others’ and ‘selves’? In this sense my study is a kind of bio-political and geo-political survey focused on power-knowledge-relations and objectification- and self-subjectifying processes through time and space. Today traceable in selected gender-sensitive development films distributed in Denmark. And at the same time also a problematisation of epistemological creation and destruction with outset in: How power-knowledge moulds definitions of ‘others’ (contributing to constructing ‘selves’)? How power-knowledge contributes to what/who the body is and should be? And how certain truth-claims as power-knowledge constructs are made legitimate within development discourse and interventions today?

Concerning the **institutional frame-work** of my study, Danish development NGOs, I have studied many and varied development-films⁷ from several NGOs. Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, IBIS, Red Barnet, CARE, Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, Kvindernes U-landsudvalg etc. Most of these films are in distribution in Denmark today and as ‘Southern women’ figure in all of them, I elaborate on my general findings within the overall field of analysis. The **three gender-sensitive development films** under scrutiny in my analysis all stem from the development-film library “**The Mediatek**”⁸ situated at the general library of Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke (MS) in Copenhagen. Some of the reasons for selecting my prime objects of study from this compilation are: The Mediatek has the largest collection of development-films available in Denmark, the Mediatek has many and varied gender-sensitive films, the Mediatek has development-films from many different NGOs (including Danish and foreign NGOs and several co-productions) and compiles, registers and distributes a large quantity of development-films to a broad

⁷ See appendix A: List over studied Development-, ethnographic and other so-called documentary films.

⁸ “*The Mediatek is a national specialised library and resourcecentre for audio-visual information about 3rd world conditions and global relations [...] The Mediatek advocates and qualifies the use of audio-visual information in formal as well as informal education at all levels (of society) and supports and qualifies public participation in the continuous debate on global development problematics.*” (Mediatekets Formålsbeskrivelse Clemmensen 2001 p.1). Furthermore, objectives are: To aid and supply the users of the library, not only with material they think they need, but also with material they do not know they need The Mediatek is funded by Danida’s information-appropriation and was originally established by: Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke, Det Danske Center for Menneskerettigheder, Det Danske missionsselskab, Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, Ibis, Internationalt Forum, Kvindernes U-landsudvalg (Jorden rundt på 45 minutter, U-landsorganisationerne 1994 p. 131).

variety of institutions and organisations in Denmark (e.g. development-clusters, parish councils, teachers' forums, kinder-gardens, primary-schools, secondary-schools, folk high-schools, youth organisations, nursing homes for elderly people, private clubs and private users of the library) and the Mediatek has figured as an 'independent' unit in Danida's⁹ yearly budgets on development-information and communication to the Danish public until 2001 where it, through a decision taken in "**Fagligt Forum**"¹⁰ was implemented into the information-budget of MS.

When I in my **field of analysis** study the historico-discursive information-activity stemming from development NGOs to the Danish public and some of the rationalities enframing development communication in Denmark (post 2nd World War) I take outset in the history of **Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke**, constituted in 1944. This is partly due to the interconnectedness and complexity of actors and (through time, increasing number of) NGOs involved in the general information activity, but also because MS has been and is a very important and competent actor in this field. MS has a long tradition in film-making and/or utilising development-film in their information activity and have since the early 1950s been proactive in development-communication, both at a national and international level. Today MS have their own publishing house and apart from (co)producing and importing development-films, MS publishes educational books¹¹, magazines, posters, post-cards, slideshows etc. Elaborates educational CD-roms, configures web-sites, participates in national information campaigns, manifestations and exhibitions (Images of Africa, Latin America, Asia, World images/music etc.) and could possibly be considered one of the most important Danish development NGOs of development-information activity.¹²

⁹ Danish International Development Assistance situated in the 'South-group' under the Royal Danish Ministry of foreign Affairs. www.um.dk/danida

¹⁰ Fagligt Forum was established in 1979 by MS, Danish Youth Commission (DUF), Kvindernes Ulandsudvalg, Kirkernes Samarbejdskonference, Folkekirkens Nødhjælp and Dansk Flygtningehjælp (MS yearly report 1979) Today FF includes 38 NGOs/member-organisations and Danida's Information-appropriation is represented at the meetings (interview with Ellen Farr, MS 9/1-02). An audio-visual committee (AV-udvalget) was established under FF in 1991 and separate AV-conferences are held under FF, including representatives from: NGOs, Danida, Ministry of education, teachers from primary and secondary schools, Danish Film Institute (previously Statens filmcentral), public-service TV stations, production-companies, free-lance film-makers, national libraries and county centres (amtscentraler) tapping av-material from public service TV for educational purposes and distributing development-films (participation in AV-conference organised by SPOR Media in Egtveds Pakhus, Foreign Ministry 15/1-02)

¹¹ Several of the obligatory educational books which enter into the initiating course in International Development Studies at Roskilde University are published by MS' publishing house, e.g.: Society, State and Market 1994 and/or Bistand, udvikling eller afvikling 1999 by Martinussen.

¹² MS has a triennial framework agreement specifically on information-activity, renewed/revised every third year with Danida. MS have this agreement with Danida since the late 1980s and is the only NGO in Denmark with this special funding-agreement and information-activity mandate. Of the annual app. 24 mill. dkk. canalised into development information activity from Danida budgets, 4,1 mill. dkk. are allocated

Therefore, through MS' early history I study the upsurge of development information-activity and how the use of development-films was implemented as a technique and technology in development-clusters and why. How MS has co-operated with the Danish state-apparatus, development NGOs, other institutions and mass-media in informing the Danish public about international and global affairs. And how these collaborations have led to the establishment of several institutional development-information clusters, e.g. the **Mediatek**. Hence, by letting 'the past' meet 'the present', I study how discursive constructions of gendered and geo-political subjectivity are represented and informed by development rationalities and (without going into specific issues of reception) suggest how these have possibly informed and/or moulded politics of identity in a geo-political set-up called Denmark.

Perpetuating answers to my problem-formulation in my **analysis**, I take a careful and close look at the 'present' construction(s) and representations of subjectivities in **three selected gender-sensitive development films** shot during the 1990s in Uganda/Africa, Bolivia/Latin America and India/Asia respectively. The films I have chosen to study more closely are produced in several different geo-political set-ups and evolve around important interconnected developmental issues (*access to justice, debt-problematics* and *family-planning*). However, the films are all available at the Mediatek and all in distribution today, which make it possible for me to treat them as part of an institutional framework and as (some of) the NGOs' filmic representations of 'others'. Meanwhile making it possible for me to consider them as 'building blocks' of a much larger discursive formation: A discourse on *represented subjectivities in development rationalities and practices*. And obviously, when one wishes to expose discursive formations with an outset in archives and history, the meanings of previous statements and visibilities are blurred.¹³ However, this seems to be the fundamental premise for all re-writings of narratives of the past, as well as of the present. Therefore, when I study the selected archives as texts, reports, films, interviews etc. I treat my archive-material as face value.

to MS. This amount is separate from MS' other state-funding (Interviews with MS publisher Elbæk 3/1-02 and Ellen Farr from MS 9/1-02).

¹³ History as a linear process is to some a retroactive illusion up for serious contemplation. One of the reasons for this contemplation is the problematic stance that things, beings and situations 'back then' are within our reach of understanding. That we can interpret them now and understand their significance. It is in this light Foucault criticises 'history of ideas' which he refers to as "*the discipline of beginnings and ends, the description of obscure-continuities and returns, the reconstitution of developments in the linear form of history.*" 1972 p. 137. In this study I confine the concept of *history* as past discursive events, traceable in time and conducive to present analysable effects - however always re-imagined in the immediate present.

3. Grid of Intelligibility and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The following chapter is a presentation and discussion of some of Foucault's concepts and thoughts, including several thinkers subscribing to post-structuralism and discussed in relation to other and diverging stances. Thus the stances put forward in my grid of intelligibility are deliberately selected references and mind-sets, which are included into this study to suggest the historicity and contingency of things and beings, and which entwine into the perpetuating study as tools for analysis and/or as my modes of thinking. Reaching for an understanding of how certain epistemes and historically founded representational strategies have influenced represented gendered subjectivities in presently distributed development-films stemming from the Danish NGO environment.

3.2 Discursive Formations

According to my conviction, discourse is that which is connected to all being and knowing. Intermeshed, re-produced, transformed, mutated and at times even discontinued, by multiplicities of ontologies and epistemologies.¹⁴ Hence, an all-embracing premise for the creation of social realities. However, if discourse is 'that which is' it becomes highly un-graspable. In this context Foucault's notions on discourse seem very useful. He sees the analysis of discourse as operating between the twin-poles of totality and plethora: *"One shows how the different texts with which one is dealing refer to one another; organize themselves into a single figure, converge with institutions and practices, and carry meaning that may be common to a whole period."*¹⁵ Hence each discursive element is partly an expression of a totality and a substitute for diversity.

3.2.1 Statements and Visibilities

Fundamental building-blocks of discursive formations are according to Foucault so-called statements and visibilities (as numerous and varied as they may be). In relation to statements, Foucault is of the conviction that everything is never said. When he studies statements, he treats them as 'limits' separating 'the said' from what is 'not said' in a given period of time – defining a **limited system of presences**. In this sense he problematises the relationship between the said and the seen, the words and the things and/or signifier and signified. How do statements and visibilities inter-operate in our societies and whether it is possible to talk about primacy? Are statements previous to the visible? Are gazes and what 'we' see caught in a limited system of presences defined by statements (i.e. language)?

These are crucial questions in relation to my problem-formulation and the connection

¹⁴ Ontologies deal with modes of being and doing, whereas epistemologies primarily refer to modes of knowing. These sizes are obviously interconnected but however not fully the same.

between visual representations of bodies¹⁶ and signifiers such as ‘Southern’ and ‘woman’. How does a body talk through language, light and movement (to the viewer)? By which means is it possible for the viewer to interpret who is performing? And in this line, how can ‘we’ treat the concept reality?

In relation to such questions it seems valuable to discuss Kant’s notion of *a priori*. Foucault is of the opinion that there are no ‘true objects out there’. There is no ‘ding an sich’. What goes on ‘out there’ only comes into being through filtration and interpretation ‘in here’ (in the mind/body of the experiencing person). However, even though he refuses Kant’s notion of ‘ding an sich’ he still rests with a notion of *a priori*. But Foucault’s *a priori* is to be considered as elements of human conduct. Speaking and seeing, or rather statements and visibilities are *a priori* conditions under which all ideas are formulated and all human behaviour displayed.¹⁷ Foucault highlights this in e.g. “Discipline and Punish”: “[Here] *Even a ‘thing’ like prison is seen as an environmental formation (the ‘prison’ environment) and a form of content (where the content is the prisoner).*”¹⁸ Thus, both prison and prisoner are signs addressed to the soul and the mind, which establish certain mental associations between the crime and the punishment (a code). Or in other words, one would not be able to conceive of/see a prison without knowing about crime and one would not be able to categorize the convict without thinking about confinement (prison), which again is linked to thinking crime and breaking the law. In this sense it is possible to talk about materializing culture partly understood as cultural codes. And it illustrates that visibility is connected to thoughts. That, eyes are part of the intellect, intricately linked to a variety of context-dependent definitions of things and beings, constructed in very complex processes of discursive formation(s). Therefore, even though not fully the same, the visible is like the articulable, they are not objects of phenomenology but of epistemology.

This is related to Foucault’s notions of light-beings and language-beings. According to him, visibilities are not forms of objects that are ‘out there’ with inherent regularities, but rather forms of **luminosity**, which are created by the light itself and allow a thing or body to exist only as a flash or sparkle of our interpretations. Thus, a luminosity or a surface

¹⁵ Foucault 1972 p. 118. I stress that I am treating development-films as audio-visual *texts*.

¹⁶ The human body cannot be considered a self-evident truth. Unfortunately this study cannot embrace a profound elaboration on how certain notions of body; as mass, as space, as density, as a mechanism containing interiority, as organic, as matter dividable from mind (all issues of modernity) etc. came into being. For further and very interesting reading I recommend Ferguson 1997, who among several points to the profound importance of e.g. Newton and his theories on mass and space, Descartes’ theories on the separation of mind from matter, Charcot and Freud for conceptualising ‘hysteria’ and unearthing the meaning, as well as the cause, of bodily complaints – issues of the ‘psy-universe’ etc.

¹⁷ Deleuze 1988

¹⁸ Deleuze 1988 p. 31

which comes into being through light, signified as a 'Southern woman' is 'our' construction of what we see - related to language, thought, power-knowledge and the way we act and see accordingly.¹⁹ Hence, in this line of reasoning, reality is not 'out there'. 'I' create my realities, 'my self' and 'others' through the historico-discursive statements and visibilities that have been facilitated to me by 'others' and which they and 'I' have inscribed on/in my body (and theirs) through time and space. Thus, in this study I treat the concepts of 'others' and 'selves' as epistemic constructions directly implying one-another. And very important, even though realities are then historicized, this does not indicate that they do not exist. "*Realities are constantly made up and hence historically unstable. This [however] does not make them less real in their effects.*"²⁰

Nevertheless, according to Foucault, notions of 'invisibility' and 'the un-said' should not be linked to any repression. We should not assume that beneath statements some truth remains hidden and or/subjected. He explains: "*The description of a statement does not consist in rediscovering the un-said whose place it occupies; nor how one can reduce it to a silent common text; but on the contrary in discovering what special place it occupies [in a discursive formation], what ramifications of the system of formations make it possible to map its localization and how it is isolated in the general dispersion of statements.*"²¹ In other words, a study of (a) discourse and its immanent statements and visibilities are not to be read as 'alternative truth', but as a study which itself comes into being through discursive formations. Thus, when I move into the fogs of history, looking for discursive constructions of e.g. sex, gender, sexuality and space as issues of bio- and geo-politics, it is according to Foucault not fully possible to re-discover what statements meant, neither how they were seen. But it is possible, to trace from where they were expressed and how they were preserved (e.g. in books, paintings, photography and film) in accordance with certain institutions (e.g. state-departments, NGOs, libraries, schools and cinema) and which status they were given in the respective society (who referred to/discussed them). Hence, it is possible to study how statements were and are invested in techniques and technologies that put them into operation, in practises that derive from them and in social relations they form, modify and/or even discontinue. And in this line one can deduce how groups of statements and visibilities shape so-called **positivities**.

3.2.2 Positivities

When Foucault looks into 'the general project of science' he partly studies positivities as

¹⁹ It is in this context Deleuze compares Foucault to Goethe, who elaborated an epoch-making theory on eyes as the very prisms which generate colours. Entwined with light, darkness, time and space. Thus, eyes as linked to the mind affect how we see, think, understand, imagine etc. objects and/or bodies that some believe to be 'out there'.

²⁰ Moreira 2000 p. 83. My insertion

communicative means of a discourse. *“To analyse a discursive formation therefore is to deal with a group of verbal performances at the level of the statements and of the form of positivity that characterizes them; or, more briefly, it is to define the type of positivity of a discourse.”*²² Positivities thus defining a discursive field in which formal identities, thematic continuities, translations of concepts and polemical interchanges are deployed.²³ Therefore it seems plausible to refer to positivities as discursive nexuses and fluctuating (dis)agreements on the existence of things, beings and their orders, which render conversation possible, and at the same time as fundamental in order to create meaning of the said and the seen. When I in the following study ‘Southern women’ as represented subjectivities in development rationalities and practices, and how bodies, classifications and practices were turned into positivities, I am myself resorting to these very same positivities in order to render my communication possible. Or in other words, I am bound to using the very concepts I intend to denaturalise in order to make any sense at all.

3.2.3 Archaeology & Genealogy

Foucault’s general approach to analysing discursive formations is in most cases founded in the twin-relation between archaeology and genealogy, and even though the scope of this study cannot embrace an exhaustive account of what they fully are, I here bring out some of their frictions.

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. Or in more elaborate terms: Morality refers to coercive forces whose exercise takes a disciplinary form. Linked to internalisation of disciplinary practices, normalisation and how power-knowledge both subjugates and contributes to the individual subjectivity. Whereas, **ethics** primarily refer to **modes of being** and the shaping and care of ‘the self’ which can be divided into several procedures: The formation of an ethical substance (linked to pleasure and desire), modes of self-subjectification (e.g. which categories does the person subscribe to), the self-forming activity (by what means and modes does a person become an ethical being) and the telos (the kind of ethical being the person aspires for).²⁴ The division is however rather complex, since modes of knowing ‘modes of being’ will always influence both modes of knowing and being.

Let me explain: As I in this study have chosen to focus on representations of so-called

²¹ Foucault 1972 (AOK) p. 119

²² Foucault 1972 (AOK) p. 125

²³ Foucault 1972 (AOK)

²⁴ Foucault in Rabinow 1984 (Ethics and the care of the self)

‘Southern women’ in archives (detached modes of self-subjectification and objectification represented qua development film) and I do not have neither the access, nor time and money, to visit the ‘women’ who performed in these films, it is not possible for me to go into a more profound and thorough investigation of how these people shape their ethics and imagine and create their modes of being. However, since I am studying motion-pictures²⁵ what I can do, is look into represented modes of being (exposed as positivities and moralities) and how these possibly mould modes of knowing of the audience of the selected development films. Whereas, if I was to perform a genealogy I would look into how modes of knowing are conducive to shaping modes of being. Thus, the stratifications of subjectivity, ‘Southern’ and ‘woman’, are brought forward, by resorting to various **archives**, and treated as such archaeologically. Archives which contents display possibilities of ‘the said’ and ‘the seen’. And archives, as formations of statements and visibilities produced by human thought and articulation in shifting geo-political set-ups in history.

Hence, by **denaturalising** solidified regimes of truth on subjectivity and the human body, I call into scrutiny so-called ‘authenticity’ founded in moral and scientific ‘truths’. Hopefully exposing some of the epistemological premises for and the historicity of statements and visibilities, configuring subjectivities as ‘we’ (do not) know them today. And through this, the archaeological study of discourses and their types of positivities should “*appear as an asset – finite, limited, desirable, useful – that has its own rules of appearances, but also its own condition of appropriation and operation; an asset that consequently, from the moment of its existence (and not only in its ‘practical applications’), poses the question of power; an asset that is, by nature, the object of a struggle, a political struggle.*”²⁶ Furthermore, when I in the following oppose realities previous to discourse as well as notions of universal ‘truth’, suggest how power-knowledge moulds gendered and geo-political subjectivities and social positioning, study statements and visibilities and destabilize positivities in development-films, I resort to the notion of **panopticism**.²⁷ In this study a metaphor for a certain power-operation, ensuring

²⁵ There is a difference between an object (a light-being and/or luminosity) in motion and one that is still, e.g. ‘a thing’ and/or a photography. An object in motion changes status in relation to its being. Here the question about primacy – what was there first, the statement/signifier or the luminosity/signified is very relevant. And even though I am of the conviction that the statement predominantly shapes the visibility (language and ‘knowledge’ create their subjects) an object in motion constantly challenges (or sustains) the ‘knowledge’ about it. This contemplation is traceable in Foucault’s “The order of things”, where he studies how words/names/signifiers came about, and states that in old Hebrew the word for Lion was ‘force’. Hence, the object in motion (the body of the lion in motion) informed the signifier, even though it had to be signified to enter into a symbolic order and thereby come into existence.

²⁶ Foucault 1972 (AOK) p. 120

²⁷ This concept derives from the eighteenth century, where Bentham conceived the ‘device’ Panopticon. A metaphor for a certain kind of power-operation, attached to an architectonic construction ensuring surveillance. The principle is: A building in the form of a ring, where the centre is a tower, with windows

surveillance (through gazes) between and within ‘self’ and ‘other’. Panopticism as an abstract formula and/or a metaphor, which operates: “*to impose a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity.*”²⁸ In this sense, my application of an archaeological inquiry hopefully enables one to see, hear and comprehend ‘anew’ – link words, concepts, statements and visibilities in different orders, and by doing this meanwhile problematising their dispersion and organisation, one may have a highly valuable instrument for serious political scrutiny and contemplation.

3.3 Suggesting (No)bodies & Gender Identity as a Regulatory Fiction

I here open up a discussion and problematisation of: What is a woman and how/where are notions of ‘femaleness’ and ‘Southernness’ applied to bodies in development rationalities? I include notions informed by post-structuralist thinkers and highlight dominant discourses on ‘womanhood’ and gender stemming from gender-sensitive development discourse. Thus, the following is to contrast and provoke reflections on the ‘female’ (film)body as a blueprint for reality.

3.3.1 Gender-confusion

I initiate with an example from this geo-political set-up (DK). Some friends of mine, both signified as so-called ‘women’, are living together in a love-relationship. They have, in contestation to the ‘Law’,²⁹ decided to have children, which both bodies are capable of making. They have decided that their children should be made from the semen of the same body (a so-called ‘man’). So first, one of my friends gets inseminated and 9 months later a baby is the result (a so-called ‘boy’). A year later the same body goes through the same procedure and 9 months later there is another baby (a so-called ‘girl’). Now with two children, the second body of the relationship decides to be inseminated with semen

opening up to the outer building, which again is divided into cells traversing the whole building. These cells have windows opening up to the outside (as well as to the tower) in order for daylight to pass through the whole cell. Hence, the person (the overseer situated in the tower) can constantly surveil the captives from the tower. In this sense the surveillance is ‘interiorised’ in the mind of the surveilled and thereby very effective in order to establish ‘self’-control and ‘normality’. Foucault in PK1980 p. 147

²⁸ Deleuze 1988 p. 36

²⁹ The Law is divided into a complex set of different laws. Laws for adoption, under the “Directorate for civil rights” and laws for insemination, under the “Ministry of health.” Married ‘gay-couples’ cannot adopt, but ‘single wo/men’ can. The person who wishes to adopt has to go through an adoption agency, which investigates into the person’s life and a profile is given to the institution from where the child will be adopted. Often the people in ‘the other end’ refuse to let the adoption go through if they become aware that the adopter is ‘gay’. For insemination, the rules are more ‘blurred’. Insemination is in 99% of the cases seen as an option for ‘hetero-sexual’ couples who must prove that they have been together several years. If a single woman wishes an insemination, a doctor is not allowed to perform it. Nevertheless, as there is a ‘hole’ in the (heteronormative) law, today there is one private clinic (midwife) in Copenhagen who does this. However, one cannot require into the originator of the semen. But it is possible to order semen from the USA according to: height, eye-colour, race and religion! (Conversation with ‘directorate for civil rights’, ‘Landsforeningen for ufrivilligt barnløse’ and ‘Forbundet for bøsser og lesbiske’ 14/12-01)

from the same portion (preserved in a freezer) and has now given birth to the third child of the family.

In my study, this example is an important one, because the situation of the bodies in question have in many instances led to a vast array of gender-confusion and they have been asked several questions from e.g. journalists: Who is the 'man' of the relationship? Where will the masculinity come from? Who plays the role ('law') of the father since they are both mothers and fathers? How will their situation influence their children and especially the little boy? Did they or did they not go through an illegal insemination? Who did it? How would the semen-donor react if he knew that he had laid body to this kind of family? Do they know him? Will his (!) children be able to contact him? Thus the example exposes some of the issues at stake, when we are discussing bodies, identities, social roles and law. It shows how sex and gender-considerations are interlinked with dominant discourses on matrimony, parenthood, children, (hetero)sexuality, status and crime. It highlights, how bodies through actions and performances, are conducive to reflections about language and the utmost important role signifiers play in our lives.

And from this small narrative it is possible to ask a row of questions that are relevant to this study: Where is 'the woman'? Where does the sex or gender 'sit'? Is the woman in the body or in the language? Or does 'she' come into being through a specific kind of action e.g. referred to as sexuality and/or maternity? Is 'she' only in relation to the 'he'? Or is it a combination of all of them? And furthermore if the kind of body that gives room to the signifier 'woman', is capable of going through pregnancies, where does that leave all the bodies who refer to themselves as 'women' but cannot become pregnant? What about the bodies that can become pregnant, but decide not to, are they then 'male'? What about the bodies who feel 'female' but are designated as 'males' or vice versa, are their lives a lie? What about the bodies who desire 'similar' bodies, should they be considered worthless as parents? Must a body be gendered in order to be *a somebody*? Or in other words, must one have a place in the symbolic order, in order to become an intelligible person? These questions are all important in relation to my study on so-called 'Southern women' and how bodies could turn into that category. And these are in fact some of the questions (and several more) Butler asks her reader(s) in "Gender-trouble."

Butler proposes a subversion of identity(formation) and a denaturalising understanding of how 'we' come into being. She sees the binary division between so-called 'men' and 'women' as detrimental for the present ontological status of the body in question.

Butler refuses any kind of gender-core and/or true essence of the body. **A body is what a body does.** She sees 'our' understanding of 'male' and 'female' bodies as naturalized

power-knowledge constructs, founded in notions of ‘natural’ *a priori* (e.g. ‘natural sex’) and the illusion that there should be a ‘true’ body behind the signifiers, which have been applied to it throughout time-space (where the body as a location of power-operations is caught in a symbolic order). She connects visibility to statements and problematises: *“What are the categories through which one sees [fe/male bodies]? The moment in which one’s staid and usual cultural perceptions fail, when one cannot with surety read the body one sees, is precisely the moment when one is no longer sure whether the body encountered is that of a man or a woman [...] when such categories come into question the reality of gender is also put into crisis [...] what we take to be real is a changeable and revisable reality.”*³⁰

In this line of reasoning, the body as embedding a specific sex does not exist prior to statements and visibilities. **The body be/comes discourse.**³¹ And according to Butler drawing on Foucault, the body should be considered as *“the inscribed surface of events”*³² And/or *“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”*.³³ Thus, it is with this frame of mind Butler insists that the homogenisation of gendered bodies is impossible. And that in order to render peoples lives intelligible we should see **gender as a complexity whose totality is permanently deferred**. Therefore it is also impossible for Butler to subscribe to feminism(s), which presume universality and unity of the ‘female’ subject. She states:

*“The premature insistence on a stable subject of feminism, understood as a seamless category of women, inevitably generates multiple refusals to accept the category [...] Indeed the fragmentation within feminism and the paradoxical opposition to feminism from “women” whom feminism claims to represent suggest the necessary limits of identity politics.”*³⁴

³⁰ Butler 1999, p. xxiii. My insertion.

³¹ We can only explain/articulate the body through signifiers. However the body holds great potential for ‘gaps’, ‘voids’ and ‘limits’ in discursive practices. The body as a luminosity is not merely part of ‘the said’, it operates in the realms of the non-enunciative. Scientific rationality and ‘the said’ cannot embrace the mysteries of a body. Intriguing contemplations: How can a Yogi hold his/her breath in 4 hours where others would suffocate after 4-10 min.? How can Siamese twins share 30% of their adherent brains, where one has dreams and the other not? Where do we ‘go’ when we dream? Hypnosis? What is orgasm? Etc.

³² Foucault in Butler, 1999, p. 165.

³³ Foucault in Butler, 1999, p. 165.

³⁴ Butler 1999 p. 7

3.3.2 Women in Development (WID)

Hence, Butler's approach obviously contrasts that of several other feminisms and/or institutions inspired by notions of feminism, which take as their out-set a binary power-division between 'men' and 'women'. E.g. Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and development (GAD). It is important to point out, that there are obviously several contesting fractions within these clusters respectively, however all clusters take their point of departure in the positivities 'Southern women' and 'Southern men'. Some of **WID**'s core points in the 1970s, founded in e.g. 'liberal feminism' and a strong belief in modernisation³⁵ were that 'Southern women' had been excluded by development-policies and if not recognized as important members of societies and economic contributors, development-interventions would be conducive to reinforcing patriarchy and marginalisation. Thus, WID argued that 'Southern women' should be fully integrated into the modernisation strategies of development processes as economically productive agents.³⁶ This was mainly to be obtained through education. *"Underlying WID approaches is a model of gender inequality as primarily cultural in character and origins. Development itself is seen as gender neutral. It is the vestiges of patriarchal culture, evinced in the sexist attitudes of Western bureaucrats and the 'traditionalism' of Third World men [...] that was the problem in preventing women's full participation in development."*³⁷

3.3.3 Women and Development (WAD)

As an answer to these stances **WAD** later entered the stage, with a different set of arguments founded in dispersed Marxist/feminist theory and inspired by (inter)dependency theory. To WAD 'Southern women' were already part of development processes and it was exactly these very processes, which were conducive to women's inequitable experiences of development strategies. Thus, it was the capitalist notions of development stemming from Western capitalist neo-imperialism, which were detrimental to 'Southern women'. WAD saw the sexual division of labour as an integral component of the capitalist system of production and accumulation, reinforcing and benefiting from

³⁵ Informed by e.g. Barbara Rogers and Ester Boserup (Boserup was a member of Mellefolkeliget Samvirkes' board and information-department from 1968)

³⁶ The CEDAW-convention (Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women) was adopted by UN general assembly in 1979 and further concretised at the international women conference in Beijing in 1995 where a Platform For Action was ratified. Stressing three main priorities: 1) **"The right to decide over your own body [...]** protection of girls and women in all ages, women's reproductive and sexual rights and health, trade with women, violence against women. 2) **Economic rights [...]** knowledge about economic rights, documentation and lobby concerning development assistance, programs of credit, regional and international trade-relations, structural adjustment programs and policies, dept-problems, food-security, the right to form trade organisations. 3) **Political rights [...]** women's participation in processes of democratisation, knowledge about political rights, access to mass-media."(KULU 1998 p. 2-3). Hence, the CEDAW-convention 'gendered' rationalities and priorities enframing 'The Universal Declaration of Human rights' from 1948. See **appendixes B and C**

patriarchal customs. However, this was disputed by e.g. Mies (belonging to a strong fraction of WAD) who claimed that patriarchal violence was not a feature of some feudal past but rather a necessary correlate of the so-called modernisation process. ‘Southern women’ were domesticated within the rationalities of capitalist exploitation, and through this domestication their roles as workers were de-politicised.³⁸ Furthermore, Mies argued that the model of global patriarchal capitalism predominantly works in the interest of ‘white Western males’ and is therefore detrimental to the woman’s harmony and balance with *the natural world*. Hence, the danger of this WAD model is that men predominantly appear as monsters and women as their fragile victims. And, not only sustaining a dichotomy between ‘women’ and ‘men’ this stance sustains and naturalises a binary division between ‘North’ and ‘South’.

3.3.4 Gender and Development (GAD)

Critiques of these two fractions of feminism in development led in the late 1980s to a different version suggested by so-called socialist feminists. These feminists were represented in the **GAD** frame-work. GAD representatives suggested that the WAD perspectives were constructing ‘women’ as some kind of coherent and discrete social category. They stated: “*No study of women and development can start from the viewpoint that the problem is women, but rather men and women, more specifically the relations between them.*”³⁹ Thus, in this sense GAD representatives were pointing to cultural constructions of gender and gender as relational, involving both ‘women’ and ‘men’. They meant that this view would provide a more flexible and nuanced approach to gender inequality in development processes in the ‘South’. One of the net-works to emerge out of these thoughts was **DAWN** (Development Alternatives with Women for a New era) who have placed more emphasis on listening and responding to the voices of ‘poor Third World women’. The DAWN net-work (and their thoughts) were some of the primus-motors in co-establishing grass-root organisations and/or ‘women’s’ NGOs in the ‘South’.⁴⁰

³⁷ Schech et al 2000 p. 91-92

³⁸ Schech et al 2000 p. 94

³⁹ Schech et al 2000 p. 95

⁴⁰ Looking into several archives it is obvious that the UN’s Women’s Decade from 1975-85 and the international conferences including WID, WAD and later GAD fractions in 1975: Mexico, 1980: Copenhagen, 1985: Nairobi, 1995: Beijing and Beijing+5 in New York, have had substantial importance in the construction of ‘universal womanhood’. The conference in Nairobi (To Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN decade for Women) was crucial in the sense that it gathered more than 16.000 women from more than 150 countries, and: “[It was] *an enormous exercise in the empowerment of women at the global level. Women returned home stronger than before, and brought with them the experience of what sisterhood is all about.*” These conferences: “[...] *were necessary for women to coordinate their activities internationally as well, so that the same suggestions and pressures were applied in parallel in as many countries as possible.*” (Pietilä et al 1994 p. 2-5). See **appendix B**

These initiatives informed new partnerships between feminists of the ‘North’ and the ‘South’, whose primary function was/is to **empower women** in the processes of development. Hence, including notions of ‘basic rights of women’ and calls for a transformation of institutions that subordinate women GAD/DAWN advocate for a feminist development theory that operates with the needs, experiences and perspectives of the ‘Southern women’ themselves. And, according to these feminists, this approach should make it possible to avoid some of the pitfalls of the gender dichotomy (accorded to the significance of patriarchal supremacy) put forward in the WAD perspectives.⁴¹

3.3.5 The Critics

Hence, all the above fractions of feminists in development (reflecting political divisions between liberal and socialist/Marxist perspectives) are forming their battle with an out-set in positivities - ‘Southern women out there’ - and despite their differences, none **reject development as an ultimate goal**. This has been problematised by several post-colonial writers, who see the manoeuvres (however well-intended) as neo-colonising mechanisms sustaining the stereotyped ‘Southern woman’ and keeping up binary power-divisions between ‘North’ and ‘South’. Among several e.g. Mohanty, who claims that ‘Western feminists’ universalised their own normative stances through essentializing ‘Southern women’ as tradition-bound and suppressed victims of patriarchal powers. Moreover, Goetz and Hirshman have pointed to a ‘colonial move’ embedded in feminist development theory, since the knowledge produced in ‘Western’ contexts by ‘Western women’, shaped by power-dynamics of the North/South systems, obtains an epistemic superiority to the knowledge (on ‘Southern women’) produced by ‘Southern Women’.

However, according to my stance, these (well-intended) specific oppositional stances informed by post-colonial discourse unfortunately fall pray to yet another binary power-division, as they seem to be ‘othering’ the other way around. Homogenising so-called ‘Western women’, seeing knowledge and knowledge-production as some kind of elitist conspiracy, produced in uniform geo-political set-ups by a confined category of people. Thus the ‘problematic sameness’ is thrown back to where it supposedly came from, continuing the sustenance of binary power-divisions between ‘West/North’ and ‘South’ and imaginations of pure ‘top-down’ power-operations. Therefore, perpetuating my overall problematisation with an out-set in post-structuralist thoughts and the body as a discursive construct: If the ‘Southern woman’ is a power-knowledge construct, a ‘place’ in the symbolic order, a positivity configured in the battle of statements and visibilities emerging within complex discursive formations (which I find ‘she’ is) why is it, that ‘she’ becomes so important in identity politics and international development?

⁴¹ Schech et al 2000 p. 99

Or, why are constructed and experienced gender identities relevant in the creation of social change and modern subjectivity? With these questions in mind, I proceed my study into how essentialist notions were ascribed to and adopted by bodies and how power-knowledge works through these at its most effective. Hence, I am not intending to show/state that gendered relations do not exist – they are certainly very real in peoples’ lives – but rather, to show how they exist, and how productive they can be and are (inscribed and adopted by bodies) in development rationalities and practices.

3.4 Geo-political Imaginations & Symbolic Divisionism

The following is to be considered in immediate prolongation of the above. However, my main interest here is: How bodies could turn into ‘Southern’ and ‘Northern/Western’ bodies and how development discourse and rationalities have informed such notions. The how of ‘1st world’ and ‘3rd world’? Thus, what I look into here is **non-uniform epistemic dispersal** (through discursive penetration/adoption) and how institutional details of power-knowledge in specific localities can be seen as entwined with much broader patterns of power. Today stretching over several continents, dispersed in a variety of so-called nation-states and operating through bodies and minds. Geo-politics are therefore not to be confused with ‘natural’ geography, which according to my stance on *a priori* as discourse turns into impossibility. Rather, geo-politics are to be considered as deployments and adoptions of specific kinds of power-knowledge in specific geo-political time-spaces. Conducive to discursive constructions and imaginations, which nevertheless have very real effects.

3.4.1 The how of an ‘illusionary’ North/South divide?

Slater adopts a discourse-orientated approach to aspects of *the geo-political*, including questions of nation-state formations and relations, when he problematises notions of ‘the West’ and ‘the Rest’ within the realms of *the war on peoples’ minds*. He argues that the ‘Occidental’ enframing and deployment of modernisation-theory for the so-called ‘developing countries’ was a reflection of a will to spatial power, providing a discursive legitimisation for a whole series of practical interventions and penetrations that sought to subordinate, contain and assimilate the ‘3rd world other’. I agree with Slater, there were/are great power-interests in this game and that the ‘3rd world other’ (as well as the ‘1st world other’) came and still comes into being through discourse. In the same line there is no doubt about Slater’s stances on discursive up-rises on geo-political imaginations e.g. seeking to legitimise practical interventions. However, I seriously disagree with him when he suggests ‘involuntary’ discursive penetration (also referred to as *syringe-theory*) supposedly stemming from the ‘West’, seeking to subordinate, contain

and assimilate the so-called '3rd world other'.⁴² Even though certain development clusters possibly have/had these intentions, I am of the conviction that power-knowledge necessarily must work through the body in order to generate significant effects. Nevertheless, most of Slater's observations are valuable to my study on 'others' and 'selves', imagining and claiming pertinence to specific geographic localities, designating some people as 'Southern' and others as 'Western/Northern'.

3.4.2 Early Post-war Development-discourse

Slater's overall contention is that "*all the major conceptualisations of development in the post-war period contain and express a geo-political imagination which has had a conditioning effect on the enframing of the meanings and the relations of development.*"⁴³

During the early post-war period, a dominant feature of geo-political imagination was the idea of so-called **modernisation**. The discursive up-rise on (paradigmatic) modernisation was partly put into motion in 1947 when the US President Truman⁴⁴ out-lined two antagonistic ways of life: Lives of 'freedom and liberty' and lives of 'terror and oppression'. The discourse was further sustained in 1949 in the initiating battle against the so-called 'Communist world', where a US policy statement helped define the 'underdeveloped' areas of the world. Motivating the dispersed adoption of 1st, 2nd and 3rd world notions and imaginations. "*Truman's 'Fair Deal' for the world embraced a bold new programme 'for making the benefit of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas.*"⁴⁵

The poverty of Europe in these years was to be eliminated through e.g. the Marshall plan, and the poverty of more than half the people of the world (the discursively new-born '3rd world') viewed as both a *handicap* and a *threat*,⁴⁶ was to be eliminated through so-called development of 'underdeveloped' areas.

⁴² 'Syringe-theory' is founded in pragmatic beliefs, that it is possible to 'inject' people with 'pure knowledge' resulting in assimilation and 'sameness'. However, throughout the 80s such stances have been opposed by e.g. reception-theory, which takes out-set in the position of the body in question. That the body plays an active role and (co-)produces the received information within its grid of intelligibility. Thus in this sense the body must participate (approve and/or contest) in order for the information to have any effect at all. However, since grids of intelligibility are so varied, the meaning of statements and visibilities created in a multiplicity of modes of knowing and being will never be the same.

⁴³ Slater 1993 p. 421

⁴⁴ Truman's presidency following the former US foreign minister Marshall, who laid name to the Marshall-plan established in 1947. Targeted to build up Europe after the 2nd world war. Initiated at the same time as Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (today OECD) Martinussen 1999 p. 29.

⁴⁵ Slater 1993 p. 421

⁴⁶ A 'handicap' in relation to e.g. modernisation and so-called capitalist expansion and a 'threat' (to the so-called '1st world') e.g. in relation to power-coalitions between '3rd world' and '2nd world' facilitating so-called communist expansion. Thus the geo-political imaginations and the up-rise (set-in-motion) of these 'new' signifiers were interwoven in an already existing supra-national discursive power-game and ideological battle. And furthermore a continuation/mutation of former discourses on 'Empire' and 'colonies' to which I shall return. (See e.g. Stoler 1997).

Truman proposed this kind of development to be based on ‘**democratic fair dealing**’. Following his doctrine, a group of UN-experts designed a plan for the economic development of ‘underdeveloped countries’. While reinforcing discourse on ‘developed’ and ‘underdeveloped’ the UN programme also recognised, that the transition for the ‘underdeveloped world’ would not be a smooth one: “[...] *There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments [...] ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated.*”⁴⁷

Thus, the road for discursive geo-political imagination, adoption and penetration was paved. The so-called ‘Western’ societies were now increasingly designated as: Modern, advanced, efficient, democratic, rational and free centres of scientific and technical progress. And the dichotomy between ‘West’ and ‘South’ was reinforced by articulation-cum-imagination-cum-experience of: ‘High degrees of structural differentiation’ versus ‘low degrees of structural differentiation’, ‘secularised political cultures with a pragmatic attitude towards ideological movements’ versus ‘traditional cultures with no history’ and ‘autonomies of sub-systems within systems, enabling pluralism of groups and associations’ versus ‘suppressed groups of people with no political culture’. And, according to Slater: “*During the 1950s and beyond, political modernity was couched in terms on representative democracy.*”⁴⁸

3.4.3 1950s & 1960s Development-discourse

Hence, in relation to the above, the modernisation process for the ‘less-advanced’ (up-rising) nations was to be understood as one of transition, in which ‘backward’ societies would increasingly come to represent the ‘1st world’ model. In this light, the so-called pre-democratic societies were considered and configured within the realms of **political order**. According to Slater: “*From the 1950s through to the mid-1960s there was much emphasis in the work of political scientists such as Almond and Apter on the combination of industrialisation, technological advancement and the diffusion of Western democratic ideals, practices and institutional arrangements.*”⁴⁹ However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s this rhetoric shifted towards a concern for, not only political order, but also that of political **stability** (represented in the writings of e.g. Huntington, Pool and Pye).

⁴⁷ United Nations 1951 in Slater 1993 p. 422

⁴⁸ Slater 1993 p. 422

Huntington's statements on so-called 'strong' versus 'weak' states led to yet other geopolitical imaginations: *"The vacuum of power and authority which exists in so many modernising countries may be filled temporarily by charismatic leadership or by military force, [...] but it can be filled permanently only by political organisation [...] in the modernising world he controls the future who organises its politics."*⁵⁰ In rough terms, dispersed/adopted statements like these sustained tri-polar discursive constructions and imaginations: That the '1st world' had somehow solved issues of political order and stability by introducing e.g. liberal democracy, whereas the '2nd world' was predominantly seen as authoritarian with its lack of freedom and the '3rd world' as generally lacking overall political organisation as a 'whole'.

With the Kennedy administration, several relevant US agencies were called together in order to ensure that 'developing nations' evolve in a way that afforded a 'congenial world environment'. State and Defence departments, CIA and the Agency for International Development initiated a row of meetings, where the primary issues to discuss were: 'problems of development and internal defence'.⁵¹ And according to Slater, this was the period where Washington's military modernisation strategy for the 'Third world' began to be put into place. Already in 1962 a National Security Council document stated: *"It is US policy, when it is in the US interest, to make the local military and police advocates of democracy and agents, for carrying forward the development process."*⁵²

3.4.4 1970s Development-discourse

However, in the early 1970s the focus was amplified. Now, there was a growing concern with questions of public policy and a greater interest in the connections between politics and economics, and in this period **Women in Development** and (somewhat later) **Women and Development** entered the stage. However, due to e.g. increases in and persistence of resistance movements and the acknowledgement of the shortcomings of modernisation-theory, the call for more **empirically-based knowledge** from the now naturalised '3rd world' emerged. In 1973 Robert McNamara (GS of World Bank 1968-81) argued for a greater concentration of World Bank resources to be allocated to the '3rd world's rural poor', of which 'Southern women' held a 'strong' position. Following this discourse, a series of sector policy papers on rural development, basic education, basic health and low cost housing were produced by the World Bank's Development research centre.

⁴⁹ Slater 1993 p. 423

⁵⁰ Huntington 1968 p. 45 quoted in Slater 1993 p. 423

⁵¹ Slater 1993 p. 423

Furthermore, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) called for a more community centred approach, with a special focus on ‘**the poorest of the poor**’ – in many cases ‘Southern women’. Hence the ‘quest for knowledge’ was put into motion and deemed as essential. A whole range of anthropologists, other social scientists and filmmakers were recruited into significant developmental organisations⁵³ and the opening for a much broader non-uniform discursive dispersal/adoption through developmental communication and intervention was carved out.

3.4.5 1980s & 1990s Development-discourse

By the end of the 1970s, an increasing number of ‘3rd world’ countries were burdened with growing debt-problems (main focus of one of the selected gender-sensitive films) and from 1970 to the end of 1980 ‘their’ foreign debt had increased from 67,7 billion to 438,7 billion US dollars. Preoccupations with these developments were partly what led to the initiation of the World Bank’s so-called **Structural Adjustment Programmes** (SAPs).⁵⁴ In the beginning of the 1980s the World Bank re-asserted the importance of economic growth – however still pertaining with the importance of knowledge-production and dispersal. Thus, the central focus of SAPs entwined the previously somehow differentiated foci. That of modernisation through economic development and that of ‘knowing’ the ‘poorest of the poor’ and empower ‘these’ as an investment in human resources. **Gender and Development & Development Alternatives with Women for a New era (DAWN)** enter the stage in this period. Furthermore, in many cases the SAPs’ inherent clauses called for both democratisation and minimisation of public expenditure, through cut-downs of the public sector of the loan-taking country. And, even though this imagination of development somehow seems as an inherent rejoinder and/or contradiction, the belief was: *“The solution to the poverty problem lies in the improvement of professional skills, which will allow an increasing number of people to participate in the process of economic development and to share the fruits of progress.”*⁵⁵

Since the initiation of the SAPs and throughout the 1980s, World Bank and other significant developmental clusters have increasingly received a lot of critique for these

⁵² Kolko 1988 p. 133 quoted in Slater 1993 p. 424. To which Slater reminds us, that these state-gled moves were closely linked to the role of several social science advisors. E.g. Rostow, who argued that Communism was an ‘international disease’ of the transition to modernisation.

⁵³ E.g. World Bank, US Aid, UN etc. Effects and/or layers of this discourse can be traced in Denmark where e.g. Centre for Development Research (an autonomous institution under the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs) was established by Act of Parliament in 1969. The Institute of International Development Studies at Roskilde University was founded in 1981. Slater states, that in 1974 the number of anthropologists hired by US Aid was one. In 1977 this had increased to 22 and in the mid 80s to at least 50. This development was also remarkable in other (governmental and non-governmental) development-clusters.

⁵⁴ Slater 1993 p. 425

⁵⁵ Slater 1993 p. 426

predominantly ‘failing’ strategies (which have been attacked for causing far more poverty and general break-downs of national economies etc.). However, elements of their discursive character still remain. Today **good governance and participatory development**, through co-operation with **civil society**, are central issues of so-called **economic globalisation**. Elements of judiciary systems, election monitoring, administrative decentralisation, conflict resolutions and demobilisation are all key features linked to the creation of institutional and economic capacities in the ‘developing countries’.⁵⁶ These ‘new’ approaches have increasingly recognised the involvement of local development-NGOs in their elaboration of design and implementation. Thus, since the mid-1980s and through-out the 1990s, the field of ‘developing the 3rd world’ have seen an increasing ‘**NGOisation**’ where development discourses are dispersed and adopted at a ‘local level’ (moulded in bodies and minds) and it is partly in this sense, that one can talk about non-uniform epistemic dispersal of geo-political imaginations. Development discourses (on e.g. gender and geo-political issues) are interwoven with local time-spaces of epistemologies and ontologies. Slater puts it this way: “[...] *Aid and development, international organisations endowed with financial capabilities and donor responsibilities and driven by adherence to a particular way of constituting knowledge, social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations, need, if they are to be seen as effective, to be able to instil and internalise their norms, values and ways of thinking into the recipient other.*”⁵⁷

Hence, summing up on this very *rough* out-line of dominant development discourse: In this specific study, geo-political imaginations must be considered in relation to the discursively operating geo-politics within the specifically studied ‘social whole’. How geo-politics in a time-space called Denmark have been and are informed by geo-political imaginations and **discursive representations** stemming from development-clusters and experts, e.g. traceable today in selected gender-sensitive development films stemming from the Danish NGO environment. And how these have been and are entwined and recast in politics of identity informing recipient ‘selves’, constructing so-called ‘1st world’ citizens, at the same time as so-called ‘3rd world’ citizens (an ‘out there’ and ‘in here’ at the same time). Or in other words, I am of the conviction that development discourses do not only inform ‘recipient others’ (selves) in an imagined-cum-experienced ‘3rd world’.

Indeed, these discourses also inform and construct ‘recipient selves’ (others) in an

⁵⁶ Other important notions of dominant development discourse, which have (re)emerged through the past 10-15 years are e.g.: Sustainable development, environment and ecology, international migration, international drug-trafficking, HIV/AIDS (Martinussen 1999, p. 31) and most recently the battle against international terrorism.

⁵⁷ Slater 1993 p. 428

imagined-cum-experienced '1st world';⁵⁸ where audio-visual representations as discursively constructed visibilities play an important role in the re/creation of imaginary universes and in the sustenance of mental pictures' linkage to signifiers and statements. Thus, what seems of utmost interest in relation to dominant development discourse, is how statements have been linked to visibilities and how these representations have formed, shaped and moulded modes of thinking and knowing 'the other' and/in 'the self' in various geo-political set-ups.

3.5 Documentary Realism – a Fiction like no other

*"All of the desires evinced by the early practitioners of the cinema – for factual sustenance, the discovery of the laws of cinematic motion and the perfectibility of perception – are deeply implicated with the scientific project. It is the domain of non-fiction, which has most explicitly articulated the scientific yearning; it is here also that the debates around evidence, objectivity and knowledge have been centred. I would argue then that the non-fiction film and the scientific project are historically linked"*⁵⁹ Taking Renov's observations into consideration, the bodies of the discursively constructed 'Southern women' represented in development-films, gain(ed) status as such through discursive formations of development and the mentioned geo-political dispersal, adoptions and recast imaginations. However, there is a long film-tradition behind development films. The so-called **documentary film-tradition**, stemming from e.g. Vertov (in the 1920s) who was one of the first film-makers/theorists to elaborate complex theories on explicit political film-making.

3.5.1 How Realism?

Today there are many discussions within the field of filmic representation and general documentary film-theory, on what kind of epistemological status we can ascribe to these films. However, documentary film-production has been and is often termed in relation to so-called realism, or as a genre operating through **realist** and/or **'truth' claims**. According to Loizo, these claims generally imply four main attitudes in documentary film-production: A desire to show the world 'as it is' and lives 'as they are lived'. Openness to the totality of human experience however disturbing it may be and a wish to represent a world with epistemological status as definite and that which can be described close to accuracy.

In this sense, dominant discourse on realist documentary representations opposes

⁵⁸ And to elaborate, these discourses are also informed by others and selves in the first place. A moulding web of signifying practices recast in a variety of contexts.

⁵⁹ Renov, in *Crossing Boundaries* 2000 p. 35 (participation in documentary film festival on so-called 'new' subjectivity. The Danish Film Institute May 2000).

suggestions of the world as illusion or ineffable – *documentary traditions' world is knowable and filmable*. And, until recently the documentary tradition has tried to avoid so-called fictional dramaturgy (e.g. staged situations) possibly persisting its' persuasive status, professional code and conventions with the audience.⁶⁰ However, following my lines of thought, a so-called realist representation of so-called reality is not possible. Considering the complex process of constructing/producing a film, e.g.: The choice of subject/story, fund-raising and donor demands, the choice of equipment and crew, the 'room' of selecting visibilities and/or choice of shooting, the selection of the best scenes and sequences, the editing and 'weaving together' of the material and the how of doing it (choice of dramaturgy), the decision of where to show the film, the 'room' of reception (where the reception obviously depends on how the viewer combines statements and visibilities). Whose reality could such a film possibly expose? It is in this sense that one can state that documentary-film with its' status as reality is a fiction like no other.

3.5.2 The Body Acts

Furthermore, in relation to the represented **bodies in films** it is possible to question how the body in question 'speaks' (visually as well as articulated) to the body that 'sees'? In this context Rothman problematises the dichotomy fiction/fact and states: "*However, as film theorists and films never tire of reminding us, real people too [bodies], are characters within fictions (we are creatures of our own imaginations and the imaginations of others). And real people are also actors. We play the characters we, and others, imagine us to be, the characters we are able of becoming.*"⁶¹ In prolongation of this statement Rothman argues that, e.g. in relation to "Nanook of the North"⁶² the 'self' that Nanook plays and the 'self' that plays him are not at all inseparable from what goes on when we are looking at and analysing actors in so-called fiction film (as well as 'others' around us in our experienced realities). Thus in this light, the seen body is not 'out there' as a knowable truth. The role the body plays is not simply that of being recorded or documented. The medium transforms or transfigures the body when the body is revealed and reveals itself on film. And the body itself, in the viewers' experience, is already stamped by fantasies and imaginations.

This again is connected to what Deleuze highlights when comparing Foucault to

⁶⁰ Loizo 1993, p. 9

⁶¹ Rothman 1997 p. 3, [...] my insertion

⁶² "*The film [by Robert Flaherty, 1922] is generally regarded as the work from which all subsequent efforts to bring real life to the screen have stemmed.*" (Rothman 1997 p. 1) In relation to distribution and exposure in new contexts, this was one of the first films to be categorized as documentary film representing 'real reality' and to be shown to a relatively big audience, due to that very categorization. The film wishes to expose Eskimo-life in Northern Canada. It is obviously considered a 'classic' documentary-film and is today also available at the Mediatek.

Goethe: “*Visibilities are not defined by sight but are complexes of actions and passions, actions and reactions, multisensorial complexes, which emerge into the light of day.*”⁶³ Thus, the object, the body, is only there as a ‘something’, a ‘situation’, a ‘luminosity’ and the way we relate to it, inscribe meaning into it, react to it, co-produce with it, see it, hear it etc. are all historically constructed formations based on power-knowledge discourses, shaped by power-relations in a variety of socio-cultural and geo-political contexts.

3.6 Analytical Tools

The following stances inspired by post-structuralist thinkers, such as Foucault, Rose, Stoler and Butler, are included into this study to suggest and expose the contingency and historicity of certain ‘truths’ (as power-knowledge constructs) and should be seen as crucial in my problematisations of development discourse, rationalities and practices and signifiers such as ‘Woman’ and ‘Southern’. With out-set in the body “*as a volume in perpetual disintegration [...] always under siege, suffering destruction by the very terms of history. [Where] history is the creation of values and meanings by a signifying practice that requires the subjection of the body*”⁶⁴ I here unfold my understanding and utilisation of concepts such as **sex, sexuality and gender**, and I include technologies of ‘selfhood’ which enable people to contemplate themselves as **free and equal citizens in place and space**. Thus, I look into how certain notions of gendered and geo-political subjectivity could come into being and some of the historical preconditions motivating such conceptualisations as modern regimes of ‘truth’. The stances brought forward are subsequently implemented into my **field of analysis** and will function as analytical tools, utilized and intermeshed in my **analysis** of how Danish NGOs represent ‘female’ subjectivities in selected development-films.

3.6.1 Power Knowledge Truth

One of Foucault’s crucial contemplations within the field of social science is that power is not something that can be acquired, shared and measured. One cannot hold, keep, store or isolate power as belonging to a specific group of ‘powerful’ against and/or above ‘the powerless’. **Power** is mouldable, relational and co-extensive with discursive formations and social practices, in everything and everywhere. The exercise of power is a certain mode of action – action upon the action of others, guiding possibilities of conduct and placing them within certain orders (of things and beings). Hence, an operation also presupposing **freedom** circulating between modes of being and modes of knowing.

In this light, power does not possess any essence or core, in which its fundamental truth or characteristic can be found. It circulates continuously in and between a multiplicity of

⁶³ Deleuze 1988 p. 59

relations – where **consent and resistance** are important modalities of engagement in the constant an ongoing recreation of power.

But what is an action anyway? Actions in this study should be considered as actions upon actions operating through statements and visibilities and in processes of objectification and self-subjectification. And according to Foucault “*power-relations are both intentional and non-subjective*”⁶⁵, which means that an action performed by a subject in a given power-relation is intentional, while the mechanisms of power are non-subjective. Power-mechanisms are part of multiple discursive formations and the positivities that shape them and/or are shaped by them. Therefore power-mechanisms, are not reducible to the subjects that exercise and act within them. Foucault proposes that power-relations should be studied *from below* in an ascending analysis and thereby/simultaneously it becomes possible to highlight some of the power-mechanisms: “*The focus of a study of power should be the ‘concrete but changing soil’, the tactics upon which the larger strategies of power are grounded.*”⁶⁶ In this study my ‘from below’ and ‘local level’ takes out-set in several actors and their power-relations. Predominantly Danish NGOs in Fagligt Forum and Mediateket and these institutions’ representations of bodies in development-films exposed to the ‘Danish’ viewers/public in today’s Denmark. The larger historico-discursive formation I follow, entailing constructions of gendered and geo-political subjectivities emanates from a variety of time-spaces. However, my ‘local level’ (actors and practices in DK) is to be seen as an inherent reflection of this much larger discursive formation and its emanating effects ‘locally’. Where the local is seen both as a construction and as contributing to the much larger discursive formation.

To Foucault, power is related to **knowledge**. However, this does not mean that power and knowledge are the same. They are co-extensive and entwined. “*Power produces knowledge [...] power and knowledge directly imply one another [...] there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.*”⁶⁷ Therefore, power cannot be considered neither positive nor negative. Rather it is the different effects of power-knowledge in action, which are conducive to either negative or positive results for the subjects involved in the ‘power-game’.

The intentional exercise of power which groups or individuals perform in power-relations produce reactions from others involved in the specific power-relations. Either in forms of

⁶⁴ Foucault quoted in Butler 1999, p. 165

⁶⁵ Foucault 1981, p. 94 (THS vol. I)

⁶⁶ Foucault quoted in Bell 1993, p. 31

physically opposition and/or by statements articulated as counter-discourse (both so-called resistance). Hence, the reformulation or re-performance of statements and actions are themselves actions, which strengthen the over-all discourse in which they take place and shape. And it is in this sense, that actions resisting, contesting and/or re-formulating statements simultaneously produce more knowledge and acceptance of the morality embedded in the articulation of certain positions. Thus, the exercises of power-knowledge-relations could be considered as what makes society and its power-mechanisms function, because the ability to create change (e.g. development) lies within the trans/formative capacity of the power-relations.

As power-relations depend on knowledge, simultaneously with producing more knowledge, discourse becomes the site where power, knowledge and **'truth'** are brought together. The complex web of power-relations and the embedded articulations of contradictory positions constitute how certain ways of thinking, speaking and seeing, become generally accepted as more 'true' than others. Thus, submitting power-knowledge relations to analysis, is to show: *"How certain representations become dominant and shape indelibly the way in which reality is imagined and acted upon [...] discourse produces permissible modes of being and thinking while disqualifying and even making others impossible."*⁶⁸ Power is not opposed to truth, but (like knowledge) mutually entwined in it. *"We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth."*⁶⁹ What becomes accepted as 'true' statements and visibilities in a certain discourse in a given society, are the specific forms of thinking, seeing and acting that come to appear as solutions to problems and at the same time as basis for decisions. Generating so-called **regimes of truth**, which are constituted in the competition between opposed meanings and expressed in the relations of power-knowledge-truth. However, and very important, the power-game does not exclude violence, nor does it necessarily include reaching consensus. *"[...] even though consensus or violence are the instruments or the results, they do not constitute the principle or the basic nature of power."*⁷⁰

Hence, by subscribing to thoughts inspired by Foucault, it becomes impossible for me to subscribe to the so-called **repressive hypothesis**. The common assumption that power (of some) will repress power (of others) and/or that truth is 'there' and superior to power. This indicates that producers of 'truth', e.g. scientists, development-experts, feminists, film-makers, should somehow be located outside power, and therefore; if truth could

⁶⁷ Foucault quoted in Bell 1993, p. 44

⁶⁸ Escobar quoted in Nielsen et al RUC 1998, p. 5

⁶⁹ Foucault 1977 (DP), p. 93

somehow be revealed as outside power, then human beings could likewise consist of a true essence (e.g. ‘natural sex’) which could be emancipated from abuse and domination. In this sense the repressive hypothesis indicates that human beings are divided into those people capable of acting and a passive repressed majority who needs enlightenment and guidance – supposedly from the very same subjects who should be speaking from outside mechanisms of power(!)

3.6.2 Sexuality & ‘The Modern Scientific Project’

Through Foucault and Stoler one can deduce how the scientification of sexed beings and their orders came into being in ongoing processes from the 18th century till today. How modes of practicing religion and/or government mutated with science and gave name to a more or less definable concept. The concept of **Modernity** – not to be confused with modernisation, but Modernity as a mind-set and “[...] *as an attitude rather than a period of history. And by “attitude”, I mean a mode of relating to contemporary reality; a voluntary choice made by people; in the end, a way of thinking and feeling; a way too, of acting and behaving, that at one and the same time marks a relation of belonging and presents itself as a task.*”⁷¹ Thus, my conceptualisations of sexed beings situated in space are framed within this understanding of Modernity and in this study related to how power-knowledge moulded by human sciences not only regulates us, but also enframes programs and procedures assembled to govern our-selves, simultaneously with contributing to present ways of understanding our-selves individually and collectively.

According to Foucault sexuality partly came into existence through the questioning of fundamental human issues: The reproduction of the human species (who was to make children with whom?), its existence, its teleology and the never-ending question, who are we? It came into being via *the desire to know*, inherent in and co-extensive with so-called bio-power and bio-politics. What is today signified and experienced as sexuality (e.g. ‘fe/maleness’ and their inherent ‘true’ qualities) is in the light of Foucault and Stoler⁷² a nexus of so-called regimes of truth; discursive penetrations and adoptions emanating from a large variety of techniques and technologies deployed into human bodies and re/produced by these. Therefore, when Foucault studies the construction of sexuality he traces the discursive formations in which sexuality was shaped as a modern concept. He

⁷⁰ Foucault 1982 (The subject and power), p. 220

⁷¹ Foucault 1997 p. 309, quoted in Moreira 2000 p. 49

⁷² It is important to point out that Foucault predominantly studies the modern scientification of sexuality with outset in (the rise of) ‘Europe’. What some have deemed to be the ‘cradle of civilisation’. However, as epistemes do not ‘know’ borders one of e.g. Stoler’s points is that several governmental techniques and technologies were ‘tested’ in ‘colonies’ before implemented in ‘Europe’. E.g. how to treat children of mixed ‘race’. What rights were they to attain? The roles of ‘mothers’? etc. Thus, situations that ‘happened’ far away from ‘Europe’, influenced and entwined in the scientific constructions of sexuality and race in ‘Europe’ and the proliferation and dispersal of such epistemes in the world (Stoler 1995).

highlights notions of an *ars erotica*, and sees it as one of two great procedures for producing the truth about sex. Some of the societies of *ars erotica* were according to Foucault: China, Japan, India, Rome and ‘Arabo-Moslem’ societies.⁷³ In these societies, or at least in clusters of these societies, truth was drawn from pleasure itself. Accumulated in experience; not seen in relation to a law of the forbidden and the permitted, but evaluated in terms of its intensity of pleasure, drawn from bodily practice and as a kind of knowledge which had to be kept secret, since it would lose its virtue if divulged.⁷⁴ Thus, it was connected to “*an absolute mastery of the body, a singular bliss, obliviousness to time and limits, the elixir of life, the exile of death and its threats.*”⁷⁵

The other procedure Foucault refers to is **scientia sexualis**. “*Throughout the nineteenth century, sex seems to have been incorporated into two very distinct orders of knowledge: a biology of reproduction, which developed continuously according to a general scientific normativity, and a medicine of sex conforming to quite different rules of formation.*”⁷⁶ An upsurge of *scientia sexualis* “[which] claimed to ensure the physical vigor and the moral cleanliness of the social body; it promised to eliminate defective individuals, degenerate and bastardised populations [...] it justified **the racisms of state** [and] it grounded them in ‘truth’.”⁷⁷ Hence, according to Foucault and Stoler sexuality became a kind of bi-product of very complex power-knowledge-truth-games with out-set in e.g. bodies, populations, desires, moralities and government. It became an issue up for study, not only related to the question of pleasure and sensation, law and prohibition, but also in relation to **truth and falsehood** and crucial in the question of subjectivity and individuality. How to define subjects of state? The roles, status and relations of and between ‘women’ and ‘men’, ‘black’ and ‘white’, ‘Empire’ and ‘colonies’?⁷⁸

Thus, human performance (coitus and sexual practice⁷⁹) and its regulation was a central source for the scientific creation and establishment of e.g. sex, sexuality, race and class

⁷³ Materialisations of *ars erotica* could be the tenets of the Indian “Karma Sutra” and/or the pleasures described in Chinese Taoism, which has informed e.g. Mensendieck-training practised today.

⁷⁴ Foucault 1981, p. 57

⁷⁵ Foucault 1981, p. 58

⁷⁶ Foucault 1981, p. 54. My underlining.

⁷⁷ Foucault 1981, p. 54. My insertion and emphasis.

⁷⁸ Stoler’s approach is neither definitive nor comprehensive. However, she brings forward examples of how sexuality and race as bio-political ‘ordering mechanisms’ were dispersed in colonies of the Dutch, French and British. She is clearly aware of peculiarities distinguishing the three colonial bourgeois orders, but she however manages to bring forward certain domains in which discourses of sexuality were articulated within politics of race and how such discourses not only informed ‘colonial societies’ but at the same time located how bourgeois identity was tied to notions of being ‘European’ and being ‘white’, e.g. through sexual prescriptions which served to secure and delineate the ‘authentic’, first-class citizens of ‘European’ nation-states. (Stoler 1995).

⁷⁹ In itself a construction co-extensive with that of sexuality. Constructed through actions upon actions – exercises of power and knowledge – in order to promote and/or disallow a specific type of conduct.

and furthermore a key-element of life entering into processes of normalisation, founded in truth-claims about the body and power-games about its telos.

3.6.3 Confessing your 'self' into a sexed being

According to Foucault the interplay of truth and sex(uality) was partly set in motion by **scientists** and/or experts through investigation, dialogue, organisation, provocation, monitoring, observations etc. filed in reports and dossiers (the rise of documented **expert- knowledge**) and one of the central tools in order to create and shape the 'truth' about sexuality as a crucial aspect of subjectivity was to operate via **confession**. Foucault traces confession back to the Middle ages, where accusatory procedures, tests of guilt, duels, judgements of God etc. gave way to more deliberate forms of interrogation, e.g. the setting up of tribunals of inquisition and new methods of inquiry. These developments played a central role in the order of civil and religious powers. Foucault describes confession as what: "[...] *is driven from its hiding place in the soul, or extracted from the body*". And "[...] *The most defenceless tenderness and the bloodiest of powers have a similar need for confession.*"⁸⁰ Much later, when confession (next to testimony of witnesses and learned methods of observation and demonstration) was systematically incorporated into 'the scientific project' the modern era dawned.

One of the most significant accomplishments of placing confession as a central method to get to the 'truth' and establish knowledge was/is how techniques of confession operate(d) through the confessing person and invent(ed) her/him as an 'individual'. "*The truthful confession was inscribed at the heart of the procedures of individualization by power.*"⁸¹ Whereas subjectivity was earlier predominantly ascribed to one by the reference of others (e.g. personal ties, family, community), truthful confession⁸² now signified a person's acknowledgement of her/his actions, thoughts and individuality.

Today confession has become such a 'naturalized' part of life that it seems impossible to imagine a society without it. "*It plays a part in justice, medicine, education, family relationships and love relations, in the most ordinary affairs of everyday life, and in the*

⁸⁰ Foucault 1981, p. 59

⁸¹ Foucault 1981, p. 59

⁸² According to Foucault confession works through: A) Inducement to speak: The personal history, interrogation, questionnaires. B) The postulate of causality: I.e. "*The limitless dangers which sex carried with it, justified the exhaustive character of the inquisition to which it was subjected*". C) A principle of latency: "*The ways of sex were obscure ... its mechanisms escaped observation and its causal power was partly clandestine.*" D) A method of interpretation: The production of 'truth' had to pass through interpretation in order to be scientifically validated. The function of the expert became a hermeneutic function, in which s/he was the 'master of truth'. E) Medicalisation of the effects of confession: Sex was placed between 'the normal' and 'the pathological'. Therefore a study of e.g. instincts, tendencies, images, pleasures and conduct, which had to be sustained or cured. Foucault 1981, pages 65-67

most solemn rites; [...] One confesses in public [on films] and in private, to one's parents, one's educators, one's doctor, to those one loves [...] One confesses – or is forced to confess.”⁸³ In this light, confession is a ritual of discourse, where the speaking subject simultaneously subjects to statements and in ongoing processes (re)invents ‘her/himself’. A ritual, which unfolds within a power-relationship, because one does not confess without the presence of a (could be virtual) partner, who is not simply an interlocutor but also an authority. Who waits for/expects the confession, requires, prescribes and appreciates it and/or intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console etc. It is a ritual in which ‘truth’ is found or confirmed and it interconnects with all procedures of knowledge-production and self/other-creation. Therefore, in this study, it is extremely relevant in relation to representation through development-films and how bodies are objectified meanwhile self-subjectifying through confession and performance.

3.6.4 Bio-power & Bio-politics

My main interest in relation to bio-power, is how power operates through bodies as constructions of sex, gender and sexuality – as well as race, nationality and class⁸⁴ and other issues of imagined and experienced subjectivity.

According to Foucault bio-power is: “[...] *power over life*. In contrast with the power of the sovereign, which was the right to decide whether to ‘take life or let live’ [...] this newer power exercises power over life through various tactics that incite, reinforce, control, monitor and organize peoples’ lives, so that one might say that the ancient right to take life or let live was replaced by a power to foster life or disallow it to the point of death.”⁸⁵ As an outset to study ‘the power over life’ Foucault takes **death** and how death was central to the power of the Sovereign. The Sovereign had the right to kill or refrain to kill, e.g. if personally threatened and/or if the kingdom/land was at war (s/he would send out soldiers). Hence this kind of power was formulated as the right to take life or let live, and in this historical type of society, power was exercised mainly as a mean to distribute wealth, to demand tax on products, goods, services, and to control the labour involved in production. Power in this sense was thus a right of seizure of things, bodies and life itself, a privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress it. Central to this kind of power was the notion of **blood**. Blood, not only in relation to the shed of blood, but also in relation

⁸³ Foucault 1981, p. 59

⁸⁴ It would be a pseudo-manoeuvre to say that these categories are everywhere (especially in relation to how words and concepts change meanings in different societies). However, as one cannot ‘see’ what one does not know, listening to peoples’ statements about themselves seem important in order to reach an understanding of the categories people ascribe to in their ‘self-creation’. Not in order to create ‘another truth’ but to reflect on the concepts (and their heterogeneous derivations and meanings) one brings into the study of a given society and/or development-film.

⁸⁵ Foucault 1981 THS p. 138 in Bell 1993 p. 33

to its symbolic order (to aspects of what we today designate as subjectivity or identity). People would pertain to a certain kind of blood, be of the same blood, be prepared to risk their blood. And blood could be easily spilled, dry up, be too readily mixed and was capable of being corrupted. *“A society of ‘sanguinity’ – where power spoke through blood: the honour of war, the fear of famine, the triumph of death, the Sovereign with his sword, executioners, and tortures; blood was a reality with a symbolic function.”*⁸⁶

The entrance into the era of bio-power happened, according to Foucault, partly through a transformation from blood to sex. From a symbolics of blood to an analytics of sex. Hence the new procedures (e.g. confession) of power, that were evolving through the classical age and proliferated in the nineteenth century *“marked the threshold of our Modernity”*⁸⁷ However, the passage, from one to the other, happened with overlappings, interactions and ‘echoes’. Blood was still connected to law and later it turned into a scientific ‘biologisation’ of the human body. Foucault sees the transformation, partly as a move away from the right of the Sovereign to life/death, towards a political power, which assigned itself the task of **‘letting live’ and administering life**. And he sees the consolidation of this kind of power as stemming from two (intertwined) poles of formation descending in the 17th century:

One centred on ‘the body as a machine’. An **anatomo-politics of the human body**: *“[Concerning] its disciplining, the optimisation of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterised the disciplines.”*⁸⁸ And the other (descending somewhat later than the first pole) with an out-set in the species body. A **bio-politics of the population**: *“the body imbued with the mechanics of life and as the basis of biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity [...] effected through an entire series of interventions and regulatory controls.”*⁸⁹

Some of the ways in which bio-politics were implemented in ‘Europe’ and (some) ‘colonies’ during the classical period were through various developing **disciplines**.

I.e. through universities, secondary schools, barracks, workshops etc. and on a slightly different plane through fields of economic observation, problematics of birth-rates, longevity, public health, housing and migration. Thus, reflecting military training, police,

⁸⁶ Foucault 1981, p. 147

⁸⁷ Foucault 1981, p. 148

⁸⁸ Foucault 1981, p. 139

medicine, education, tactics, apprenticeships, studies in demography, evaluations of the relationship between inhabitants and resources, analytics of wealth and its circulation etc. All giving birth to the **philosophy of ideology** and very important, according to Foucault: “[...] *bio-power was without question an indispensable element in the development of **capitalism**, the latter would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes.*”⁹⁰

But again, what did that have to do with the invention and deployment of sexuality? It had a lot to do with **sexuality**, because this notion fitted in exactly both categories (the body and the population) at the same time – initiating infinite surveillances, control, distribution of space, medical and/or psychological examinations etc. which were aimed at the entire (social) body. It became a ‘gate’ to the life of the body and the life of the species. Just as it was central to the calculated management of racial politics and the disciplinary forces aimed at **‘mothers’** and **the ‘global’ regulation of the species**. *“It is this “technology of power centred on life” that produces a normalising society and a new form of racism inscribed in it.”*⁹¹ Hence, through the bio-political ‘management’ of life, sexuality as a means of access to the body and the population *“was employed as a standard for the disciplines and as a basis for regulations [...] sexuality was sought out in the smallest details of individual existence ... tracked down in behaviour, pursued in dreams ... suspected of underlying the least follies, traced back into the earliest years of childhood; it became the stamp of individuality [...] and the theme of ideological campaigns for raising standards of morality and responsibility.”*⁹²

Therefore the invention and implementation of sexuality did not emanate from a repression, what others (e.g. Freud and Weber⁹³) have deemed it to do, but from a discursive mass-production of it. Sexuality was a product of a time-space that ‘needed’ it, in order to transform its capabilities of modes of being and modes of knowing. And (perhaps by default) it carried along with it, a sustained confirmation on the ‘self-evident truth’ about sex. That sex is a ‘natural fact’ and sexuality not ‘only’ an action and/or pleasure and/or erotics and/or sin of the flesh and/or lust – designations of other periods. And this is why, of the mutually blooming inventions of sex and sexuality, sex (now often mistakenly referred to as gender) is the most speculative power-grip on bodies and their materiality, because: *“It is through sex – in fact, an imaginary point determined by the*

⁸⁹ Foucault 1981, p. 139

⁹⁰ Foucault 1981, p. 141 my emphasis

⁹¹ Stoler 1997 p. 33

⁹² Foucault 1981, p. 146

⁹³ See e.g. Hawkes on Freud and Weber in Carver et al 1998 p. 102.

deployment of sexuality – that each individual has to pass in order to have access to his own intelligibility [...] the whole of his body [...] his identity.”⁹⁴

Hence, my use of notions such as **sexuality** and **sex** are unquestionable non-essential. They cannot be understood as true and natural. Rather they are bio-political effects of the power-knowledge regime of *scientia sexualis*. And in this connection the third term **gender** is to be contemplated. In present and conventional uses of the words sex and gender, sex is often considered the pre-given and ‘natural sex’, whereas gender is considered to be the relational actions between the ‘two natural sexes’ (‘women & men’) and/or the cultural interpretation of sex. Thus, with risk of going dangerously simple, the historically constructed ‘natural sex’ is most often inscribed (by others) in the body at birth through the positive visibility (the body’s *mark*) connected to a positive statement and/or signification (he or she). Later the body in question incorporates these practices of signification and inscription and (might) perform ‘his/her’ sex and sexuality accordingly e.g. as disciplinary mechanisms or ‘unavoidable’ issues of normalisation.

However, by exposing the historicity of sex as founded in regimes of truth about sexuality there can be no natural basis for gender-relations and according to Butler: “[...] *the distinction between sex and gender turns out to be no distinction at all.*”⁹⁵ Which in my mode of reasoning seems understandable, but must however be somehow modified. Even though gender, sex and sexuality are constructed and entwined in traceable discursive formations they are not fully the same. To me, sex as a self-evident ‘truth’ depends highly on positive visibility, whereas sexuality and gender are connected to the interplay of visibility (‘female/male’ looks), statement (signifier she/he) and performance (e.g. direction of desire). Therefore, I propose a definition of gender related to that of Butler’s. Gender is the performance of imaginary and incorporated sexual differences founded in moralities on (constructed) sexuality and imaginations of an *a priori* sexual ‘self’. Thus, the ‘scientific project’ is at the same time a panoptic⁹⁶ and bio-political one, in which bio-power operates through notions of e.g. sex and sexuality applied to and acted out by bodies in gender-relations.

3.6.5 Freedom in its Practice

In the following I highlight how bio-politics were (and are) inherent in the establishment of modern self-government and inevitably intertwined with an ethos of **free and equal citizens**. How freedom in its practice – embedded in peoples’ imaginations of pertinence

⁹⁴ Foucault 1981, p. 157

⁹⁵ Butler 1990, p. 11

⁹⁶ See e.g. page 13

to the so-called ‘West’ vis a vis the so-called ‘South’ – becomes crucial in geo-politics and nation-building and a primus-motor in establishing class-categories attached to and practiced by bodies as citizens, within nations as well as between them.

According to Rose, power over life and its administration needed to ‘free’ people in order to turn them into subjects. I.e. intelligible bodies, subjectivities, individuals, citizens ascribing and subjecting their ‘selves’ to statements, subjected to government and labour by ‘their own free will’ and as themes up for study. Hence, ‘the scientific project’ was/is fully intertwined with the development of so-called liberal government and liberalism. Liberalism, not as a historical period, nor as a doctrine of how to govern. But: “[...] *liberalism denotes a certain ethos of governing, one which seeks to avoid the twin-dangers of governing too much, and thereby distorting or destroying the operation of the laws of those zones upon which good government depends – families, markets, society, personal autonomy and responsibility – and governing too little, and thus failing to establish the conditions of civility, order, productivity and national well-being.*”⁹⁷

3.6.6 Assembling Civilization

In “Powers of freedom” Rose is concerned with the changing ways in which people relate to themselves (who we think we are in specific contexts) and the ways in which human beings are embodied in technologies that enable people to be governed and/or govern them-selves in the name of freedom. According to Rose, liberal government and its (varied) modes of operation are connected to the establishment of **civility** and the invention and allocation of the disciplinary institutions of the nineteenth century. E.g. workhouses, factories, schools, prisons, hospitals, ‘lunatic’ and ‘poverty’ asylums. But, civility was also brought about through practices of normality, rationality and sensibility. Strategies which attempted to construct ‘regulated freedom’ and moral agency in order to shape the conduct of ‘equal citizens’ within a space of action. Thus, nineteenth-century government partly rested on a foundation of individual subjects who by themselves would carry out the responsibilities that composed their liberties and freedoms for the ‘best’ of the population. Hence, a type of government which could be analysed in terms of the invention of spaces and gazes and their inherent technologies.

In the nineteenth century, **place** and **space**⁹⁸ was calculated through a large variety of projects to enhance liberal government (urban place and/or imagined geo-political space).

⁹⁷ Rose’s reading of Foucault, Rose 1999 p. 70. My underlining.

⁹⁸ Foucault’s notions of space (contemplating ‘natural social geography’) could be divided into the following: Territory: A juridico-political notion signifying an area controlled by a certain kind of power. Field: An economico-juridical notion. Displacement: seen in relation to displaced bodies, armies,

In those days one of the greatest threats to the public order of liberty was, according to Rose: The mob, the mass, the riot, the multiplication of forces of rebellion.⁹⁹ These actions (e.g. a rioting mass of bodies) were the very antithesis to the exercises of freedom and therefore government was obviously very eager to find solutions to these ‘problems’. How to control the mass and how to make the mass (self)controllable? One of the responses was to transform towns into ‘well-ordered’ places for maintaining morality and public health. The dream of the healthy, free and modern city was encouraged with buildings, streets, public spaces etc. in order to produce health, happiness and civility. Thus, place (and thereby space) was opened to **visibility**, ‘locking’ each free individual into normative gazes. And through scientific rationality (on e.g. sexuality) and with the policing and ‘medicalisation’ of the population, a grid of norms of conduct was placed over urban place, regulating behaviour according to notions of ‘the normal’ and ‘the pathological’. Panoptic arrangements which today are traceable in the world-wide dispersal of e.g. television-apparatuses and motion pictures and their non-uniform discursive penetrations.

Processes of normalisation (e.g. panoptic operations performed via **gazes** between rulers and ruled, experts and subjects/objects, male and female, civilised and un-civilized, healthy and sick, moral and perverts, sane and mad, rich and poor etc.) were crucial in order to reach through the subject itself and impose a specific type of conduct on the individual body. *“Public peace was to be maintained not through an exhaustive code of sumptuary laws and prescriptions, but through shaping the conduct of free individuals in the direction of civility.”*¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the term ‘normal’ was implemented into common usage by the mid-nineteenth century, partly signifying social and organic norms (culture/nature dichotomy) and from then on **the norm** would be that which is: Socially worthy, statistically average, healthy, personally desirable. And *“In these ideal individuals the social objective of the good citizen would be fused with the personal aspiration for a civilised life: this would be the state called freedom.”*¹⁰¹

The powers of freedom operating through the ‘civilised individual’, connected to place and space, can therefore be linked with Foucault’s observations regarding the construction of so-called ‘European’ individuals, populations, states and nations and the ‘European territory’ as an ‘ordered and coherent whole’. A bio-political construction and

squadrons and populations. Domain: A juridico-political notion. Soil: historico-geological notion and Region: As a fiscal, administrative, military notion. Foucault in Power/Knowledge 1980, p. 68

⁹⁹ So very threatening to liberal government, which in fact is very manifest today in the so-called ‘West’ e.g. through riots at the various world-summits and the increased policing of such events.

¹⁰⁰ Rose 1999, p. 73

¹⁰¹ Rose 1999, p. 78

geo-political constitution in one. This is, I believe, what Foucault refers to when he remarks that in the mid-nineteenth century a whole politics of settlement took place. In which: “[...] *family, marriage, education, social hierarchization, and property, accompanied by a long series of permanent interventions at the level of the body received their colour and their justification from the mythical concern with protecting the purity of blood and ensuring the triumph of the race.*”¹⁰² Thus, it seems that the ‘free civility’ needed the ‘subordinate un-civility’. ‘Europe’ needed ‘colonies’ (later ‘the 3rd world’), ‘rich’ needed ‘poor’, ‘white’ needed ‘black’, ‘masculinity’ needed ‘femininity’ etc. to come into existence.

Hence, through the scientification and disciplining of things, beings and their (symbolic) orders intertwined with law and the ethos of freedom and equality for all, (self)government transformed bodies into modern individuals that were not merely ‘free to chose’, but obliged to be free. Civility connected to Liberalism, operating in time and space through e.g. notions of democracy, free trade and human rights, needed free and active citizens in order to solidify. And it is in this sense that one can state, that we today practice power through freedom and are also governed (and resisting) in its name. **Freedom as self-government** enhances that we choose, act, expose, subject, perform and inform our ‘selves’ etc. E.g. through demanding that we participate and get involved in order to sustain our rights as sexed citizens. Therefore, in its practice, freedom is a kind of power operating between rights and obligations (of the body in the population) and it is especially problematic when we demand to be governed in its name.

Thus, the subscription to and practices of freedom are actions bound to discipline and bio- and geo-politics. Freedom is not a state of being nor a constitutional form, but a kind of power co-extensive with bio-politics and the administration of life. One is completely free in the sense that one cannot but subject oneself to statements and visibilities inevitably intertwined with places and gazes. And if seriously **recast**; conducive to subversive performance including risks of disciplinary punishment, economic sanctions and/or physical confinement. Therefore, practices of freedom (then as now) are crucial to my study because they are intertwined with self-government and understandings of ‘selves’ and ‘others’ (as sexed ‘Southern’/’Northern’ beings).

And, since practices of freedom partly operate through panoptic arrangements, I cannot ignore such practices when studying ‘others’ in development films, and how these ‘others’ consecutively inform, mould and contribute to the ethics of the ‘selves’ who watch them.

¹⁰² Foucault 1981, p. 149

4. Field of Analysis

4.1 Introduction

My field of analysis is a general depiction of development-information activity in Denmark, reflected in the light of dominant development rationalities and ‘North/South’ divides put forward in my grid of intelligibility and touched upon in my analytical tools. My interest here, is how development discourse arose and was/is dispersed in Denmark, how – through which techniques and technologies – development rationalities found and find their ways into Danish minds and imaginations, how people from the ‘3rd world’ were/are discursively constructed and why/when it became important to distinguish between ‘3rd world women’ and ‘men’ and/or how ‘Southern women’ (somewhat later than ‘3rd world people’) entered development discourse in Denmark and why?

As mentioned, I take out-set in the history of Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke¹⁰³ and study the early post-war period where MS was founded and why. I contemplate how MS has influenced decisions taken within the Danish state-apparatus (predominantly the foreign Ministry and the Ministry of education) and how some of these decisions have led to the creation of yet other well-known development clusters. E.g. the establishment of Danida and inclusion of other important societal development-information channels such as general education and mass-media. I focus specifically on the implementation and utilisation of development-films but also include other development-communication initiatives, which have been utilized in order to inform/construct ‘Danish citizens’ through ‘foreign others’. Hence, even though my field of analysis can far from embrace all the actions and measures that have been taken in Denmark in order to consolidate International Development as ‘a field’, it should give my reader an idea of a grid in which ‘Southern women’ were/are configured and conceptualised in DK. Turning ‘them’ into an unproblematised category and/or self-evident ‘truth’ and a possible and necessary field for development-intervention.

4.2 Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke & The Post-war Period

MS was founded as “Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde” (Friends of peace relief action) in January 1944, and in 1949 the organisation changed name to Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke. According to Juel¹⁰⁴ it was a group of ‘internationalists’ who established the organisation. E.g. Finn Friis, a graduate in political science who from 1923 had worked in the

¹⁰³ See e.g. pages 5-7 and Danish NGOs represented in Fagligt Forum and their year of origin p. iv

¹⁰⁴ Juels’ 315 p. paper is a thorough interpretation of the first 20 years of MS. When I initiated this study the paper was not in distribution and MS was considering whether to publish it in an edited version (interview with Elbæk MS Publisher January 2002). Juel’s paper is now a book “Mod nye grænser”. 512 pages including photos published by MS 2002 (Danidavisen nb. 2 June 2002).

secretariat of 'The League of Nations' in Genève and who in the post-war period functioned as a consultant in the Danish Foreign Ministry on UN-affairs. Elise Thomsen, a teacher in French and German who had lived in France and Germany and worked for the 'Danish Women's National Council' in Spain during the Spanish civil war and who was co-operating with 'the Quakers'¹⁰⁵ and other Peace-friends in several countries. Hagbard Johansen who participated in the foundation of the Danish department of 'War Resisters International' and was its vice-chairman meanwhile a member of the board of the international department. Else Zeuthen who had a Master of Arts from England and was the President of 'Women's International League for Peace and Freedom' in Denmark (Later the international President). And Johs Novrup with a Master in comparative Literature who had studied in Vienna, Paris and New York. In 1942 a state-consultant in youth-education and a central figure in innovating History as a subject and who throughout the 1950s played an important role in the work of Unesco both nationally and internationally.

The establishment of Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde/Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke¹⁰⁶ was furthermore supported by: 'The Society of Friends', 'Aldrig Mere Krig' ('No More War') and 'Women's international League for Peace And Freedom'. Hence, I would argue, that the people of early MS were, with their many international (and national) power-knowledge relations and *know-how*, supposedly both informed by and contributors to discursive formations of development. Just as notions of feminism and geo-political imaginations were already there, blossomed out of former colonial, religious and national discourses on status, sex, race and citizenship.

During the first years MS participated in the re-building of Europe after World War II. Working-camps and schooling, in order to create 'the right attitude'¹⁰⁷, were established in Denmark and volunteers with the 'right mind' and qualifications were sent to Norway,

¹⁰⁵ Many of the early relief-workers and Peace friends in Denmark were inspired by or members of 'the Quakers': "Founded in England in the seventeenth century by George Fox (1624-1691), the Society of Friends is a radical (pacifist) Protestant sect", "all members at meeting are potential ministers, and Quaker women preached or spoke in meeting from early days", "Celebrated causes such as the abolition of slavery and prison reform made Quakers more prominent in the nineteenth century", "Queries of particular relevance included those regarding opposition to paying church rates, bearing arms, smuggling, and slavery" The Quakers had expertise in post-war reconstruction as they had been active in the re-building of Europe after the 1st World war. See e.g.: www.quaker.org

¹⁰⁶ One of the reasons for changing the name of the org. to Mellemfolkeligt Samvirke was according to Juel to eliminate connotations to sectarianism. MS describes the change of name as an indicator of the organisation's change of focus from *aid* to *co-operation* (MS 1944-64 p. 12).

¹⁰⁷ Volunteers were educated in (child) psychology, relations between the 'helper' and the 'victim', history of Europe, former experience in relief-work (e.g. of the Quakers and Peirre Cerecolé), management, health and diseases, the mentality of people whose country has been occupied by an enemy, languages: English, German, Polish, Finnish and Russian. The 'right mind' consisted in: "We need the people who understand to give material and mental help without expecting any reward or gratefulness" (Juel 2001 p. 9-16)

Finland, Germany, Poland, Holland, England, France, Austria, Italy, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Gaza¹⁰⁸ to participate in re/construction. Besides reconstruction of material damage, the relief work consisted in offering assistance in e.g.: Transportation of children, building orphanages and maternity homes, provision of free meals and sanitary and hygienic arrangements. And it was in this period (in 1944, before the end of the war and officially by the Liberation-government in 1945) that the first steps to what we today know as **Danida**, was created: “Samarbejdsudvalget vedrørende Internationalt Hjælpearbejde” (Liaison Committee for International Aid), established between H.H. Koch and other representatives from the Ministry of Social affairs, Danish Red Cross, Norgeshjælpen (Norway Aid), Theresienstadt-relief and Fredsvenners Hjælpearbejde/MS¹⁰⁹ and a year later Save the children Denmark. Co-operating with aid-organisations in Sweden, Switzerland, England and UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency).

4.3 The Construction of the ‘3rd World’ in a space called Denmark

It is not until 1949/50 that so-called ‘underdeveloped countries’ seriously penetrate discourses in MS. This is partly due to the independence-processes taking place in former ‘colonial’ areas and the launching of ample international aid-programmes such as the US Point Four Programme, the Colombo plan¹¹⁰, UN’s extended technical aid-programme and the increasing rivalry between ‘the West’ and ‘the Soviet Union’ and ‘their’ efforts to win the new nations’ favour.¹¹¹ In the early 1950s MS’ member-magazine “Kontakt”¹¹² initiated a row of articles on technical development aid, and in 1952 the editor stressed that also Denmark should participate in helping ‘the under-developed countries’, and that the entire Danish population should be included into these aid- and relief measures. Which necessarily had to be combined with an ample and extended information activity in the whole country.¹¹³

The articles published in “Kontakt” were inspired by Norwegian and Swedish technologies. The Norwegians were intending to activate the peoples’ opinion and the Swedes had assembled more the 40 popular movements into a central committee, whose purpose was to lobby for Swedish bilateral aid as a supplement to the multilateral aid

¹⁰⁸ Mellempøkeligt Samvirke 1944-1964 p. 2

¹⁰⁹ Juel 2001 p. 15

¹¹⁰ The Colombo Plan was launched in 1950 with the aim of facilitating economic and technical cooperation among the member countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Subsequently, recipient areas of its aid were expanded.

¹¹¹ Juel p. 167

¹¹² Some of the writers contributing to this magazine were: Dag Hammerskjöld, Gunnar Myrdal, Margaret Mead, Richie Calder and Bertrand Russel. Juel 2001 p. 173

¹¹³ MS 1944-64 pages 16-17

administered by the UN.¹¹⁴ In 1952 a meeting was held in Reykjavik (Iceland) where all the Nordic foreign ministers were assembled. They ratified a joint declaration stating that all Nordic countries should participate in aiding the ‘underdeveloped’ world; through the UN system, Nordic co-operations and via national bilateral projects, founded in **solid civic foundation**. Thus, interventions ‘out there’ were coextensive with interventions ‘at home’, in order to legitimise public expenditure and to create a ‘new’ and ‘better’ world-environment founded in peace, justice, human rights¹¹⁵ and fundamental freedoms.

*“In this period MS were as most people in Denmark principally supporters of multilateral aid. It was not to disturb the existing practise, that they wanted to go through with bilateral supplements, but only because they were convinced that it would only be possible through direct collaborations with the developing countries to give substance to a solid civic information-activity and thereby create the support for increased aid.”*¹¹⁶

The rationalities enframing such efforts were carved out in a national radio broadcast on 24th of October 1953 by speakers Novrup and Fremm from MS, minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs Bodil Koch and minister of Finance Thorkil Kristensen. According to Juel they reached the conclusion that the future information-activity should be based on: **“Guilt and responsibility towards the oppressed. Aid in order to defeat the sufferance and underdevelopment as a moral duty, but also as a mean to secure world peace, and the understanding and respect for the new neighbours as a basis for the future co-operation [...] and we have something to learn before we can meet the coloured people on equal terms.”**¹¹⁷

Hence in this aura, the road to the ‘Danish’ minds and imaginations (as well as the road to a multiplicity of other minds) was carved out. Even though it took around a decade before the first bilateral interventions were initiated, the information-activity initiated in Denmark in the early 1950s quickly gained great penetration and became a successful example for other countries.¹¹⁸ The information-activity was initially carried out in

¹¹⁴ The Covenant of the United Nations was signed 24th of October 1945. The (in)famous Bretton Woods meeting was held in July 1944 including USA, England and their war-time allies (730 persons from 44 countries). The IMF and World Bank (IBRD) were conceived at this meeting. IMF and IBRD were subsequently implemented as specialized agencies under the UN in 1945 (*Sisters in the Wood*’ Handelshøjskolen Århus English Institute 1993 p. 5-7).

¹¹⁵ See **appendix C**. *“The 10th of December 1948 UN general assembly ratified the world declaration on International Human Rights. Of the then 58 memberstates 48 voted for, including Denmark. Nobody voted against [...] The introduction declares an obligation to, via education and formation, evoke respect for these rights and article 26 states the right to education and the educations’ objectives and goals.”* Hammerich 1971 p. 2. (NATO was established in 1949 by Canada, USA, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, France, England, Italy, Portugal).

¹¹⁶ Juel 2001 p. 168

¹¹⁷ Juel 2001 p. 171 my emphasis

¹¹⁸ Juel 2001 p. 169

connection with the national Unesco commission and in close connection with Unesco in Paris.¹¹⁹

4.3.1 Coupon-plan

Previous to the national radio-transmission mentioned above, MS had sent out Unesco-material to local committees, solidarity-organisations, folk high-schools, previous volunteers and the press. One of the important issues of this information-material was partly to solidify personal engagement in ‘the case’ but also to mobilise citizens in order to raise money.¹²⁰ As far as I can decipher from Juel and MS’ yearly reports, this was done through Unesco’s coupon-plan inspired by previous money-collections performed by MS. MS required coupon-leaflets (including 140 labels at 0,25 dkk. a piece) from Unesco. These were distributed to volunteers who would sell them at work and in schools. Then the money was sent to MS. Then MS would send out Unesco-cheques. Not to Unesco, but to the money-contributor – including the address to the project the person/organisation wished to support. At reception of the money (predominantly for educational material, i.e. books) the recipient would write a ‘thank-you’ letter to the donor.¹²¹ Thereby the knot between ‘the local’ and ‘the global’ was tied in a very intelligent way, including minds’, imaginations’ and peoples’ active participation.

4.3.2 Delivering Discourse¹²²

In November 1953 Danish Youth Council (DUF) arranged a conference with the subject: ‘Danish Youth and the Exterior’. MS participated in the debate, and it was decided that the represented organisations should embark on a collective effort to help the ‘underdeveloped’ countries. The idea was initially to take on a bilateral project (Mysore/India, equipment for adult education and folk high-schools). However, all agreed that there was a need for a national information-campaign. Lectures were initiated in 1954 and the interest was so great that 94 meetings were carried out in two months. This is where **development-films** entered the stage. After the lectures Unesco’s film “Borderless World” from Mexico and Thailand, was shown to the audience.

According to Juel: *“A better help could hardly have been imagined, in the creation of sympathy and understanding for the ‘3rd world people’. It was a beautiful and spiritual film from Mexico and Thailand, which in a penetrating way, and without suggestion, illustrated a development-project carried out by international organisations and the*

¹¹⁹ See **appendix D** – Unesco Constitution/Introduction 1946. Hammerich 1971 appendix.

¹²⁰ Denmark went through several foreign currency crises in the 1950s, resulting in e.g. general strikes and massive manifestations. Hence, finance for ‘foreign’ aid was scarce and ‘personal involvement’ needed.

¹²¹ Juel 2001 p. 169 and MS 1944-64 p. 14

¹²² What my dictionary suggests when I look up the proper word for ‘foredrag’ (also lecture) Vinterberg & Bodelsen 1983

governments of the two countries, in order to fight starvation, disease and ignorance.”¹²³ Hence, analytically speaking, development-films¹²⁴ were not simply implemented into *comme ils faut* development practices, but rather utilised as a strategic technology in order to create development as ‘a field’ in Denmark. Because it was partly through the utilisation of such films, statements could be connected to (create) positive visibilities and carry into the light of day imagined geo-political ‘reality’ – consolidating the construction of fields of intervention ‘out there’.

Following, it was not only the Youth organisations applying for MS’ lectures. Now also primary-schools, secondary-schools, seminars, smallholders’ associations, Rotary-clubs, The Women’s League, the UN-committee, ‘One world’ and several other organisations were waiting in line. During the winter 1954-55, 170 lectures were given with app. 100 participants in each. Furthermore, the writer Paul la Cour gave around 25 lectures for MS, with participants ranging from 200-700 people. These lectures were quoted (in full) in the national daily newspaper “Politiken” and also broadcast by Danish national radio. In November 1954 the film “Borderless World” was broadcast on national TV (which was however not common at the time) and in the summer 1955 MS distributed an information and film-program in 10.000 copies.¹²⁵ Here the audience could select between four lectures: *The work of UN, Conditions in the under-developed world, International understanding and co-operation, Our relation to people in other parts of the world*. Included in the information-package there were options to select from four films: “*Borderless world*” (Central America, South East Asia), “*Indian Village*” (India), “*New time over Udi*” (Africa) and “*The forgotten Village*” (Latin America) and appeals from Paul la Cour and Else-Merete Ross (President of Danish Women’s National Council) to participate in raising money via the coupon-plan.

4.3.3 UNESCO-films - Visualising the ‘3rd World’

I have traced the Unesco development-films mentioned above (distributed by MS and Statens Filmcentral in the 1950s) through the museum-department of the Danish Film

¹²³ Juel 2001 p. 172

¹²⁴ These were obviously not the first (motion) pictures on ‘others’ to be exposed to the population. There had been various exhibitions of ‘the wild’ and ‘the savage’ as early as Expo in Copenhagen 1902, where people were exhibited in Tivoli and guests could see for themselves that there were ‘real savages out there’. Furthermore several fiction/‘fact’ films were shown in a variety of Danish cinemas. ‘Safari-films’, ‘Life in the jungle’, ‘Colonial burden film’, ‘Tarzan’, ‘Mowgli’, ‘Wild-animal films’, King Solomon’s Mines from 1937, Congorilla from 1932 which was seen by app. 70.000 people in CPH depicting “*the Johnson couple’s adventurous expedition amongst the ‘ugly and laughable pygmies/Congo-dwarfs*” (sic) (National Daily newspaper 1932) and Baboona from 1935 which depicted “*Natural life among the savages*” in distribution by SFC from 1952-1963 (Mikmeyer 1998, p. 37-38). However, according to my findings, the Unesco-films were (some of) the first films to be contextualised as development-films for a better future and to penetrate so many different clusters of society.

¹²⁵ Juel 2001 p. 172

Institute. I find these films of high value in relation to studying the carving out of fields of development-intervention and the geo-political circumscription of where the so-called 'underdeveloped world' was situated? And in relation to *how* so-called '3rd world people' were initially represented as filmic 'others' in development-films circulating in Denmark. I consider the films examples of early building blocks of a much larger and increasingly amplified discursive formation on 'North' and 'South' and also as important tools in the early visualisation of 'the need for help out there'. The films have very different narrative patterns, are all framed within realist discourse, are all in black and white and two of three operate through voice-over/Voice of God (VOG) translated into Danish.

“Grænseløse Verden” (Borderless World) is a classic expository documentary¹²⁶ crosscutting between Mexico and Siam (Thailand) as if there was no remarkable difference between the people of these two geo-political set-ups apart from local aesthetics and religious requisites. The represented people on the picture-side are 'Indian fishermen/peasants' or 'Siamese fishermen/peasants': *“Who [according to VOG] have all preserved a great love for music and singing”*. And Unesco-teachers and other experts from Mexico, Uruguay, Cuba, Canada, China etc. who arrive in societal clusters in order to 'help' the populations. VOG explains: *“One is able to understand through confidence, if one is able to care about them and help them.”* Apart from stressing that problems are the same for all of mankind and that we are all human beings, VOG expounds development as a constant challenge between stagnation and progress and defines development as: *“What is in progress and what is in standstill has to be developed side by side. That is the law of development.”*

In Mexico main problems are: **pollution and contamination** of a local lake, resulting in various diseases and unsustainable fishing-facilities. Local fishermen are taught how to deal with reproduction of spawn, peasants are shown how to implement irrigation and women are taught *general hygienics* (cook water, delouse children, wash hands) and to make broidery *“to generate extra income.”* VOG states: *“It's a matter of life or death”*. In Siam main problems are: **tuberculosis, skin-diseases and sustainability** in relation to agriculture and forest-industry. Dramatic background music is added to scenes of sick and crying children with fleshy and bleeding growths on their skin. Proceeded by village-

¹²⁶ Nichols divides documentary tradition into five more or less comprehensive modes of representation: Expository modes growing out of the 1930s with desires to expose 'real reality', Observational modes blooming in the 1950s referred to as 'the fly on the wall' and founded in phenomenological beliefs, Interactive modes gaining popularity in the 1960s and 70s implementing 'the personal interview' and striving to make film-makers' point of view more clear, Reflexive modes taking departure in the early 1990s explicitly operating with suspension of so-called 'realism' and Performative modes gaining status in late 1990s working through disruption and dissolution problematising time, place, memory and truth (Bill Nichol's "Representing Reality" 1991).

sessions where WHO-doctors inject large syringes of penicillin into the behinds of naked children. ‘Cures’ of development are celebrated in both places with Siamese dance and/or Mexican bands. VOG explains: *“The health-groups have made it possible for these people to think, live and dance [...] They have helped many villages, and children who have never smiled before smile now.”* Furthermore, education as an absolute necessity is central to the film. Scenes of Unesco book-buses entering villages to music from violins, with locals running for these buses illustrate *“societies hungry for knowledge”*. VOG stresses: *“Education and enlightenment to fight ignorance [...] once conducted they will themselves continue.”* The final scenes of the film visualise the flags of the United Nations – again added to music of violins – including a celebration of UN’s specialised agencies: UNESCO, FAO, UNICEF and WHO. And in the very final scene, showing a turning globe, VOG states: *“Before mankind was ashamed over the past. Now the future must be arranged. Love is stronger than fear and the world is now a smaller place. Teachers, peasants, fishermen, children, happy and unhappy must live together in the same world [...] I am a human being and I speak for millions [...] We have three options: War, preparation for war, or justice and eternal peace.”*

“Indisk Landsby” (Indian Village) also operates through VOG, but now the narrator is a staged and educated local telling his story, exposing the difficulties of generating ‘positive and needed’ change in a hostile and ‘traditional/religious’ society. The film operates with a scripted and progressing linear storyline resembling what is today designated as drama-documentary. Initially it crosscuts between a rough and drought-stricken landscape, dusty palm-trees, crying children, vultures and the local loan-shark (wearing dark shades) who is benefiting from the ignorant villagers **lack of planning**. The narrator’s (voice over) plan is to initiate a well-project in the village and education is stressed as central in order to establish support for the idea. The *“passive and care-free”* locals are visualised in a scene, where a travelling theatre visits the village performing an old Hindu play on Rama and Zita and good vs. evil. The narrator explains: *“Through the play people are wrapped in an illusion of security. These are people who only want to hear the same. The same fake security while the land is burned into pieces by the sun.”* Followed by dramatic music applied to crosscuts between vultures cutting up carcasses, the smiling loan-shark and water running out in the sand. The educated local narrator initiates a row of meetings with the village’s old men. His voice-over explains that none of them want to expose their ignorance during the meetings, and that hostility from the old men towards the low casts’ participation is explicit.

In a scene of shifting ultra-close-ups on ‘talking heads’ conversation is: *“We should take a collective loan as members of a co-operative society [...] But are the untouchables supposed to be involved? [...] Yes! Have you forgotten Ghandi?”* After several and

serious discussions the plan is adopted by the villagers and the day the engineers arrive the voice-over explains: *“This day was a meeting between centuries.”* The narrative reaches climax. Now flutes and violins accompanying cross-cuts of water boosting out of a large metal pipe (the cum-shut), the loan-shark’s worried suffering face, vultures flying away and smiling children, sustain the narrator’s following conclusions: *“A society in progress [...] 300 million Indians could learn from this [...] and millions of children learning to read and write will understand that this [development] is very useful.”*

“Ny Tid over Udi” (New times in Udi) on location at the Niger River starts out with a jungle-scene of a massive collective village-session, where local educated villagers teach several hundred villagers (from children to old people) the Latin alphabet. This film does not operate via voice over. Locals are given ‘own voices’ (speaking English) within a pre-scripted plot and the narrative is built over modalities stemming from fiction film.¹²⁷ The scene of collective alphabetisation cuts to the house/office of a British ‘male-expert’ (lawyer, doctor, development-facilitator etc. wearing the classical sun-helmet and safari-outfit) who is presented with a local problem: **Infant death**. A local educated women (in Western clothes as opposed to her fellow villagers) calls for the construction of a maternity-home. The British expert states. *“Yes, people want progress, but charity is useless. Farmers all over the world are naturally suspicious of progress. You must persuade the women to form a co-operative to raise money for an educated midwife.”* Meetings are initiated in the village, where an educated local (also in safari-dress) gives a warm speech for the maternity-home. Resistance from the local chief Esé and several of his supporters is explicit. The British experts steps in and confronts an old woman: *“I want to see action [...] You’re a woman who have had many children. Surely you want your children to benefit from civilisation.”* The woman agrees reluctantly and states that she will try to use her influence to convince the other women.

The film cuts to a massive dance-session in front of the site of the future maternity-home. Work is initiated by several hundred workers cutting down trees, removing big stones etc. Esé and his companions try to obstruct the work, with Esé stating: *“When this building is built, the government will simply come and take our land away and say that it is theirs.”* The British expert convinces the workers and states: *“Esé is wrong and if you do not continue we will simply take the material away and give to another village.”* Finally the maternity-home is in place. The film cuts to a conflict (point of no return). The newly installed midwife is scared of Esé and his men. She tells the British expert that these men have threatened the women, told them that the ancestors were angry and that

¹²⁷ Aristotle’s dramaturgical model of narration: Opening, build-up, elaboration, point of no return, climax and fade-out. Bonnen 1993 p. 6 (“Dramaturgiske indgange og muligheder til fiktion og fakta”).

their children will be deformed if born at the home. The film cuts to a dramatic scene (the climax) where the midwife, a local woman expert and a woman soon to give birth are situated in the maternity-home. Masked *monsters* ('Ancestors'/Esé and his men) surround the house from all sides (dramatic music added) but the educated woman throws boiling water at them and they flee. In the next scene a beautiful baby-boy (close-up) has been born. There is a dance-session and a local expert gives a speech in front of the maternity-home: "*The value cannot be measured in the building but in the power you have put into it. We want civilisation. It's more than money to reach a more advanced part of life.*" The British expert continues: "*Now you've woken up do not stop here. You must build your own future. People of my country will only be too glad to help you in helping yourselves. This is the power of strong men.*" The final scene shows a road-construction carried out by hundreds of singing villagers: "*We have power, we have spirit, our road goes far, who knows where it will go, who knows, who knows where it will go...*"

Hence, I would argue, that such filmic examples (of pure art propaganda) illustrate how important it was/is to connect statements with visibilities in order to establish the '3rd world' as 'reality out there' and with Juel and MS stressing the utmost helpfulness of these films, it seems that it was **partly** through such measures that the so-called '3rd world' (India, Latin America and Africa with Siam/Thailand representing the far East as 'underdeveloped' areas of the world) initially found 'its' way as 'a' positive visibility into the non-uniform minds of the Danish-speaking people.¹²⁸

4.3.4 Following Years

The following years development-information activity amplified and was increasingly linked to (calls for) bilateral interventions. Unesco supplied photo-material and new themes were translated into Danish. E.g.: Schools in the 'underdeveloped' world, International Human Rights, Children's Rights and East meets West. "*Themes, which put our relations to non-European people into perspective.*"¹²⁹ Slowly, MS expanded its collection of information material (co-operating with Unesco head-quarters in Paris) and photographs from many countries made their way into mass-media and school-books. When the first two bilateral projects were initiated in Ghana and Mysore/India¹³⁰ MS

¹²⁸ According to Juel most areas of the country were very open and interested in the lectures and films. However there were several 'missionary' clusters in Western Jutland where the hostility was explicit: "*No matter how warmly the lecturer spoke of sufferance and poverty in the 'underdeveloped' world, of the need for help, of tolerance and respect for other ways of life, a local representative would almost always condemn the colored people [...] as thieves, lazy and not to be trusted, reasoning their sufferance in that they had inveterated their hearts against God.*" Juel 2001 p. 175

¹²⁹ Juel 2001 p. 172

¹³⁰ Both folk high-school constructions. DK had former 'colonial relations' with Ghana. The territory had been colonised as 'the Gold coast' by Danish, Dutch and British companies trading with gold and slaves. In Mysore the relations were established between Novrup from MS, Unesco Paris and the British Mr.

started to produce their own development information material. MS' member-magazine "Kontakt" became an important medium and from 1953 most issues evolved around 'underdeveloped' countries. From 1956 to 1963, four out of ten numbers of "Kontakt" were translated from Unesco's magazine "Courier" and disseminated to MS members and other humanitarian organisations.

In 1960 MS published their first book "A world in Development" by Sv. Cedergreen Bechs: "[which] gave **a complete presentation** of 3rd world problems, technical aid and intercultural understanding [...] Europe's colonisation of the world and our responsibility for the future development of the 3rd world [...] Problems and perspectives on how we can break the vicious circle of poverty and overpopulation [...] multi- and bilateral aid-programs [and] under the headline 'Cultural clash', a discussion of uncritical implementation of the West's technological and societal patterns in countries with **a very different structure.**"¹³¹ The book was well-received in the press and the first two years it was printed and distributed in 6.600 copies. From 1960-1963, the numbers of lent-out educational material such as: books, leaflets, magazines, photo-sets, photo-reportage, ethnographica, film, slides and sound-tapes, increased from 23.220 to 86.198.¹³² In 1962-63 material was sent out to 25-30% of all public-schools, half of the folk high-schools, two thirds of teachers' colleges, 30-40% of all national libraries, all school-centrals and between 130-150 study-groups and adult education clusters. Furthermore, MS' mobile exhibitions were seen by 23-24.000 individuals and a large amount of school-classes.

Other organisations involved in this extensive development-information effort were: The UN-association, The Women's League and 'One world'. But according to Juel, MS was the only organisation able to deliver such ample and professional development-information material. The information-activity and information-material was initially founded in MS' implementation of Unesco's coupon-plan, Unesco-funding and somewhat later contributions from the Danish state-apparatus and one of the reasons for the strong Unesco interest and funding was, that Denmark was used as an example for other countries.

Unesco representatives were impressed by MS' capability to penetrate and involve so many clusters of society, and Unesco/Paris also ordered development-information material produced by MS for dissemination in other countries. Some of the very

Eagleton, a university teacher working for Mysore State Adult Education Council constructing school-projects based on 'the Danish spirit' and to "reorient the life of the village youth by providing cultural and social education through training for good citizenship." Juel 2001 p. 197 and Gad 1993.

¹³¹ Juel 2001 p. 173. My insertions and emphasis.

¹³² Juel 2001 p. 174

important technologies of MS were obviously to operate through personal contacts and net-works, but also that the organisation was so early in translating material/discourse from Unesco and UN's other specialised agencies into Danish. In 1956 MS held a week-seminar at Magleås folk high-school in co-operation with the Unesco-commission. The aim of the seminar was sharing 'knowledge' and 'know-how' about and in development-information activity and representatives were invited from a variety of organisations in Norway, Sweden, Holland, Germany, England and France.¹³³

4.3.5 Situating the '3rd world' in the State - Interior or Exterior emphasis?

"Samarbejdsudvalget til Internationalt Hjælpearbejde" (Liaison Committee for International Aid) under the Ministry of Social affairs was abolished in 1953 and MS now had to find 'new' ways to get to state-finances. From then on there were on-going negotiations about where to place questions related to the so-called '3rd world' within the state-apparatus and the following years discussions involved several party-political fractions and ministries. However, the main 'battle' took place between 'The Government Committee for Technical Aid to the Developing-countries' (Saxildudvalget) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the National Unesco Commission (NUC) under the Ministry of Education (ME). MS predominantly supported ME and ME was not willing to accept that development issues should solemnly pertain under MFA. However, finances were linked to MFA and MFA persistently claimed that the needed expertise rested within this ministry. This resulted in many discussions and in 1954 MS arranged a meeting with Prime minister Hedtoft¹³⁴ to convince him about bilateral intervention. MS and NUC presented a letter from Eagleton in Mysore, including an application for 1,1 million dkk. (13 million in 1999 prices) and one of the main arguments of the application was: *"Like they need to establish real confidence in us, we need to recognise that they are human beings like us [...] for our own sake we need to face the others, like they need to experience us as we are, not acting like missionaries for a religion or advocates for a specific technical civilisation [...] These questions, with all their economical, political and human scopes should be incorporated into the Danish people, be made part of our collective consciousness."*¹³⁵ Hedtoft liked the proposal, stressing equal emphasis in and fusing education of the Danish citizens and aid to 'the ones who needed help'.

However, MFA was not willing to accept the application and the discussions continued involving several suggestions for co-operation and several ministries. In 1955 Hedtoft died, and decisions were now predominantly taken within MFA. In 1956 MS became

¹³³ Juel 2001 p. 179

¹³⁴ Social democrat; Labour and Social minister in 1945, Prime minister 1947-50 and 1953-55. He was one of the key-persons in the establishment of Nordic Council, which later 'merged' with the European Community (now EU) established in 1957, based on the Rome-treaty originally signed by Belgium, France, West-Germany, Italy, Luxemburg and Holland. Denmark became a member in 1972.

aware that the application for the Mysore-project had been sent to the American embassy in Denmark, in order to establish economic support. However, MS backed out when the American ambassador stressed that, if the Americans were to collaborate there would be “*a complete totalitarian control.*”¹³⁶

Further, due to shifting decision-makers and explicit condescension towards ‘*the coloured people*’ and their ‘*bad manners*’ (from certain representatives within MFA¹³⁷) the battle turned out to be a long one. And it was not until 1958 that the application for the Mysore project reached the desks of the Finance Committee (Finansudvalget) backed up by NUC, ME and the Ministry of Finance.¹³⁸ However, the Danish parliament had established a commission to investigate foreign services and finances, and the application was again backed down for the time. The following year there were several controversies in relation to the project and it was agreed that representatives from ME/MS should be present in the meetings of Saxildudvalget/MFA and vice versa in the meetings of the National Unesco Commission (under ME). The Mysore-project was finally approved by a majority on the 12th of June 1959 – partly due to an increasing interest in bilateral aid throughout the population/electorate¹³⁹ (entwined with MS’, other organisations’ and mass-medias’ extensive development-information activity) which then again obviously interconnected with the interests of the political parties and their chances of (re)winning seats in the forth-coming election (1960).

Summing up, bilateral development interventions ‘out there’ were coextensive with interventions ‘at home’. Interconnected with how inter-parliamentarian measures and rationalities generate change in geo-political set-ups and how societal clusters generate change in inter-parliamentarian rationalities and measures. However opaque, a targeted change partly installed via panoptic arrangements through filmic representations and other media, striving to (re)inforce (geo-political) imaginations of gazing selves as ‘developed’ and pertaining to the ‘1st world’ capable of helping ‘poor others’ in the ‘3rd world’. Or, a multiplicity of actions upon actions, where moralities mould ethics through discursive dispersal and adoption, disseminated through statements and visibilities, (re)inventing places and gazes in the configuration of positivities and regimes of truth.

4.4 Reforming the Public-school – ‘New’ Values

“Understanding is always rooted in one’s own capacities and interests. What I cannot be

¹³⁵ Eagleton’s letter in Juel 2001 p. 200. The original letter is filed in MFAs’ archive: 104.P.3.Indien 24.

¹³⁶ Juel 2001 p. 206

¹³⁷ Juel 2001 p. 209

¹³⁸ Juel 2001 p. 213

¹³⁹ Juel 2001 p. 219

myself, what I am unable to imagine, I shall not understand. Understanding what is different from my reality points to a common fund of possibilities [...] it is not sufficient to increase the amount of information about foreign peoples and countries [...] knowledge alone will not do."¹⁴⁰

Even though some representatives from Unesco knew this, public-schools (as families) are important primary institutions in establishing regimes of truth about 'others' and 'selves'.¹⁴¹ The international agreements Denmark made in the late 1940s and 1950s had profound effects on the organising of, and rationalities within, the Danish public-school system (especially rationalities of Unesco).¹⁴² Changing foci in subjects such as History, Geography and Social science are remarkable. Thus, without going into a profound depiction of school-reforms and their contents, I find it important to high-light how they seem to have merged with geo-political discourse(s) depicted in my grid of intelligibility.

In the law of 24th of May **1942** the clauses for the subject **History** (then including social science) stressed: "*A mean through which the school awakens the children's senses of population and Fatherland.*"¹⁴³ In which the history of Denmark was central. Then the history of the 'Nordic countries' and finally 'important periods of world history'. In the reformation of the public-school in **1958-60** the emphasis changed: "*Apart from raising the national awareness, the main focus is to awaken the children's senses for international understanding and international co-operation.*"¹⁴⁴ Stressing that the pupils were to be taught that **equality should rule between all people and nations**. 'Underdeveloped areas and their history' and the work of UN and its specialised agencies had to be included into the education for international understanding.

In **1942** the subject **Geography** was predominantly aimed at giving the children an understanding of: "*The earth as a habitat [...] the education aims to open the children's eyes for the correlation between geographical conditions and people's livelihoods.*"¹⁴⁵

In **1958-60** international emphasis was stressed in the sense that moral aspects were added to the focus on 'natural geography'. Also in this subject the children had to be

¹⁴⁰ "Preparing teachers for Education in International Understanding" Unesco, Hamburg 1962 quoted in Hammerich 1971 p. 21.

¹⁴¹ Investigations carried out by COWI, in relation to 'development-information material' point to this e.g. by remarks stemming from school-children such as: "What is a developing country?" "Are all children not in school?" "How has Amina learned to calculate if she's not in school?" etc. COWI 1998 p. 60

¹⁴² MS established a school-book committee in 1958 and people from within the organisation (in co-operation with Ministry of Education and the National Unesco Commission) were involved in the revision of the obligatory books to be utilised in the subjects History and Geography. Juel 2001, p.180-83

¹⁴³ Hammerich 1971 p. 7

¹⁴⁴ Hammerich 1971 appendix 4. Article 6 from chapter 2 in 'Den blå betænkning I'

¹⁴⁵ Hammerich 1971 appendix 6. 'Den blå betænkning I' Objectives for subjects History & Geography.

brought to an understanding of equality between all people irrespective of race, language and religion. This was implemented in order to develop 'a feeling of interdependence' with other nations as a necessity for understanding and preserving 'Danish culture'. Regarding the subject **Religion** the emphasis did not change remarkably. The subject was to evolve around Christianity and Christian values including the old and new testaments. In the 9th grade and 3rd *real*¹⁴⁶ other more primitive religions (sic) could be touched upon. Thus, the rationalities of Unesco did not make their way into this subject.¹⁴⁷

The law of **1975** introduced 'political education and compatriotism' and stressed the concept democracy, including the pupils' obligations to solve collective problems. International education was explicitly to evolve around 'developing countries', children in the 3rd world,¹⁴⁸ the gulf separating the rich from the poor, trade and the role of multinational companies. Several other themes were included such as unequal allocation of land and intercultural understanding (reflecting the growing number of 'foreigners' living in Denmark). Furthermore, throughout the 1980s, in the light of the Cold War, international education was to stress peace and questions of disarmament.¹⁴⁹ In this decade 'Unesco's recommendations on international education' received renewed attention.¹⁵⁰

In the law of **1993** 'green' issues were stressed, and in the light of the Brundtland-report from 1987 'global environment' was/is to figure as an important part of international education. Also themes such as globalisation, human rights, children's rights (ratified in 1990), racism/anti-racism and questions related to refugees received new/sustained attention.¹⁵¹ And even though the methodologies within the public-school system have changed (themes now cross-cutting the dividing lines between the subjects), the primary subjects for international/global understanding and education are still: History, Geography, Social science (Samtidsorientering), Languages and now also Nature and

¹⁴⁶ Real-klasse. One of the forms of "real-linie." Formerly the top form of a "realskole".

¹⁴⁷ In difference to e.g. Swedish public-school-reform, where the subject was to give the children an introduction to faith, ethics, the history of Christianity and its relation to society. But also; an introduction to other great religions and other perceptions of life - to invigorate the pupils' understanding for other peoples' values and ways of life. Hammerich 1971 appendix 12. "Läroplan för Grundskolan 1969" S.

¹⁴⁸ Related to 'mothers' and 'women'. In Danida's plan of action for development assistance to women (1987) it is stated: "*Development assistance to women is poverty related [...] and also assistance to children.*" Thus, even though I have not found 'women-issues' as explicit themes of international education it seems reasonable to suggest that some feminist inspired teachers may have subscribed to WID, WAD and GAD discourses proliferating from the mid 1970s and onwards.

¹⁴⁹ I remember this from my own school-years, where we were taught how to deal with a nuclear attack. We were taught how to crawl under the tables during the 'blitz', where we should run to afterwards in the school-compound etc. The 'fear' was intensified by films such as: 'War games' from 1983 and 'The day after' from 1984, demonstrating the horrid effects of a nuclear attack in the USA.

¹⁵⁰ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 46

¹⁵¹ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 47

technique. Subjects which to varying degrees utilise development-films in the education.

4.5 A 'Rough' Depiction of Danida

The Law on technical co-operation with the developing countries was adopted in **1962**. In **1963** Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland signed an agreement on bilateral development aid and in the same year Danida¹⁵² was founded under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In **1966** the Parliament adopted a resolution that app. half of the budget (then 0,08% of GNP) was to be allocated to bilateral aid and the other half for multilateral aims (a principle still followed).¹⁵³ In these early years of Danida history development rationalities were to *"export the Danish way of life"*¹⁵⁴ in order to fight disease, poverty, starvation and ignorance. Several projects were (and are) carried out in collaboration with Danish development NGOs such as Folkekirkens Nødhjælp, MS, Danish Red Cross, Aid to refugees etc. and as the early history of MS and school-reforms illustrate, intricately linked to 'interior' development information-activity.

On 10th of July **1971** the Law on International Development Co-operation was adopted. It stated that Denmark, in accordance with the pact of the UN and the inherent purposes and principles, was to support the 'developing countries': *"In obtaining economic growth and through this contribute to the security of their social progress and political independence."*¹⁵⁵ The 'support' was furthermore to rest in cultural collaboration through mutual understanding and solidarity. Typical projects of the time evolved around: Health, construction of infrastructure and increasing agricultural out-put. In **1978** Denmark reached UN's recommended level (0,7% of GDP) of state-finances allocated to development and in **1979** Denmark got its first development-minister Lise Østergaard (Social Democrat). Throughout the **1980s** many development projects evolved around poverty-relief, education and access to clean water¹⁵⁶ and this was also the decade of an increasing focus on '**Southern women**' (interlinked with UN's women-decade 1975-85). In **1987**, in collaboration with the Danish Women's organisations represented in KULU,

¹⁵² Danish International Development Agency. From 1991 Danish International Development Assistance.

¹⁵³ www.um.dk/danida/historie (16 January 2002)

¹⁵⁴ www.um.dk/danida/historie (16 January 2002)

¹⁵⁵ www.um.dk/danida/historie (16 January 2002)

¹⁵⁶ This was the decade of the massive 'Africa is starving' ("give him today the daily bread") campaign in 1984 by Folkekirkens Nødhjælp and Dansk Røde Kors. Visibilities of extremely thin and dying people representing 'all Africa' flooded the whole country through newspapers, television, billboards etc. and for this period raised the largest amount of money ever in DK for such purposes. It was the decade for 'Live Aid' (also transmitted in DK) where singles such as 'Do they know it's Christmas' and 'We are the world' (1984-85) brought in £8 million and \$100 million respectively. In 1989 Folkekirkens Nødhjælp indulged in a massive campaign for 'Clean water to Africa'. Posters were disseminated in the whole country connecting statements: 'Help, No water no life, Africa is thirsty for clean water' to the visibility of a naked boy-child drinking from a tap. Paludan 1989 p. 7

Danida published: *“Danida’s plan of action for development assistance to women.”*¹⁵⁷ Dealing specifically with the problems of women in developing countries. **WID aspects** were to be integrated into all following sectors: Energy and water supply, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, education, training, health, social infrastructure, manufacturing industries, housing and communications.¹⁵⁸

In **1988** Parliament agreed that Denmark was to allocate 1% of GDP to development assistance at the entrance of **1992**. In **1993** the second development-minister Helle Degn (Social Democrat) was appointed and in **1994** *“Strategy 2000 A world in Development”* was released. This strategy emphasised sectoral development in 20 collaborating countries and whole sectors (from architecture to policies) were now to be built on ‘Danish expertise’. Denmark was furthermore to have more influence on multilateral initiatives carried out by e.g. UNDP and World Bank. Apart from stressing such issues, the strategy also maintained that **women in development**, environment, democratisation and human rights should be cross-cutting considerations incorporated into all activities supported by Danida. In 1994 Poul Nielson (Social Democrat) was appointed as development-minister and in **1999** he was appointed as EU commissioner for development. Jan Trøjborg (Social Democrat) followed him, and *“Partnership 2000”* was released in October **2000**, stressing principles from the former strategy but also including issues dealing with HIV/AIDS¹⁵⁹ and a sustained focus on development of trade industries. Emphasising: *“An effective support to the collaborating countries demands an effective co-ordination of the external development-assistance and the receiving countries’ own efforts. Regarding planning, budgeting and implementation it is the aim, that donor co-ordinates goals in collaboration with the receiving country.”*¹⁶⁰

After general elections in November **2001**, the ministerial development domain has been

¹⁵⁷ Shaped in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Danish Parliament in Nov. 1985 following the United Nation’s international women’s conference in Nairobi July 1985 and the ratification of CEDAW-convention in 1979 (appendix B). Kvindernes Ulands Udvalg is the largest ‘Women in Development’ NGO in Denmark, predominantly funded by Danida. KULU grew out of e.g. MS’ women-fraction in 1976 and has played an important role as donors in gender-sensitive development projects and development information activity. Today KULU is a transpolitical umbrella organization consisting of 30 women-movements co-operating with Southern women to sustain ‘these women’s’ own ideas and initiatives.

¹⁵⁸ “Danida’s plan of action for development assistance to women” 1987 p. 3

¹⁵⁹ Which has lead to the project ‘Steps for the future’. A film-project on HIV/Aids including the production of 35 films made in SADC. The total budget is 20 million dkk. Danida has supplied 2 million dkk. The idea for the project was conceived at the European film-school in Ebeltoft/DK in 2000. The South-african producer Edkins managed to get TV-stations interested in the idea, and donors ‘jumped’ on. Mette Hoffmann Meyer from TV2 is responsible for the sale to TV-stations and NGOs throughout the world. Several films have already been broadcast by TV2 and the collection is available at national libraries. From spring 2002 schools can buy the collection from the Danish Film Institute. SPOR Media is developing educational material to be utilized parallel with the films and a nation-wide information-campaign will initiate in spring 2002. Danidavisen number 9, December 2001 p. 3 (www.steps.co.za)

downsized significantly. Per Stig Møller, Conservative Minister of Foreign Affairs (succeeding development-minister of the former government Bay Bundegaard, Social Liberal) is presently in charge of the development domain. And even though the budget for development assistance, with the shift in government, has decreased considerably (app. 1.000 mill. dkk.)¹⁶¹ a sustained focus for future development initiatives carried out by Danida is: **‘Southern Women and free trade’**.¹⁶²

4.6 Danida’s Information Appropriation (Oplysningsbevillingen)

In §10 of The Law on International Development Co-operation of July 1971 it is stated: *“In order to disseminate knowledge about and create understanding of **the problems of the developing countries and the importance of Danish participation** in international development co-operation, the Foreign Minister can initiate or donate government grants to activity with this purpose.”*¹⁶³

A long-term purpose of Danida’s information appropriation, through which a substantial amount of development-information material is ‘filtered’, is to secure that development problematics are seen as *a matter of course* of the general information and education carried out by organisations, institutions, schools, media and individuals.¹⁶⁴ In order to **sustain and/or generate change in actions and stances of the Danish population** in relation to: *“Developing countries’ economic, social, political and cultural conditions. Relations between developing countries and industrialised countries [and] Denmark’s co-operation with the developing countries and Danish development assistance.”*¹⁶⁵

The budget of the information appropriation is allocated to **three types of information activity**: Defined and concrete information-projects aimed at ample target-groups, consultancies in umbrella-organisations to co-ordinate and strengthen development-information in member-organisations (e.g. NGOs) and travel grants, primarily for individuals (including visitors from ‘the South’). Furthermore, the information appropriation and the decision-makers behind it can themselves initiate development information activities. **Criteria** for obtaining funding from the appropriation rest in rationalities such as: Sustenance of an all-round, attitude-minded and engaging information activity, with funding predominantly granted to development-material aimed

¹⁶⁰ www.um.dk/anida/historie (16 January 2002) p. 2

¹⁶¹ State budget on Danish development assistance 2002 (including savings adopted in February 2002). From discussion meeting arranged by U-landsfagligt Selskab/IDA 31 January 2002 at Ingeniørernes Hus/CPH.

¹⁶² Per Stig Møller in Danida avisen number 9, 2001 p.1

¹⁶³ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 15. My emphasis

¹⁶⁴ www.um.dk/danida/oplysningsbevilling/retningslinier (16 January 2002) p. 1

¹⁶⁵ www.um.dk/danida/oplysningsbevilling/retningslinier (16 January 2002) p. 1

at: Schools, organisations, mass-media and other ample target groups. The **value** of the applications-cum-material is calculated through: Relevance, experience, defined target-groups, innovation, media, distribution-channel, effects, co-ordination and evaluation.¹⁶⁶

From **1984-1998** the budget of Danida's information appropriation for general development information increased from 6,1 mill. dkk. to 24,0 mill. dkk. The budget for project-related development information increased to 8,0 mill. dkk. and the Foreign Ministry's development information¹⁶⁷ increased to 16,0 mill. dkk. Hence the total budget for development information paid by the Danish state increased from 8.1 mill. dkk. in 1984 to 48,0 mill. dkk. in 1998. This should be considered in the light of the total expenses for development assistance increasing from 4.130 mill. dkk. to 10.988 mill. dkk. over the same period.¹⁶⁸ Today, state expenditure for development information is 40,0 mill. dkk. and 12.561,4 mill. dkk. are allocated to development assistance.¹⁶⁹ App. half of the yearly information appropriation is allocated to development NGOs (in addition to other Danida funding) and other consultancies. And based on the appropriation's received applications (from 1995-98) main themes of the funded information activity were: 28% general themes, 17% project-related information, 13% conflict/war, 12% children/youth and education, 9% culture, 6% environment, 5% **Southern women**, 3% development assistance, 3% dept/trade, 2% minorities, 1% indigenous people and 1% on media/development-communication.¹⁷⁰ From 1995 to 1998, 10,4 mill. dkk. of the budget were allocated to **television- and other audio visual productions**, including funding to film-production and/or import of development-films for distribution in Denmark.¹⁷¹

4.7 Public Service Television

When requiring information from Danida's information appropriation on the criteria for receiving funding for a film-production, the answer is, that if one can get a broadcast-agreement with DR1, DR2 and/or TV2, Danida will possibly (co)fund the production. If no **broadcast-agreement** can be reached with Danish television, no funding can be obtained from Danida's information-appropriation (unless one is part of an NGO,

¹⁶⁶ www.um.dk/danida/oplysningsbevilling/retningslinier (16 January 2002) p. 2

¹⁶⁷ E.g. Danida's evaluation reports, rules and guidelines, strategyplans etc. which can be required free of charge at Bechs Distribution (bdm@bech-distribution.dk) by any Danish citizen.

¹⁶⁸ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 17

¹⁶⁹ State budget on Danish development assistance 2002 (including savings adopted in February 2002). From discussion meeting arranged by U-landsfagligt Selskab/IDA 31 January 2002 at Ingeniørernes Hus/CPH. The budget does not specify specific types of development information (it seems that project-related development information is not included in this budget). In 2001 development information was allocated 43,0 million dkk. The former government had estimated an increase to 45,0 mill. dkk. in 2002. With the recent government this has decreased to 40,0 mill dkk.

¹⁷⁰ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 56

¹⁷¹ Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 59

production-company and/or has *a name* as a film-director, artist or journalist). Hence, besides Danida and significant development NGOs, Danish television stations hold a central and utmost important position as producers and *gate-keepers* in the creation and distribution of representations and imagery on so-called '3rd world issues'. Hence, I find development films must be contemplated in relation to dominant representations of '3rd world' issues disseminated in Denmark by public-service television.

Looking at the two most important public-service stations in Denmark today (DR&TV2) there is no continuous critical coverage of development complexes and politics. Discussions of Danish development assistance have no central place in *prime time* and representations of the '3rd world' are most often to be found within documentaries, debate-programs and general news on **wars, catastrophes and crises**.¹⁷² Today in expansion through the increasing availability of international news-channels (e.g. CNN and BBC World). On the other hand there is an increasing coverage of questions related to 'refugees and immigrants' coming to/living in Denmark. This tendency is partly to be traced in the public-service stations' journalistic criteria for selecting *good news*¹⁷³: **Cultural proximity**, relevance, expectation, continuity, composition and variation. Which again must be considered in relation to the institutional set-ups in which they are formed: Organisation, economy, techniques, time and routines.¹⁷⁴ Cultural proximity as a necessary criterion is an interesting one. Requiring into the meaning of this concept in relation to development-films (e.g. supported by Danida) for distribution via public-service television, this predominantly signifies that a 'Danish citizen' must somehow figure in the film, in order to gain the attention of ample target-groups – through which public-service TV-stations obtain legitimacy for state-funding – and facilitate the target-groups' identification with the respective documentary-film/narrative.¹⁷⁵ In addition, the increasing competition between television-stations and -channels has led

¹⁷² Cowi evaluation 1998 41

¹⁷³ "Good news from the '3rd world' is bad news. This goes for content, ideology, priority and form. TV-avisen and TV2 news both reproduce images of the '3rd world' as a world generally 'caught' in a circle of poverty, chaos, war, dependency and primitivity." Cowi evaluation 1998 p. 41

¹⁷⁴ See. e.g. Hjarvad 1995. This study cannot embrace a profound elaboration on the relevant institutions and their practices. However my general knowledge about news-media and -journalism derives from my other line of study (Communications) at Roskilde University.

¹⁷⁵ Cultural proximity is not Danida's criterion. However, as Danida demands broadcast-agreements for their funded av-productions this criterion necessarily 'filters' these productions as well. An example could be a conversation I had with editor Mette Davidsen Nielsen from DR2 in September 2000, where I was trying to 'sell' her a story from Guyana. Her reply was, if I could find a Danish person 'out there' and make that person a central character, the film could be of relevance. However, she also stated that DR2 had already covered their slots for '3rd world' information for 2001 with the well-known Danish writer Ib Michael's documentaries from South America. According to several representatives from the Danish NGO environment, the criterion of cultural proximity has given name to the concept: "Den lille nisse der rejste" (The little Gnome's Journeys) as a present dominant tendency in development-film distributed by Danish public-service television (interviews with NGO representatives January and February 2002).

to a more ‘sensational’ news-coverage where the picture-side of a feature is central for whether or not an event/situation is selected, and since Danish public-service stations benefit from more or less the same news-sources (and the ‘same’ rotating professionals) the general news-coverage of international issues appears relatively uniform.¹⁷⁶ Most of the international news-coverage disseminated by public-service stations in Denmark stem from collaborating American and Western European **news-agencies**: Ritzau (Denmark), Reuters (UK), Associated Press (USA), Agence France Presse and Deutsche Presse Agentur (Germany).¹⁷⁷ And apart from the economic advantages gained through such coalition and co-operation, I would argue that *cultural proximity* in this context gets new meaning. As important providers of contexts of interpretation and geo-political descriptions and arguments, these news-agencies often rely upon accepted models, metaphors and images in their narration of international events and processes in order to appear as ‘trustworthy’ and preserve so-called conventions with their audience. Thus, the circulation and normalisation of dominant geo-political models and arguments, proposed by these news-agencies, play an important role in the context of national self-identification – e.g. the creation, sustenance and (re)production of an imagination of ‘Danish citizens’ pertinence to the so-called ‘West’ as opposed to ‘the Rest’.¹⁷⁸

4.8 General findings in Development-films in Distribution in Denmark today

The following paragraph highlights some of my general findings in relation to development-films distributed in Denmark today. In prolongation of the above I introduce further **rationalities** behind these films’ making and distribution, present various **actors** involved and out-line some of the **main themes** of development films. At the same time I include stances and observations from my grid of intelligibility and reflect on development rationalities from a post-structural perspective.

4.8.1 Rationalities

According to my research, the rationalities enframing the production and distribution of development-films within the Danish NGO environment are predominantly founded in a moral desire to change *popular perceptions* of ‘us’ and ‘them’, as manifested/constructed through public-service television channels’ representations of ‘3rd world’ citizens

¹⁷⁶ Hjarvad 1995 and interview with DR1 news-editor Palle Steffensen March 1999.

¹⁷⁷ Interview with DR1 news-editor Palle Steffensen March 1999

¹⁷⁸ A controversial present-day example could be the news medias’ treatment of ‘September 11th’ and the on-going symbolic divisionism on ‘us’ and ‘them’. As far as I can see, among others inspired by Huntington’s “The Clash of Civilisations” where ‘civilisations’ are seen as more or less closed ‘circuits’ inhabiting specific essences. One of Huntington’s main recommendations is that: “*the West should promote greater cooperation and unity within its own civilization [...] limit the expansion of the military strength of Confucian and Islamic states [...] moderate the reduction of Western military capabilities [and] maintain the economic and military power necessary to protect its interests in relation to these civilizations.*” Huntington 1993 pages 48 and 49.

constantly in *war, catastrophe and crises*.¹⁷⁹ Hence, rationalities predominantly founded in so-called solidarity and/or in a desire to offer a more ‘true’, complex and versatile representation of ‘3rd world others’. In this sense most development-films in distribution by (some) Danish development NGOs, represented in Fagligt Forum and influencing the film-selection available at the Mediatek, can be considered as representations in contestation to dominant mass-media discourse. However there seems to be very few development-films seriously problematising development-intervention itself¹⁸⁰ and as different and varied they may be; due to their very contextualisation (as development-films/u-landsfilm) they cannot ‘escape’ subscription to the repressive hypothesis¹⁸¹ inherent in dominant development discourse. Furthermore, in the sense that most of these films operate not only through the exposure of problems but also propose solutions to these problems (e.g. through so-called participation & empowerment) they are resistance and power-products in ‘one’. Foucault argues: *“Modern power is tolerable on the condition that it masks itself [...] if truth and power are not external to each other then the speaker’s benefit and associated ploys are among the essential ways in which modern power operates [...] In the pose of the universal intellectual who speaks for humanity [...] the tone of prophecy and promised pleasure neatly mesh. After all to utter truths and promise bliss is not an unattractive position from which to speak.”*¹⁸²

4.8.2 Actors behind the Stage

Apart from **public-service television, Danida**¹⁸³ and some of the NGOs represented in Fagligt Forum and their efforts to supply ‘3rd world’ imagery and narratives through films (distributed by e.g. Mediateket, Publishers, school-libraries, in TV broad-casts etc.) the conception of development-films and their distribution into several societal clusters are made possible through various actors. Danish development-films are often conceived through a grid of collaborators where Danish **film production-companies**¹⁸⁴ play a central role. E.g. an NGO gets an idea for a story and has a project/scene ‘out there’. The NGO contacts a production-company (a blue-print for quality) which has contact to public-service television. A broadcast agreement and funding is negotiated. Danida is contacted when/if the broadcast agreement is secure and contributes with funding. This is just one example. The idea for a story/theme might just as well arise within a

¹⁷⁹ Conversations with several NGO-representatives and film-makers

¹⁸⁰ Exceptions are e.g. “Med Hinanden i Hånden” og “Ikke for enhver pris”. Both gender-sensitive films from the 1980s, inspired by WAD discourses and made by Birgitte Jallow from KULU. The films do not reject development as an ultimate goal but nevertheless propose serious problematisations of development, what it is, why ‘interventions’ are (not) needed and in whose interest! “Ikke for enhver pris” was part of KULU’s ‘dept-package’. Information-material of which the film “Fanden sgu betale” also formed part.

¹⁸¹ See e.g. page 29

¹⁸² Dreyfus’ and Rabinow’s readings of Foucault. Dreyfus & Rabinow 1982 p. 130

¹⁸³ Danida have a collection of development-films available to the public: www.um.dk/danida/avmateriale

¹⁸⁴ E.g. Spor Media, Easy Film, DeLuca Film, Sfinx Film, Casablanca Film, Fønix film etc.

production-company e.g. through a free-lance journalist. Thus ideas, funding and demands derive from various sources where a specific development-film is negotiated and moulded by several criteria, minds and bodies before production is initiated. **The Danish Film Institute** also (co)funds and produces documentaries of ‘higher quality’ from the ‘3rd world’ for screenings in **cinema** and television. The films distributed by DFI are (in catalogues and presentation material) often not contextualised as ‘3rd world’ and/or development-films but as documentaries and film-art. DFI films are partly made available to the public through DFI¹⁸⁵ and through **national libraries**.

In educational sectors, **county-centres**’ (amtscentraler) legal tapping of av-material from DR1, DR2, TV2 play an important role. These centres have permission to copy relevant programs disseminated by public service television for educational purposes. Distributing mainly to **teachers and other educators**, it is furthermore possible for these users to contact the county-centres and require that specific programs be recorded. In relation to **import** of development-films produced in other geo-political set-ups, several actors can be involved (e.g. television, NGOs, production-companies, DFI and the Mediatek) and if a Danish adaptation is required, funding also in these situations derive from various contributors – again according to their specific interests. Thus, in this sense it is obvious that most development-films and their contents are founded in institutional procedures, moulded by techniques and technologies stemming from various disciplinary regimes, and very often contemplated in relation to the dominant position public-service television possess.¹⁸⁶ Several of the people I have talked with are aware of this somehow problematic situation e.g. in relation to distribution, innovation and/or ‘different’ approaches to representing ‘3rd world others’, but since forces are so enmeshed in rationalities tied to economy and *comme ils faut* procedures and furthermore linked to dominant development discourse, it seems to be a complex and difficult situation to alter.

4.8.3 Cross-cutting Themes in Development Clusters and -films

The following highlights some of the present-day dominant themes (contextualisations of ‘Southern people’) in development-films stemming from the Danish NGO environment. E.g. contextualisations stemming from functionalist notions on ‘natural geography’ and/or dominant geo-political imaginations. Through objectification and circumscription of places as: ocean, desert, forest, highland, lowland, village, city, nation-states, regions and continents etc. bodies are inscribed into discursive patterns of imagined ‘natural place’ linked to signifying practices laid down for how to see bodies in places.

This could be ‘the race of place’ and/or ‘the sexed citizen of state’. Hence, the *ways of*

¹⁸⁵ See e.g. www.dfi.dk and DFI’s video catalogue “Fjerne Naboer” 2000

¹⁸⁶ Interview with Signe Byrge Sørensen from SPOR Media & av-consultant in Fagligt Forum 22/01 2002.

seeing 'Southern people' in development films are necessarily moulded by bodily associations and recast power-knowledge deployed in the body of the viewer. The following depiction of (some of) the overall dominant themes of development films is therefore **my objectifications of others' objectifications (of 'others')** through the ways I have *learned to see*. Furthermore, the filmic themes I highlight here are not solemnly inherent in 'one' cluster of development rationality and always only present there. E.g. a development-film predominantly focusing on children can very well treat issues also of sustainable development, gender, indigenous people, human rights, economic exploitation, debt etc. Just as a development-film focusing on human rights can bring in issues of sustainability, economic exploitation, trade, conflicts etc. Hence, themes are **cross-cutting** from cluster to cluster, connected to dominant development discourse, development projects and (constructed) situations 'out there'. The following presents some of the dominant filmic 'rooms' of development-films, in which 'Southern people' and/or 'Southern women' are discursively constructed through statements and visibilities.

Development NGOs focusing on **children**¹⁸⁷ predominantly make/import films on e.g. children's rights, child-abuse, exploitation of children through e.g. prostitution, children's inhuman working conditions, loss of 'child-hood', children as soldiers, homeless/street children etc.¹⁸⁸ Often drawing on expository and interactive modes, exposing '3rd world children' as vulnerable victims of suppression with a strong need for help and change. Besides, contributing with and reinforcing positivities of what a child is, and should or should not be/do (predominantly stemming from morality embedded in scientific rationality) these films often propose solutions of how to overcome problems through developmental intervention and co-operation. Education as empowerment is a frequent issue in development-films on children, seeking to illustrate children's need for care and enlightenment in order to 'gain power over their own lives' and most of these films clearly highlight how coercive forces take a disciplinary form. How power-knowledge enables and provides for the individual child in the (re)creation of subjectivity and how practices of freedom penetrate bodies and minds through development-intervention performed as government of care¹⁸⁹ and/or Foucault's notion of pastoral power.

Development NGOs predominantly focusing on **sustainable development**, environment

¹⁸⁷ E.g. Red Barnet, UNICEF, Børnefonden, International Børnesolidaritet

¹⁸⁸ E.g. Drømmen om Rio, Wilbert, Gadebarn i Nicaragua, Pattaya Room number 552, Til salg – seks små historier om børn til salg, Børneveteraner, Vi er på, Gældens børn etc.

¹⁸⁹ Asking a development film-maker about ethical considerations in relation to film-crews' intervention in a child's life as e.g. a factory-worker and the risk of conflict which might arise between the child and parents if the child was introduced to his/her rights, the answer from the film-maker was clear: "*You have to believe in something*" and that this risk was worth taking in order to empower the child. In this context I find Foucault's contention "*not everything is bad, but everything is dangerous*" a crucial contemplation.... Especially in relation to the child's power-relation with his/her parents and local surroundings once the film-crew has gone 'home'.

and ‘nature’¹⁹⁰ make/import films on e.g. natural resources, agricultural processes and out-puts, farmers’ livelihoods, the right to land, cash-crops, food-crops and societal processes influencing these factors etc.¹⁹¹ These films are discursively important in the sense that they contribute with visibilities and constructions of categories such as e.g. ‘**rural**’, ‘**farmers**’ and ‘**fishermen**’ and a need for development assistance in order to improve these peoples’ lives. The predominantly expository/interactive filmic narratives are often poverty-related and work through bio-political issues stressing e.g. “*the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of [sustainable] production and the adjustment of the phenomena of the population to economic processes.*”¹⁹² Hence, the regulation of and implementation of sustainable development in ‘rural place’ often include issues of direct interference in the body and population through education and training evolving around: Human resources, optimisation of capabilities, birth-rates, the level of health, life expectancy, longevity. Reflecting developing disciplines conceived through rationalities stemming from dominant development discourse and highlighting deployments of bio-power and issues inherent in the concept of Modernity.

Several of the development NGOs focusing on so-called **indigenous populations**¹⁹³ often distribute/import development-films evolving around clashes between ‘tradition’ and ‘the modern’.¹⁹⁴ So-called cultural preservation is often central, where bodies are exposed as pertaining to some ‘beautiful’ and disintegrating ‘tribal’ past before colonialism. Conflicts of these films often involve issues of rural/urban divides where ‘poor and proud’ indigenous populations are empowered through e.g. development-intervention in order to fight for their land, their rights and consolidate their ‘homogenous’ identity. Acting development experts are often anthropologists and other social scientists who intend to elaborate the capacities of the local body and mind by bringing people ‘back to their roots’ e.g. through re-learning ancient weaving techniques, sustaining old rituals, reintroducing by-gone verses and songs, dances, ancient penal systems etc. Expert knowledge is implemented in order to construct the ‘real truth’ about the indigenous population as a ‘weapon’ to fight modern power (!) and bodies are represented as subjecting their selves to practices of scientific knowledge in order to consolidate the well-being of their respective community.

Ethnicity in these films often equals imaginations stemming from the scientification of race and its supposedly ‘inherent culture’. Hence, these films highlight how issues of

¹⁹⁰ E.g. CARE, MS, IBIS, FKN

¹⁹¹ Det grønnes i Kenya, Elfenbenshøsten, Festen for fårene, Hvor mange børn har vi råd til, Jorden er livet, Biavlerne fra Bwindi, Når regnen kommer, Blind vej

¹⁹² Foucault 1981 p. 141

¹⁹³ E.g. IWGIA and IBIS

¹⁹⁴ E.g. Rejsen tilbage, Ashaninka, Prinzapolka, Det store orkester

identity play an utmost important role in generating self-esteem and in the construction of 'collective action'. Development-intervention becomes government (in contestation) in the name of freedom and in the struggle for equal rights – interlinked with so-called democratisation.

All NGOs in Fagligt Forum to various extents include **human rights** in their filmic representations. However, for the development NGOs working specifically with consolidating human rights¹⁹⁵ there seems to be a certain filmic sub-genre dealing with ideological, religious and ethnic/racial **conflicts or civil wars**.¹⁹⁶ Reflecting problematics of nation-building, state-formations or state-collapse; including e.g. military coups d'état, revolutionary/resistance-movements, armed conflicts, riots, disappearances, torture, severe suppression, incarceration, corpses, refugees etc. In these films, bodies are predominantly constructed as '**ideological**' bodies pertaining to various political clusters such as: *Fascists, Neo-liberals, Ultra-conservatives, Socialists, Marxists, Leninists*. And/or (un)ruled contra rulers represented through e.g. civil society, military and dictators. By focusing on ideological conflicts between 'the more powerful' and 'the reasonably powerless', these films often highlight how complex situations arise in a given territory with the strategic implementation of bio-politics (the insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes) and the consecutive and/or simultaneous development of so-called capitalism interconnected with (lack of) political system-implementation and/or 'good governance'.

As possible solutions to the problems, these films often expose how nation-states necessarily must reinforce **liberal democracy** meanwhile highlighting how difficult and/or close to impossible that might be, due to inherent paradoxes in that very system e.g. 'free trade' and 'equal rights' – possibly conducive to generating the conflicts in the first place. Hence this sub-genre of development-films subscribe to Rose's notions of the establishment of civility and its interconnectedness with freedom as (self)government. Highlighting that freedom is not a state of being nor a constitutional form, but a kind of power co-extensive with bio-politics and the administration of life and furthermore that the critical discourse about repression is not a block to power, but rather a very central part of it.

Most of the film-making/importing development NGOs distribute development-films

¹⁹⁵ Amnesty International, Det danske Center for Menneskerettigheder, FN-forbundet, Internationalt Forum

¹⁹⁶ E.g. *En afrikaaner taler ud, Ashaninka, Malajunta, Tapper til døden, Kampen om jorden*

dealing with **dept, trade and exploitation of (human) resources**¹⁹⁷ and several of these films expose how Danish interests are part of *the problem*. These filmic narratives draw on all the above-mentioned issues and often confront the viewer with his/her interconnectedness with the specific theme. Examples are e.g. trade-related issues of production and import from the '3rd world', where local farmers and workers toil themselves 'to death' for very low salaries in order to supply the '1st world' with textiles, clothes, coffee, bananas, plants entering into medicine-production, coal, oil etc. Unfair international trade-relations are usually stressed and IMF and WTO are often represented as dominant and aggressive actors in the sustenance of unequal conditions (generating e.g. violent conflicts, riots, diseases, poverty, deaths etc). However, most of these films also move to a consumer-level speaking directly to the *coffee-drinking, oil-consuming, clothes-buying* Danish citizen. Confronting the viewer with 'international history of exploitation' and how s/he should pay more for imported products, boycott certain companies and/or support development-intervention to empower locals 'out there' in obtaining e.g. 'fair pay'.¹⁹⁸ Other films evolving around such themes expound how Danish companies export products (to the '3rd world') that are problematic and/or no longer in demand in Denmark e.g. chemicals, toxic waste, outdated technology etc. Central premises here are often to show local effects 'out there' – where whole villages get hit by severe pollution of the environment, diseases, deaths etc. Possibly leaving the audience with guilt-complexes and/or a sustained desire to become actively involved in changing consumer-habits or participating in development-action and other types of political action. Hence discourses of these films preach directly to the viewer's ethical substance and self-forming activity. The exhibited morality founded in truth-claims on guilt and responsibility is targeted at the audience, where statements and visibilities strive to conduct the conduct of the viewer by means of examining self-performance, self-guidance and/or self-regulation in relation to duties and obligations of citizens in a collective space. In this context 'the world'.

4.9 Summing up my field of analysis

In this chapter I have out-lined, how (some) development rationalities, discourses and practices have been and are shaped and dispersed in the geo-political set-up of Denmark qua statements and visibilities. I have unfolded a complex grid of actions upon actions performed by various and in history shifting actors involved in development-information and education activity. By stressing the mutual influences between important actors in Denmark such as **development NGOs, state-apparatuses** (ministries, public schools, county-centrals, public libraries, public service mass-media, The Danish Film Institute),

¹⁹⁷ E.g. Den sorte vej, Made in Denmark, Tak for kaffe, Det grønne guld, Sorteper, Et særligt møde

¹⁹⁸ The main objective of e.g. the organisation Max Havelaar

the **private sector** (inter/national news-agencies, production companies, independent media, freelance journalists, cinemas, film-makers and artists) and **Danish citizens**; I have sought to depict who were and are involved in development-communication and some of the rationalities enframing their techniques and technologies.

The actors I have included are all interconnected in very complex patterns of discursive exchanges and formations and to various extents both informed by and informers of other geo-political set-ups. These exchanges are especially clear in the context of **multilateral power-relations** including Danish membership of a variety of international (development) clusters: UN and its specialised agencies, World Bank Group, OECD, European Union etc. Through international **treaties and conventions**, ratified by representatives from Denmark and a broad variety of other geo-political set-ups: World declaration on International Human Rights¹⁹⁹, International Women's rights (CEDAW)²⁰⁰, Convention on the rights of the child²⁰¹, multilateral environmental treaties (e.g. Rio declaration), UN's conventions on terrorism.²⁰² And via international education and mass media's more or less extensive dispersal of e.g. audio-visual representations. Hence, apart from various important (militant) deviations between different geo-political set-ups claiming pertinence to the so-called 'West', it seems quite clear that the dominant international development discourses (proliferating with the initiation of the Cold War) depicted in my grid of intelligibility, are interconnected with tendencies, rationalities, foci and development-discourses circulating in a geo-political set-up by the name of Denmark. And in this line of reasoning, I find it explicit that power is not (as some believe) solemnly localised in state-apparatuses but rather through its effects in varied populations. Foucault's contention in this relation speaks for itself: *"Nothing will be changed if the mechanisms of power that function outside, below and alongside the state apparatuses, on a much more minute and everyday level, are not also changed."*²⁰³

My findings also point to, that development-interventions 'out there' were and are intricately interlinked with interventions 'at home' (e.g. development-projects are linked to development-films utilised in education and mass-media). And that it was partly through the strategic implementation of documentary film 'realism' as *proof* into the deliverance of development discourse, contextualising 'others' as 'underdeveloped', 'developing', '3rd world people' and/or 'Southern people', that **'Southern people'** were conceptualised and realized as imaginary, enunciable and visible positivities in the non-

¹⁹⁹ See **appendix C**

²⁰⁰ See **appendix B**

²⁰¹ See e.g. <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/k2crc.htm>

²⁰² See e.g. <http://untreaty.un.org/English/Terrorism.asp>

²⁰³ Foucault 1980 p. 60

uniform minds of the Danish citizens. Furthermore, it was within this much larger historico-discursive formation on represented subjectivities in development rationalities and practices that the category of ‘**Southern women**’ gemmated. Predominantly influenced and inspired by feminist rationalities (informed by contesting ideological beliefs) stemming from a broad variety of societal and feminist clusters penetrating the realms of development. And later, especially through the theoretical and practical operations of WID, WAD, GAD and DAWN-networks.

Hence, representations of ‘Southern women’ in development-films distributed by Danish development NGOs cannot be detached from dominant development discourse, rationalities and practices and geo-political regimes of ‘truth’. So-called ‘Southern women’, as a category for representation and intervention, are in complex webs of signifying practices pre-contextualised within gender-sensitive development rationality connected to issues of e.g. health, trade, dept, sustainability, environment, children, justice, democratisation, human rights, women’s rights and/or in the *how* to think and speak about development within certain geo-political set-ups. Therefore it seems reasonable to suggest that what the audience can (possibly) read out of such filmic representations deal more with dominant development discourse than with the people performing ‘their lives’ within them.

And in this line of reasoning, development-films can be considered a type of audio-visual morality installed in Danish society in order to mould ethics of their viewers in the discursive visualisation of the ‘need for help out there’. However well-intended, a panoptic manoeuvre possibly reinforcing an imagination of gazing ‘selves’ as ‘developed sexed citizens’, pertaining to the ‘1st world’ and capable of helping ‘poor sexed citizens’ in the ‘3rd world’. Hence, a technology subscribing to practices of freedom and equality, bio-power and discipline, linked to places and gazes and operating through discursive dispersal of expert-power-knowledge into many and varied societal clusters. This however, does not exclude that serious problems and power-knowledge effects exist in the world today, but highlights how issues of subjectivity (i.e. the construction and circumscription of ‘Southern women’) penetrate development discourses, rationalities and practices – turn into positivities – and become possible ‘tools’ for generating change, ‘out there’ as well as ‘at home’.

5. Analysis; How are ‘Southern women’ represented in 1990s development-films?

“There is a widespread assumption that if one is interested in the visual, one’s interest must be limited to a technique of somehow treating the visual. Thus the visual is divided

into categories of special interest: painting, photography, real appearances, dreams, [films] and so on. And what is forgotten - like all essential questions in a positivist culture - is the meaning and enigma of visibility itself."²⁰⁴

5.1 Introduction

In the following I give a depiction of my **general findings** in development-films and how so-called 'Southern women' are represented in films that are deemed as gender-sensitive and those that are not. In continuation I highlight how the film-library Mediateket contextualises the three gender-sensitive films I have chosen to focus on. These **contextualisations** are important, because they circumscribe the content of the films within specific rationalities, and function as the means through which e.g. teachers, journalists, private lenders and/or other representatives from various institutions select their films. In prolongation, I present the **NGOs** and/or **women's organisations** 'out there' which have delivered (some of) the 'scenography' for the films and of which the performing protagonists/'Southern women' are part. Once having 'placed' the films in this grid, I highlight the **general story-line of each filmic narrative** including **analysis of their discursive contents**: Elaborating on issues, notions and stances from my grid of intelligibility including dominant development discourse and analytical tools, reflecting upon objectifications and represented self-subjectifications in development-rationalities and -practices from a post-structuralist perspective.

The three specific gender-sensitive films²⁰⁵ I have chosen to study, all treat important contemporary developmental complexes and problematics, i.e. *access to justice*, *external dept*, and *family-planning*. I therefore find them relevant as depictions of some of the dominant development rationalities and practices of 'today'. They are furthermore produced in different geo-political set-ups: Uganda, Bolivia and India (representing the on-going geo-political circumscription of the '3rd world' as Latin America, Africa, Asia), by film-makers obtaining funding from developmental clusters of the so-called 'West' (Holland and United kingdom). Hence, they are not 'Danish' productions. However, they have all been chosen and adapted by representatives from the Danish NGO environment (Fagligt Forum and the Mediatek) within their grid of rationalities, and are presently in

²⁰⁴ Berger 1984 p. 41. My insertion

²⁰⁵ I found the films by asking a librarian at the Mediatek for films including gender-issues, after which these films (and several more) were recommended. The Mediatek has registered more than 2100 fiction- and documentary films, available in Denmark and has its own collection of app. 1000 fiction- and documentary films (Danish, English, French, Spanish titles). On '3rd world' issues, global relations, refugee- and immigrant conditions in Denmark. "*Criteria for selection are: Comprehensiveness, actuality, quality and utility*". Filmic content is divided into following target-groups: "1) 'The general' predominantly aimed at formal and informal education, 2) 'The special' aimed at experts, researchers and administrators and 3) 'The especially special' aimed at students of film science and film-freaks and only them." Clemmensen 'Mediatek Criteria for selection' 8 August 2001.

circulation in this geo-political set-up, as representing gender-sensitive development-action in the so-called '3rd world'.

5.2 General findings reflecting representations of gendered subjectivity

In the context of cross-cutting filmic themes, this obviously also goes for gender-sensitive development-films (gender-sensitivity signifying included notions of sexuality: sex, gender, woman, man, maternity, motherhood etc.). 'Southern women' are never represented solemnly as 'women', which is obviously impossible as subjectivity includes multiple dimensions. Hence, represented filmic bodies are inscribed into varied symbolic orders e.g. *Poor bodies, destitute bodies, victims, mothers, indigenous/racial bodies, working bodies, farmers, fisher(wo)men, villagers, strong bodies, rich bodies, city bodies, ideological bodies, local experts* etc. And due to their contextualisation as bodies of so-called development-films, they are always already 'placed' within dominant geo-political imaginations as pertaining to the 'South'. However, in a crude out-line there seems to be **three general approaches** to representing 'Southern women' in development-films.

5.2.1 Silent visibilities in 'non-gendered' filmic narratives

Some development-films²⁰⁶ have no intentions to focus on gender and consecutively edit 'women' (as visible positivities) into the picture-side as *silent extras* (statister). Performing as poor, helpless and/or crying 'women' with hungry or dying children. These bodies often function as 'realist proof' sustaining an overall filmic narrative on e.g. deprivation, suppression and poverty. Where 'female' bodies appear as visible non-speaking objects and victims of un-fair power-relations and where the struggling subjects and protagonists are the speaking 'male' breadwinners fighting for their rights, land, families, dignity etc. However, when focusing on the articulation of issues of sexuality, it is very rare that so-called 'men' subscribe to gendered categories in order to sustain their rights. Much more often these bodies subscribe to their roles as e.g. poor, exploited, indigenous, workers as relevant issues of subjectivity and as necessary symbolic taxonomies for uniting people in order to create social change. Hence, these development-films possibly depoliticise 'women's' active roles in society and sustain essentialist notions of gendered subjectivity. Where 'Southern women' predominantly appear as having a maternal 'nature', a specific mode of reasoning, embed a 'natural' passivity and/or hold a specific erotic 'nature'.

However, for me to adopt this way of seeing (e.g. informed by WAD discourse as put forward by Mies²⁰⁷) is problematic in relation to my post-structural approach with 'nothing out there'. Notions of gendered normalcy founded in binary power-divisions between male and female have influenced and 'intoxicated' my ways of seeing to such a

²⁰⁶ E.g. *Elfensbenshøsten* and *Tapper til døden*

degree, that it becomes very difficult to ‘see beyond’ sexed bodies founded in dominant discursive visibility. Thus, trying to eliminate visible positivities and drawing on Butler and Berger²⁰⁸ it seems of relevance to try to let these binary constructs change places, and in this sense analyse the way bodies through *performance* have been situated in order to sustain a filmic premise. This is an intriguing analytic and re-politicising exercise. Where so-called ‘men’ now turn into crying and silent fathers (who obviously do exist, but whom we very rarely see) with ‘female’ breadwinners fighting for their rights, land etc. without subscribing to issues of sexuality (who obviously also exist). Leaving me with a highly unusual development-film. Hence, what this small exercise highlights is exactly (some of) *the how of seeing* gendered subjects. That it is indeed the (represented) **normalised roles of gendered bodies** and their performances, which partly turn bodies into visible gendered positivities. Or in Butler’s words: “*The gendered self [other] has no ontological status apart from the acts that compose it; only gestures, movements and styles constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self [other]*.”²⁰⁹ However, as dominant ways of seeing sexed beings are very powerful illusions founded in regimes of truth on sex as a visual ‘natural fact’, these development-films possibly do sustain normalising procedures and regulatory gender-fictions in the mind of the viewer. Just as they possibly sustain imagined needs for empowerment of so-called ‘Southern women’ due to their supposedly ‘natural’ passivity/positivity.

5.2.2 Filmic Slices of Gender-sensitivity

It is obvious that calls from WID, WAD and GAD have been heard in development-film contexts. Most development-films embed the ‘obligatory’ slices of gender-sensitivity.²¹⁰ E.g. by including filmic sequences where **gender-relations** are brought up for discussion through ‘local voices’ and confession - often related to the specific complex of problems and/or premise of the film. An example could be a (local) development-expert discussing issues of sexuality with local protagonists: *How do gender-relations influence the order of things, which sex is most responsible for the well-being of the children, which sex has most influence in decision-making procedures, what are the problems of the women?* etc. Other development-films incorporate small sequences related to gender-issues, through conversations between protagonists evolving explicitly around **bio-politics**: birth-rates, level of health, life-expectancy, population-growth, longevity etc. and how these issues are to be treated in relation to individual rights, liberty and property. Hence, these small

²⁰⁷ See e.g. page 16-17 of this study

²⁰⁸ He analyses representations of the human body in oil-paintings (through time) and some of the how of dominant gendered ways of exposing/seeing and their historico-discursive construction. He also proposes ‘new’ ways of seeing in photography meanwhile analysing ‘aesthetics of ideology’.

²⁰⁹ Butler quoted in Lloyd in Carver et al. 1998 p. 126. My insertions.

²¹⁰ E.g. Sukuma, Gadyang Gadung, Prinzapolka, A calcutta Christmas, Hans & Grethe i Senegal, Ancestors on-line, Hvor mange børn har vi råd til, Building together, Blind vej etc.

sequences point to regulatory systems, discipline and power-knowledge aimed at 'women' and 'men' in order to regulate 'life' in specific localities.

Yet other development-films include and expound articulated gender-issues through exposing village-meetings where locals subscribe to and **perform gendered taxonomies**. E.g. during a meeting the 'women' will withdraw and discuss specific topics and consecutively (in a following scene) present their collective decision for the 'men'. "*The women believe...*". These small sequences point to the fact that gendered relations are 'there' (no matter how much we can denaturalise them theoretically) and that they generate real effects in people's lives. "*These identities, or perhaps rather identity-claims, are the real stuff of the asymmetrical social relationships that are culturally and politically transmitted across the generations.*"²¹¹ However, what these small filmic patches of gender-sensitivity rarely expose is a more profound investigation into *how* sex and gender are understood in the specific locality, what brought gendered relations about and why, and are they actually founded in modern conceptions of sexuality? In this sense, sex and gender as concepts in development-films are often naturalised within the binary logic of symbolic divisionism 'woman'/'man'. Frequently drawing on mechanisms of constraint and setting out norms, defining people as always already gendered within scientific rationality.

5.2.3 Gender-sensitive development- & Ethnographic films

*"A one-to-one mapping of gender onto a commonplace categorisation of sex as male/female is over-simple [...] as there are chromosomal variations and syndromes, not to mention morphological and behavioural ones, that create genuinely ambiguous individuals."*²¹²

Gender-sensitive development-films are many and varied²¹³ and in relation to the immediate above one would suppose that questioning sex (as an essentialist identity-claim) would be an obvious political aim of these films. However, as development-films predominantly follow dominant development rationality and practices, gender-sensitive films are most often founded within **feminist rationalities** of WID, WAD and GAD discourses, in which 'women' are 'true women' and 'men' are 'true men'.²¹⁴ This means that the concept of sex as a regime of 'truth' is hardly ever problematised. Main foci of most of these films are: Recognition of 'Southern women' as economically productive

²¹¹ Carver in Carver et al. 1998 p. 17

²¹² Carver in Carver et al. 1998 p. 17

²¹³ E.g. *Med hinanden i hånden*, *Gud gav hende en Mercedes Benz*, *Det grønnes i Kenya*, *Festen for færene*, *The whisper*, *Sorteper*, *Et særligt møde*, *Ikke for enhver pris*, *Lisa Neneng & Soling*, *A borderline existence*, *Fanden sku betale*, *Fatima Family investment*, *I have a problem madam*, *The gift of a girl*

agents (WID), ‘Southern women’s’ inequitable experiences in development-processes (WAD), patriarchal violence as a necessary correlate of modernisation processes (WAD), problematic relations between ‘women’ and ‘men’ (GAD), responses to and/or voices of ‘poor Southern women’ (GAD) and empowerment of ‘Southern women’ (GAD). And however contesting these stances may have been initially, they now (at least in the films) frequently seem to have merged into one ‘common’ representational strategy founded in gendered identity-claims, coalition and *time for change*. Thereby the represented deemed ‘female’ bodies in gender-sensitive films often expose how power-knowledge is localised in the body and “*how the body has been used as an integral component of the spread and localisations of modern power*”²¹⁵ in the ongoing construction of the ‘Truth’ about sex.

In this context it is interesting to compare gender-sensitive films predominantly founded in expository and interactive modes to ethnographic film-making founded in observational (and reflexive) modes of representation. Most of the **ethnographic films**²¹⁶ I have studied do not take their out-set in ‘problems to be solved’, but primarily operate with ‘non-interventional’ intentions (which are always already interventions anyway). However, these approaches somehow open up ‘space for investigation’ due to their imaginary non-intervention. And even though these films are just as enmeshed in power-knowledge as other so-called documentary films, my findings point to, that the ways certain of these films treat so-called gender-issues are different from that in development-films. Gender-sensitive ethnographic films are often curious to find/explore the how of (possibly gendered) relations ‘out there’ and they frequently dissolve issues of what development-clusters/films generally deem as gender-problems and/or expose as naturalised ‘bad things’: Violence, domestic inequality, arranged marriages, suppression of ‘women’, dowry systems, polygamy, circumcision, ‘cruelty’ to children etc.

In some ethnographic films²¹⁷ such topics are brought up for discussion, where local protagonists expound how such issues are understood, reacted upon and what they mean/signify in the respective locality. Examples are, that locals ‘translate’ *violence* and *beatings* into *love*, *infant killings* into *necessary deaths*, *circumcision* into *a gate to adulthood*, *polygamy* into *a necessary system for sharing* etc.

Such ‘translations’, confront the audience with explanations and problematisations of human behaviour, local power-relations and culture, and sex as a self-evident ‘truth’ is (sometimes) denaturalised or purely a matter of naturalised visibility. Hence, such films highlight that the means through which bodies arrange themselves in societies and why,

²¹⁴ See e.g. WID, WAD and GAD paragraphs pages 16-18

²¹⁵ Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982 p. 113

²¹⁶ See **appendix A** under ethnographic films

are multiple and extremely varied. In this sense, these films become useful contemplating tools through their defamiliarisation of ‘the familiar’, denaturalisation of ‘rights’ and ‘wrongs’ and their implicit problematisation of development as a ‘true’ descriptor of peoples realities. However, this does not mean that gender-sensitive ethnographic films are more ‘true’ than gender-sensitive development-films, but that **representational modes do matter** (who sees whom, why and how?) because filmic power-knowledge-contestation can (re)politicise and/or naturalise *the order of things* in very different ways.

However, since not all people (probably the fewest and respect for them) translate *violence* and/or receiving *beatings* into *love* and since real and severe problems are ‘there’ for the people experiencing them, and therefore relevant for political film-making and power-struggles, my following analysis on represented subjectivity in gender-sensitive development-films partly evolves around: How issues of represented gendered subjectivity not only take disciplinary and regulatory forms but simultaneously become very productive and enabling for the bodies who subject/subscribe to them (and watch, reflect upon and adopt them). Or in other words, how power-knowledge-truth enables and provides for the individual body in the (re)creation of subjectivity and how practices of freedom penetrate bodies and minds through development performed as government of care in contestation – dispersed and possibly adopted via development-films.

5.3 Contextualisations stemming from the Mediatek

Looking into *the how* of contextualising bodies in the three selected gender-sensitive development-films, the Mediatek inscribes these into the following *symbolic orders*.²¹⁸

“I have a problem madam” from 1995 made by Martin Schmidt for NOVIB, Holland.

“Documentary from Uganda [...] When seeking legal advise many Ugandan women initiate their requests with “I have a problem Madam”. And they do. They are caught between traditional customary Law, yielding the women minimal influence over their own lives and rights to income/property, and modern Law seeking to yield legal equality to the women – at least on the paper. The film describes how several female Ugandan lawyers [represented in the NGO FIDA] give legal advise to poor women within a society in rapid transformation.” Under search-words: *Women, Legislation, Gender, Uganda, Africa.*

“Fanden sgu betale” from 1991 by Anne Gottringer for Channel Four Television/UK

“Bolivian women [from the garment-producing co-operative La Imilla] and their opinions about Bolivia’s enormous foreign dept. They wonder why loans were allocated to weapon purchases and luxury-consumption and not to social provisions and

²¹⁷ E.g. Our way of loving, The women who smile and My eyes as a stranger

²¹⁸ From the data-base of Mediateket under ‘The library’ of MS’ homepage: www.ms.dk.

improvement for low-salary state-appointed staff and other poor people. Who are now deemed to indulge in contraband in order to earn money for basic necessities. They see no reason to pay back the loans.” Under search-words: Women, External dept, Social inequality/implications, Hunger; Poverty, Crime, Narcotics, Bolivia, South America, Latin America.

“Gift of a girl” from 1997 made by Mayyasa Al-Malazi for No kidding Productions/UK

“Documentary from Madurai District, Tamil Nadu, India. Where thousands of newborn girls are killed every year, due to social destitution and the dowry-system, which turn girls into economic burdens. But a local NGO “U-RISE” – predominantly consisting of midwives and health-workers – struggle against infanticide on newborn girls. When a girl is born, U-RISE arranges a procession including dance, drums, music, gifts and takes photographs of the newborn girl. Through these measures, awareness of the girl’s existence is established and it becomes difficult to kill her. Even though the film does not hide that these killings are tragic (also for the family) and the most rabid discrimination against women, the film aims to describe a locally invented, original and successful method to fight these killings.” Under search-words: Women, children, social relations, tradition, dowry, human rights, NGOs, Asia, South Asia, India, Tamil Nadu, Madurai district.

Hence, through discursive circumscription of *bodies’ roles in places and narratives*: ‘Women’, ‘poor’, ‘destitute’, ‘in lack’, ‘active’, ‘educated’, ‘providers’, ‘Latin America’, ‘Africa’ and ‘India’ etc. the bodies of the filmic protagonists are always already inscribed into dominant symbolic orders. And when reading about the filmic content beforehand, the viewer will somehow be pre-informed and conducted in her/his ways of seeing the performing bodies. Therefore I find, that these examples highlight how statements and morality stemming from the Danish NGO environment operate as possible tools for (re)establishing visibilities – how statements nurture on visibilities and vice versa – in the maintenance of dominant historico-discursive bio- and geo-political regimes of ‘truth’.

5.4 Locations ‘out there’

The following outlines the **NGOs** and/or **women’s organisations** ‘out there’ which have delivered (part of) the ‘scenography’ for the films, and of which the performing ‘Southern women’ are part.

In **“I have a problem Madam”** the performing ‘women’ experts form part of the Association of Women Lawyers represented in **FIDA** (Federacion Internacional De Abogadas) which is a non-governmental and non-profit making organisation established in 1974 to address the status of women in Uganda. *“FIDA approaches communication on*

many levels including, working with individual women, educating and listening to community groups, and lobbying the legislature for reform and communication with women at the grassroots level about how the law affects them. [This] is a crucial component of the organisation's approach to lobbying the government for change[...] FIDA runs legal clinics in four main districts and provides legal advice to women who cannot afford to pay private law firms. It focuses on family law concerning maintenance, inheritance, affiliation, marital disputes and land and property rights."²¹⁹ FIDA has been and is supported by Danida through several projects. Presently Danida supports a project on children's rights in Uganda in collaboration with Red Barnet Denmark, FIDA, ANPPCAN (African Network for the Prevention of and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect) and Hope After Rape.²²⁰

In "**Fanden sgu betale**" the performing 'women' pertain to the garment-producing co-operative **La Imilla** situated in Cochabamba in Bolivia. "*La Imilla means in Quechua-language 'young woman'. It was a name that had been used by European colonialists to insult native women. The women chose this name because they wished to demonstrate their pride in their roots, culture and language. Their success allows the 'Imillas' to feel a degree of pride, that a few years ago would have seemed impossible.*"²²¹ The 'women' initiated the co-operative in the early 1980s due to 'unfair pay and awful working conditions' in a local garment-producing company. "*With the help of loans from another co-operative, they managed to start up and produce enough to sell, gradually building up markets for their goods locally and in the capital city of La Paz [...] The women appreciate the efforts made to educate them in the management of the co-operative and the attempts to encourage them to become actively involved in planning the groups future.*"²²² Furthermore, contacts with international buyers have led to an increase in demand for their products and potential buyers can today contact them via the Internet.²²³

In "**The gift of the Girl**" the performing 'women' experts pertain to the Urban and Rural Institute for Social Education (**U-RISE**). "*The organisations main activities include education/training, campaigns/activism, research/surveys, consultancy projects and networking.*"²²⁴ The 'female' experts from U-RISE co-operate with the 'male' part of the population and arrange local *Sangham-awareness* meetings in which 'women' and

²¹⁹ The drumbeat communication initiative: www.comminit.com/pds9-00/sld-1336.html (My insertion)

²²⁰ www.um.dk/danida

²²¹ New Internationalist issue 160 June 1986

²²² New Internationalist issue 160 June 1986

²²³ Fair Trade Org: www.shared-interest.com/cust/imilla.htm

²²⁴ <http://lists.indymedia.org/mailman/public/imc-india/2001-November/000233.html>

'mothers' are educated and brought towards an understanding of why they should not kill their infant girls and what alternative options they have.

5.5 "I have a problem Madam" (Uganda)

The film²²⁵ is predominantly founded in the observational mode of representation. Dramaturgy is based on an epic model, but individual sequences are built up over Aristotle's classic model of narration.²²⁶ There is no voice-over and no interviews with protagonists. The solution of the film is of high quality, real-sound is clear, conversation/speech is subtitled in English and the film is 59 minutes long.

5.5.1 Axe-murder, Radio & Law

The film opens up with a written statement "*Uganda November 1994*" and cuts directly to a slow-motion total-shot/pan over a very green, fertile and mountainous landscape. Hence, the viewer is situated in *discursive* time-space and the performing people are inscribed into geo-political imagination and/or 'made Southern'. In the following scene of the first sequence a high-court judge (wearing a red cape and a white-haired wig, classic of 'British' court-aesthetics) inspects a military parade in front of the building housing the court, and soldiers/police welcome the judge. Consecutively the audience is invited inside the building where a court-case is about to begin. A woman²²⁷ is on trial and the judge reads the indictment aloud. The woman has killed her husband in 1992. A woman lawyer perpetuates and elaborates on the course of events. "*The deceased was her sole bread-winner [...] she has four children and during her custody they have suffered [...] Her husband forbade her to sleep on a mattress, he took it away and threatened to beat her again [...] The woman picked up an axe and hit him on the skull after which he died immediately.*" Followed by an ultra-close-up on the remorseful convict.

In the next sequence the title of the film is spelled out on top of a dawning sun behind a tall radio-mast. The audience (through the gaze) enters the radio-studios where FIDA is transmitting. The real-sound/discourse from the radio-transmission

²²⁵ I am treating the films in 1) The '**whole**' filmic narrative, 2) **Sequences** embedded in the whole filmic narrative, 3) **Scenes** embedded in sequences, where a scene rests in the same 'place' and 4) Individual **settings/angles** (indstillinger) embedded in the scenes, including '**total shots**' (e.g. a shot of a person in a room), '**half-total**' (zooming in on the person), '**close-up**' (of e.g. head and shoulders) and '**ultra-close-up**' (of e.g. a face, eyes, mouth and/or hands etc.). Pan is when the camera moves from the left to the right or vice versa in one setting. Often a pan will not exceed 180 degrees. Tilt is when it moves up or down.

²²⁶ See e.g. footnotes 126 and 127

²²⁷ My previous use of quotation marks around 'women', 'men', 'female', 'male' etc. are, as you will know by now, meant to suggest a continuous critical questioning of those designations. To facilitate the reader's understanding in my analysis, I will in the following utilize such designations without quotation marks and treat the filmic bodies as face-value. I stress however, that even when I do not use quotation marks I still mean to use such designations and terms critically.

is applied to various subsequent cross-cuts visualising 'place': streets, men, women etc. "*Here I am with facts about FIDA, the organisation of women lawyers [...] I shall tell you something about the rights of women. Today we will focus on the abuse of women. Some men think it's good to beat their wives, that it is a sign of love. FIDA doesn't agree. Come to FIDA if you are beaten! You've got the right to help. The FIDA will always assist.*" Hence, by initiating the film with 'the problem' and editing to a 'possible solution' the filmic pattern follows the expository mode. Statements point to, that feminist ethics of care as government in contestation to 'local patriarchy' could empower women and prevent them from e.g. killing their husbands. Which is a 'wild' action (bearing in mind the axe) and as expounded detrimental for the children and the family. In this sense these two sequences illustrate how bodies are invited to 'other' (the men) in order to become (the women) and through a coalition-strategy founded in notions of sexuality, practices of freedom and active participation gain access to their rights. Thus, power-knowledge-truth broadcast via the radio does not only take a disciplinary and regulatory form but simultaneously (when/if adopted) enables and provides for the individual body in the self-forming activity and acts of becoming.

5.5.2 Disputes, Children & Property

Following, the audience is invited into the offices of FIDA. A FIDA expert explains. "*The FIDA set up this law-shop to help women who have no money for a lawyer so they can get justice. If a woman comes to us we invite the other part to discuss their problems. If they can't agree we advise them to take legal action.*" The perpetuating scenes visualise several couple-sessions where bio-politics are explicit. A discussion is taking place between a man and a woman, surveilled by a FIDA lawyer. The woman sitting with her app. 3-year-old child claims that the man should "*maintain me and my children*". The man invokes that he is not the father and is therefore not responsible. A verbal battle initiates between the two and the gaze turns to the little girl-child now between the couple (ultra-close-up) and rests there almost throughout the never-solved discussion. In this sense the scene draws on pathos where the viewer possibly feels sorry for the child and the necessity of FIDA's presence in the Ugandan society is sustained. And/or readings such as *gender-sensitive development matters* and that (powers of) care are prerequisites for empowering mothers in order to improve their lives.

Hence, fully related to GAD discourse and GAD representatives' intentions to transform institutions, which subordinate bodies designated as women.

More problematic issues are brought into the sequence when the film cuts to an older crying woman wiping tears of her face. The female FIDA expert says. *“Mary you may cry. It’s a step forward. Now you realize [...] we are going to help you [...] I will write you a letter to take to the police. They will send someone with you to get the drugs.”* The woman has been thrown out of her house (without her diabetes medicine) because the husband wants to live with another woman. The ‘victim’ explains: *“Imagine a woman has to leave the house she has laboured and sweat for [...] He didn’t even buy her. He only wants her because she can give him children.”* To which the expert states: *“Women have to learn to think ahead. You’ve worked hard. You have many things. But here in Bugiso our custom is that everything is in your husband’s name if you have no children. What had you expected? Everything you’ve worked for belongs to your husband.”*

Here it is explicit how subjectivity subscribing to notions of sexuality is built up and how bio-power works. The body of ‘the victim’ is invited to subject her ‘self’ to expert-knowledge, recognise her ‘self’ as a ‘woman in lack’ and act on behalf of her apparently inferior position related to land, property, rights and law. Thus, in this context I find that inscribed signifiers such as girl, woman and mother need some reflection. A body who cannot be a mother (through pregnancy) but has the female mark/visibility must apparently still subscribe to ‘womanhood’ as an action of self-empowerment (the scene indicating that ‘wombed’ bodies in Uganda lose important rights if they are not able to become mothers). And in the same line, ‘wombed’ bodies in modern society must somehow inscribe in ‘womanhood’ and prepare for when/if the body becomes mother (clear in the custody-case and the man’s refusal of responsibility for the child) even if the ‘wombed’ body never becomes mother and/or the girl-mother never realised or recognised her ‘woman’. Hence the question is, can a body deemed ‘fe/male’ avoid ‘the wo/man’? I do not believe so, which highlights how bodies are caught in symbolic orders due to their imaginary ‘natural’ positivity and fe/male visibilities.²²⁸

5.5.3 ‘Tradition’ & Feelings

In a following sequence the diabetic woman, FIDA-experts and policemen are driving to the woman’s (previous) residence. In front of the house a lot of people are gathered. A policeman confronts the husband who subsequently allows the woman to get her medicine. While she is gone the FIDA lawyer (FL) has a

²²⁸ An example of how such signifiers must be somehow ‘realised’ in bodies’ self-creation, can be found in pop-icon Britney Spears’ songline: *“I’m not a girl, not yet a woman...”* What is Britney then? Or in the issue of so-called transvestitism, where bodies transform their visibilities (‘dress up’ and/or have surgical operations) in order to be able to identify with their unavoidable sexed ‘selves’.

conversation with the husband (H) and another local man (L) standing in front of the house. H: *"I always looked after her"* FL: *"That makes me happy"*. H: *"I'll give her the drugs."* H leaves and FL turns to L. FL: *"I did not expect that. I expected him to object."* L: *"He has been positive on the drug-side but on property and services?"* FL: *"What caused the trouble?"* L: *"This is his second wife, he got her in 1982. She doesn't like to share this house with her co-wife."* FL laughing: *"Would you share with a co-husband?"* L visibly surprised: *"Impossible!"* FL: *"That is impossible with a woman too!"* L: *"That is the African tradition."* FL still laughing: *"Not tradition. We all have the same feelings!"* L: *"You can have as many wives as you like."* FL: *"But you have never stopped to think how women take that? You do not want your wife to have a girlfriend or another husband. Don't you think women object to co-wives?"* L stressing: *"But you are under us"*. FL laughing loud: *"There is no underneath!"* L more reluctant: *"You are mine and mine alone."* FL pushing it: *"You are mine too!"* L rationalising: *"I bought you!"* FL unsentimental: *"I was never bought!"*

Hence, through conversation and the individualising powers of confession, the film reaches its main complex of problems. This scene shows how epistemes and mind-sets of Modernity invent 'tradition'. E.g. how modern law connected to issues of property- and gender-rights clash with local powers and/or how previous and still present understandings of bodies' roles in society (so-called 'tradition') conflict with doctrines of liberal democracy and 'International Human Rights'. It stresses what UN-experts agreed to in the 1950s, that for development to function *"old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst, and large numbers of people [in this case so-called men] have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated."*²²⁹ It furthermore highlights how so-called feelings can be moulded by signifiers, epistemes and bio-powers (*we all have the same feelings*) and how actions upon actions guide possibilities of conduct, and create either negative or positive results for the subjects involved in the power-game.

Thereby, it hits the nexus of the 'schizophrenia' inherent in (some) development-practices and rationalities: The desire to create change meanwhile preserving 'what was already there' and/or to strive for equality meanwhile respecting the freedom to be different. The scene finalizes with the FIDA-expert explaining to the camera: *"The FIDA also have to work with men and not start a fight. But a*

²²⁹ United nations 1951 quoted in Slater 1993 p. 422. My insertion. See e.g. Grid of intelligibility p. 21

dialogue, so that even women with less understanding know their situation, and men come to realize what they are doing is not right. So both sides change for the betterment of society.” In this instance the expert is subscribing explicitly to notions of bio-politics of the population and *the how* of ‘implementing’ self-government. That it is necessary to intervene in and regulate the individual body in order to sustain conditions of civility, order and productivity for communal or national well-being.

5.5.4 Young M/others & Old (wombed) bodies

In the following sequence the viewer is back in FIDA’s office. A young man (M) is seated in front of a FIDA woman lawyer (L). She claims, that if he had not shown up voluntarily she would have sent the police for him, and that a father who does not care for his child can be imprisoned. To which he laughs nervously. The following conversation evolves around his lacking responsibility for *Nafuna* and their child. Since the conception of the child he has married another woman and made no contributions to the child. He resists to the accusations stating that: *“She rejected [to marry me] but now it’s too late. Too late mama.”* L: *“But she depends on you. You made her pregnant when she was fifteen. You haven’t given her any security. You give so little assistance for your baby. What is her future?”* M explains: *“Business is like war these days.”* And that he finds it impossible to support the child. L exclaims: *“Marriage is voluntary [he can have two/more wives]. We cannot force you. Maybe you can give her [Nafuna] a start. Give her some money for the baby [...] go look for Nafuna and we can discuss together.”*

M leaves the compound and after a few crosscuts on staff, formulas, money/notes changing hands, he is seated in the same chair now with *Nafuna* (N) on his side. He explains to L that N did not want to stay with him, wanted to bring up the child alone and that she gave the child another name. The gaze focusing on the baby-child and timid mother in half-total. M continues: *“So I can hardly accept. I don’t know if it’s mine!”* L claims that if he had lived together with N he would not have doubted that, after which he takes the statement back. L sends him out and is now alone with N. L asks: *“So what are your plans? About getting married. Or will you keep wandering with the child?”* N replies: *“It’s not so bad”*.

L continues with the gaze ultra-close-up on N during the whole speech: *“What isn’t? [silence] You are not taking this serious enough. I warned you about it. How old are you? Sixteen? [silence] You were a young mother. You haven’t been to school or taken exams. You do nothing. The man is serious but you refuse to marry him. Are you satisfied with the pittance you get for the baby through FIDA? N*

does not reply and looks down into the floor. L: *“What are your future plans?”* No response from N. L: *“Have you thought about that – marrying him?”* N answers reluctantly almost in pain: *“I’m afraid of his wife. She threatened me. Said she would sell her last undies to bewitch and murder me.”* L concluding: *“OK! Now I understand. So you have to make other plans. You must do something!”*

This sequence clearly highlights how feminist ethics of care (as government) intervenes in the parenting process, questions its quality, establishes discipline and conducts norms of parental behaviour. All issues of modern rationality, which are probably beneficial but also open to scrutiny and their effects to challenge. It shows how bio-power is applied by FIDA and that *“since the ‘pastoral’ interest of the state came to extend beyond the health and welfare of the existing population, into its creation, its quality and size, it has come to focus strategically on the practices of the mother, whose worth as a human being has then come to be heavily invested in this aspect of her existence.”*²³⁰ It expounds how notions of sexuality and behaviour related to one’s sex are entwined in bio-politics and considered *“a domain susceptible to pathological processes, and hence one calling for therapeutic or normalising interventions.”*²³¹ And it visualises how confession²³² functions as a ritual of discourse. It exposes inducement to speak (silence followed by more questions), the postulate of causality (*you do nothing, what is your future?*), interpretation (*OK! Now I understand*) and the ‘medicalisation’ of the effects of confession (*you have to make plans, you must do something*). Hence this sequence could be considered a ritual in which ‘truth’ is found, conduct prescribed and ‘self’ and/as ‘(M)other’ sustained.

The film cuts to FIDA in action in the field. The FIDA lawyer (L) visits a household in the countryside where a land-dispute is unfolding. An older man explains that the land used to belong to his father and that his sister (an old woman) now wants a chunk of it *“to eat from till God takes her”*. He is willing to accept this but when she dies, the land must go back to him. The old woman stresses that she wants her daughters to live from that land when she has died. The FIDA lawyer is hesitant and confused, as the case involves several generations, co-wives, step-mothers/fathers, children etc. The old man: *“The lady can use the land as long as she lives. The whole piece of land is mine. When God takes her, the land comes back to me. It’s not negotiable!”* L: *“But she’s your sister!?”* M: *“She has*

²³⁰ Sybilla 2001 p. 70

²³¹ Foucault 1981, (THS) p. 58

²³² See e.g. Confessing ‘yourself’ into a sexed being, pages 32-33

land from her husband. All four daughters are married. Properly married.” The dispute is not solved and the lawyer explains walking away through the fields: *“The law is old-fashioned. It is based on British law. The British have had time to amend their laws but we haven’t. We have no statute, which says explicitly that a woman separated from her husband will get an equal share. So in the long run a woman is disadvantaged.”*

The filmic narrative cuts to the courtroom from the first sequence, where another trial is unfolding. A woman has been murdered. Her son is witnessing: *“When I found her she was still bleeding. She’d been stabbed everywhere. Stab-wounds all over her body. They cut her throat.”* A female court-lawyer explains: This case is about inheritance. *“The deceased husband of the victim had left all his property to her. But the custom in this area is that only descendants in the male-line may inherit. The family of her late husband was not happy [...] took her property from her in spite of the will [...] they murdered her.”* The camera gazes on the accused. Three of them brothers of the deceased and one a cousin of the witness. Following, the film cuts to street-pictures and local inhabitants with a FIDA radio-voice-over: *“Four men accused of murder of a woman inhabitant of the Buwashiba district. All sentenced to death.”*

Hence, this sequence points to the importance of FIDA’s presence in the Ugandan society (to prevent such situations). That politics of sexuality certainly have real, severe and tragic effects and that ascribed notions of subjectivity such as sex and citizenship are inevitably intertwined in gender-relations and law. This is clear when individual sexed citizens’ (lack of) rights to property clash with ‘equal rights’ to the same property. Thus, there seems to be solid reasons for coalitions based on notions of sexuality and gendered identity-claims where women need to ‘other’ (the men) and become women, in order to point out differential treatment and gain access to e.g. land and property. However, the tragedy inherent in this discursive strategy is that they thereby reinforce what they are fighting against – the (symbolic) division between men and women. Or in other words, they are struggling for equality through discursive reinforcement of binary positions and/or the constant articulation of difference.

Hence, the sequence illustrates how bio-power has incorporated the repressive hypothesis, and that the critical discourse on repression is not a block to power, but rather a very central part of it. Furthermore, it reveals how analytics of sex have incorporated symbolics of blood, and that bloodshed and/or murder has penetrated modern law as a grave offence, legalising the right to kill (death-

sentences). Which demonstrates how *the power over life* has incorporated ‘the Sovereign’.²³³

5.5.5 Human Culture and its Frailty

The film cuts to a somehow relaxing/tranquille scene where a guitar-playing ‘cripple’ and his friend sing a song: *“Where shall I put my love, where there is no death. Grandmother lives no more. Mother death ate her up. Ain’t no more. Death took her away. When I think of life and death I have no rest. So I say to my friends be happy, have fun, because there is no way back after death. Let’s be cheerful, cause there is no way back after death.”* Edited on top of the FIDA-women going into the countryside in a car with *Danida WID program* written on its doors. FIDA are on their way to an awareness-meeting in a village where local women bid them hallo. The film cuts to several more sessions at the FIDA office and in the villages involving similar complexes of problems as mentioned above. To finally end up in the court (filled with men) attending the trial on the ‘axe-murderess’ from the beginning of the film. A big male lawyer wearing the obligatory grey wick and red gown gives the final defence-speech for the defendant. *“Your Lordship. It was the most unfortunate situation in which a woman killed her husband. Leaving her children destitute. As an officer of law I regret that a person cannot control her emotions and goes to kill. But let’s take human nature as it is with its frailty. Human nature is weak. A split of a second can make so much difference. Justice is illusive. It will bring hardship on the young children [...] as you look at her in the dock she has a contrite heart. For the sake of her children I pray her sentence to be reasonable.”* After which the film ends with the song from earlier. Hence this last sequence points to the powers of care, the modern ‘letting live’ and administration of life and even though the audience is not told whether the accused woman was sentenced to death, I find that the exposed morality strives to leave the audience with the impression, that women’s rights and access to justice are important necessary ‘items’ of modern society. Through which the premise of the film – FIDA’s legitimisation – is stressed once again.

5.6 “Fanden sgu betale”, “Pay? Hell No!” (Bolivia)

This film is predominantly founded in the interactive mode of representation. It cuts between an explanatory VOG in Danish and local interviews in Spanish and Quechua subtitled in Danish. The solution of the film is of good quality, real-sound is clear, editorial processes are complex and the film is 33 minutes long. Originally produced for Channel four/UK TV-broadcast, adapted to Danish by

²³³ See e.g. Bio-power and bio-politics, pages 33-36

Helle Toft Jensen from SPOR and distributed by FKN, KULU, MS and IBIS.

5.6.1 Capital, Nation-state & 'Ethnic Sexed Citizens' in Lack

The first sequence initiates with dramatic music and various crosscuts of international banks, toiling bodies, money-machines, city-scenery, silver-mines, agricultural labourers and hands writing numbers and \$-signs on a black-board during an educational session for women. VOG explains: "*Bolivia should be rich. The country has many resources. The people have produced an enormous wealth, but it has always been exported. Once Europe's capital came from silver, but capital is exactly what lacks in Bolivia today. The country has a foreign debt on five billion dollars and is the poorest country in Latin America [...] IMF determines the politics of the Bolivian government and Bolivia's citizens must pay.*" Overlapping visibilities of women carrying enormous loads of crops on their backs and cutting to Eco Laime (the main protagonist) with long black braids, knitting and sitting in an office: "*Us poor people have not benefited from Bolivia's foreign loans. We have become poorer and have to work even harder.*" Hence, the film inscribes itself directly into the 1980s development paradigm with strong foci on poverty and WAD-discourse: *The capitalist notions of development stemming from Western capitalist neo-imperialism were detrimental to Southern women.*

Eco continues, overlapping cross-cuts of 'Las Imillas' working: "*Us peasant women experience discrimination when we go to town [...] People there consider us another kind of humans [...] They yell indígenas, dirty peasants, scum, after us. Our work in the fields is not appreciated. But we know very well that we contribute to national economy and it outrages us that our efforts are not appreciated.*" Which highlights that her processes of subjectification are ascribing not only to notions of sexuality (*us women*) but also to notions of ethnicity, rural/urban divisions, the national, labour and materia (*indígenas, peasant, national economy, agricultural labour, efforts and contributions*). Thereby she becomes a subject of state: "*Citizenship is a moveable metaphor of belonging and 'inclusion' that is deployed at different times for various purposes. [...] Citizens as legally and morally categorised in terms that typically include age, sex, (re)productive expectations and sexuality, are subjects in and of states.*"²³⁴

5.6.2 Resisting M/others' Participation

On crosscutting visibilities of 'Las Imillas' working, knitting and laughing VOG explains: "*La Imilla is a women's organisation in the village Araní in the Andes.*" Continued by Eco: "*We established the co-operative because we had bad experiences*

²³⁴ Carver in Carver et al. 1998 p. 16

with a company for which many of us had knitted 10-15 years. We quit because we were heavily exploited and we organised in 1980. We based our organisation on participation and democracy.” Another woman continues: “We knit for food. We can only harvest once a year. We store the yield, but if we did not knit we would not have food enough for the rest of the year. The government doesn’t care about us, so we must take responsibility for our own lives.” The picture-side shifts to crosscuts of markets, money changing hands, toiling people and VOG explains: “In August 1985 the government issued decree 21060 [...] to impress the IMF and with hopes of accumulating capital to reimburse old loans. The decree strictly followed the instructions of IMF. Increase the export and cut down national expenditure. They almost succeeded. Everything is so expensive that no-one can afford to buy.” The last part of VOG’s statement overlapping visibilities of children and hands holding notes. VOG: “At the same time the government introduced a new tax law. Bread, life-saving medicine and school material were subjected to value added tax.” The film cuts to Eco holding a speech in Quechua for the ‘Imilla’ women: “Decree 21060 has had the effect that poor people cannot send their children to school. We will never be able to rise and there is even more reason for them to call us ignorant Indians. There are no good schools in rural areas and families with many children cannot make it [...] cannot afford to buy clothes and food. What can we do? We haven’t benefited from the dept the country has put itself in. Still the government wants us to pay tax, taken out from the little we earn and eat. The government wants to starve us to death.” Eco continues in an interview, stating that all the loans solemnly benefited the rich sugar and cotton-producing landowners and VOG explains how 89% of the loans (taken in the 1970s) were allocated to agriculture in one area of Bolivia (Santa Cruz) in which the dictator Hugo Banzer had all his supporters.

Hence, what this sequence illustrates is how micro-powers (powers in circulation in the individual body) are entwined in much broader patterns of power operating through bodies and minds. It illustrates how bodies through discursive practices (come to) experience their ‘selves’ as part of ‘the national’ and ‘the international’ meanwhile resisting those very constructions and their effects. How the speaking and acting persons embody discursive powers and geo-political imaginations and that these same bodies somehow benefit and sustain what they are fighting against. I.e. these women’s involvement in parental and economic processes, their roles as mothers and the fear that their children should starve, generate active citizens reinforcing the broader patterns of power. As they resist, subject(ify), unite, act, inform themselves, participate, produce articles benefiting export-income, pay the taxes and subscribe to notions of citizenship, they full-fill obligations in a nation-state they simultaneously detest. “Suddenly what had made power strong is used to attack it. Power after investing itself in the body, finds itself

exposed to a counterattack in that same body."²³⁵ In this light the sequence highlights how power is coextensive with discursive formations and social practices, in everything and everywhere and in constant recreation through resistance. And furthermore, that bio-power is an indispensable element in the development of so-called capitalism; in which female positivities are inserted into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the population to economic processes.²³⁶

5.6.3 Impovering effects of Civilisation

The following contrasting scene cuts to a 'rich white woman' (one of the big landowners). She explains that in the 1970s Bolivia received very high prices for natural resources, obtained credits in many countries and had an economic upsurge. And that: *"Today we are facing reality and that's a big difference"*. VOG perpetuates to visibilities of city-imagery, sky-risers, glass, steel, cars, pedestrians, 'blazer-people', working campesinos: *"Private foreign banks were the lenders [...] If the loan-takers were not liable the government took the responsibility. In Santa Cruz, City bank could not reimburse a loan on \$1,8 mill. The amount was transferred to the government. A total of \$500 mill. lent to Santa Cruz was never paid and when sugar- and cotton-prices fell on the world market the money was invested into more lucrative crops."* Eco (in Spanish) testifies in close-up: *"These loans were invested in drug-trade. The earnings are deposited in foreign banks. The government received nothing."* VOG continues, the picture-side now illustrating business-men going up in glass-elevators, camera-tilts moving up on sky-risers, broad boulevards, cars etc: [...] *loans from foreign banks increased from 1972-78. In this period the OPEC countries had made fortunes on oil. Their earnings were invested into foreign banks, which set out to find new loan-takers [...] Due to promises on low interest rates and reasonable terms of payment the banks found willing loan-takers in Latin America. In Bolivia these loans resulted in a building-boom. La Paz changed completely [...] For the population these constructions of luxury are visible proofs that the government effectuated an enormous foreign dept without looking into what the population needed."*

Eco re-enters the picture-side holding a speech for 'Las Imillas' in Quechua: *"The rich countries are also to blame. Why do they allocate loans to countries in profound dept? Also, they lend money to governments that are not legally elected. They have ceased power through coups d'état or by murdering the poor. We did not elect them but they keep lending them money, almost as if they wanted to reward them!"* The last part of her statements crosscutting several settings of peasants and military-police in various streets. Eco continues angrily to the listening 'Imillas': *"IMF should know how these loans are*

²³⁵ Foucault 1980 (PK) p. 56

²³⁶ Foucault 1981 p. 141.

used. They demand that we pay back our dept and they point to all kinds of decrees to make us pay. But to whose' advantage? They are simply impovering us!"

What is (partly) at stake in this sequence are notions of the discursive and concrete establishment of civility. Through represented subjectivity it is demonstrated how bio-politics are entwined in geo-politics, nation-building and/or disintegration, '1st world' and '3rd world' constructions, and a primus motor in establishing class-categories attached to bodies within nations as well as between them (the rich vs. the poor, the national vs. the foreign, luxury vs. needs, government vs. population etc.)²³⁷ It highlights how bodies relate to their selves at particular times and in specific (violent) contexts and that the governmental desire to bring about civility through 'regulated freedom' and calculations of place and space to enhance liberal government, are conducive to serious contestation. That the dream of the healthy, free and modern city (*La Paz changed completely...*) and the consecutive opening up of visibility, 'lock' each individual into normative gazes conducting conduct and resulting in positive results for some (few) and negative results for others (more). It reveals through the picture-side of the military-police how citizens' potential lack of self-control necessarily implies 'outer' control. Or in other words, how visibilities of 'uniformed legal violence'— are installed as panoptic arrangements in society to sustain 'inner' self-control. Hence, it reaches the paradox of freedom and equality and illustrates how problematic it is, when citizens (in this case 'Las Imillas') demand to be governed in their name.

In the same context the sequence implicitly expounds that '*good governance*' as a modern doctrine of how to govern a territory necessarily implies a certain economic freedom of the 'nation-state', and governors' will to allocate resources widely in order for this construction ('the nation') to function for the well being of its population (e.g. 'Las Imillas'). Without a minimum of these measures, modern government might find it difficult to maintain 'public order' and create self-controllable bodies/citizens in the long run.²³⁸

It furthermore illustrates how 'Las Imillas' practice their freedom, through subscribing to the very governmentality they are resisting. I.e. they subject(ify), perform and educate each other in order to sustain their (economic) rights. They fight power with power through building up a counter narrative based on the same discourse that the hegemonic group resorts to. Thereby they unfortunately accept the discourse (it becomes part of them), the dichotomies of the discourse and the objectifications these dichotomies render possible. However, the viewer is left with a serious question: If not alternatively resorting

²³⁷ See e.g. Freedom in its practise & Assembling civilisation, pages 37-39

²³⁸ Rose 1999

to so-called crime, rioting forces of rebellion or terrorism (all antitheses to the public order of liberty) and/or potentially letting their children starve, what else could they do? Their situation seems to be more one of relations of domination than relations of power. In Foucault's words: *"When a social group succeeds in blocking a field of power-relations, immobilizing them and preventing reversibility of movement by economic, political or military means, one is faced with what may be called a state of domination."*

5.6.4 'Perverted' Geo-politics

VOG continues her explanation: *"In the early 1980s interest rates increased dramatically [...] simultaneously with decreasing prices for commodities on the world-market. The gap between export-income and instalments on loans widened. Manageable debt became insurmountable. In 1982 foreign banks halted their loan-activity and the cash-flow changed direction. In 1986, \$25,5 billion more than came in, left Latin America. Many economists call this: Perverse transfer of payments."* The gaze now tilting upwards on tall buildings and quickly down to the streets, zooming fast in on 'poor people' at the end of the statement. In an interview Eco sustains VOG's statements: *"Capitalist countries have made fortunes on these loans [...] I believe we have paid enough!"* Through which the film announces its premise. Eco's voice-over overlaps visibilities of a schooling-session in 'La Imilla', where she educates the crowd in economy and its significance to their livelihoods. She states: *"Everyone calculates in \$US now. There have been so many devaluations. Prices increased daily, so now you write your prices in \$US. Salaries here are so low that no one can afford to pay for the clothes we make [...] state-appointed staff cannot afford to buy clothes, only food. We try to sell our products abroad."* After which the viewer gets the name of the co-operative through an ultra-close-up on a tag, which is being sewn into the neck of a sweater. VOG perpetuates: *"IMF demands increasing export for Bolivia to pay its debt. This has effected in goods and commodities flooding the world-market pushing prices down. The budget-reductions decreed by IMF result in unemployment. The decree in Bolivia lifted import-restriction and cheap articles flooded the country. Resulting in a multitude of shutdowns of factories and smaller companies. The new economic policy has been a hard stroke for the country's productivity. The government has cut down the public sector and fixed wages."* And meanwhile freezing wages, prices increased by 1000%. The government privatised the schools and schools all over the country closed down. Resulting in unemployed teachers turning into taxi-drivers, indulging in crime and/or contraband – statements overlapping masses of demonstrating people.

This sequence expounds a hard (WAD) critique of so-called structural adjustment programmes, decreed by IMF (and World Bank) as a mean to sustain economic growth, introduced simultaneously with the stressed importance of (power) knowledge production and dispersal.²³⁹ The imagination that the ‘poorest of the poor’ could/should be empowered, and rather ironic that “*the improvement of professional skills [...] will allow an increasing number of people to participate in the process of economic development and share the fruits of progress.*”²⁴⁰ And again, it highlights how epistemes penetrate bodies (‘Las Imillas’) and activate them and how modes of knowing and being are conducive to serious real effects.

Through represented subjectivity and morality inherent in the film these rationalities (possibly) work on the viewer’s self-forming activity as well. Statements and visibilities penetrate and mould the viewer’s body and mind (at least mine) striving to remind her/him of freedom and equality and her/his role as a responsible ‘world-citizen’. And however well-intended, in naturalised ways of seeing and listening this discourse tells me, that I am a ‘have’ of the ‘1st world’ and that (some) female positivities ‘out there’ are the ‘have-nots’ of the ‘3rd world’. Caught in a tragic situation partly generated by dispersed power-knowledge stemming from international institutions (IMF&WB) supported by the Danish state-apparatus, established in 1944 to create a *better* world-environment. Conclusions conducive to cultivating rage and despair in the viewer’s mind and an example of non-uniform epistemic dispersal and adoption working through bodies and minds. Shaping and moulding modes of thinking and knowing ‘the other’ and/in ‘the self’ in discursively constructed and constantly reinforced geo-political set-ups. Hence, this is the art of panopticism and an example of how filmic narratives and their inherent moralities strive “*to impose a particular conduct on a particular human multiplicity*”²⁴¹ – in this case viewers of development-films.

5.6.5 Self & Other - Survival or Crime?

The film cuts to a female schoolteacher in close-up. She explains that she has been a teacher for twenty years but her family can no longer survive from her salary. Twice a month she travels to Chile and buys second-hand American clothes, which she re-sells in Bolivia. She explains how strenuous these journeys are and how she must bribe the customs officials to get the articles through the toll. When she leaves on these night-trips she is very worried about her young daughters: “*There are so many ways in which girls can get hurt [...] I’m very anxious when I go. But there is nothing I can do. They must*

²³⁹ Slater 1993. See e.g. Geo-political imaginations and Symbolic divisionism, pages 19-24 of this study

²⁴⁰ World Bank in Slater 1993 p. 426. My emphasis.

have food, clothes and a good education, and as I know they will reward me, my soul is calm.” Edited into and overlapping cross-cutting visibilities of great dry landscapes, loaded trucks, her in the kitchen, trucks driving in the night, young girls in the street and children at school. VOG explains: *“Contraband plays an increasing role in Bolivia’s trade and economy. Selling these goods is possible because of the large amount of \$ in circulation [...] Most of these \$ come from trade in cocaine. Official sources claim that in 1990 the drug-export exceeded more than \$1,5 billion. An amount twice the size of legal exports. When drug-money is filtered through the system it alleviates the worst effects of government policy [...] cocaine industry is alternative survival.”* Voice over on visibilities of money changing hands, market-people, calculators, bunches of notes, military-police, big cars and houses. Eco re-enters the narrative: *“Drug trafficking does not only harm Bolivia but also the capitalist countries. There, some have too much money and spend them on drugs. Us poor Bolivians are also involved because we want to make a few more Pesos and because we are desperate and starving.”* Which cuts directly into a visibility of the ‘rich’ Bolivian family from Santa Cruz, in front of a big table with plenty of food and abundance. The ‘rich white woman’ states: *“Us women believe that we should not loose hope. The situation in Bolivia will change. But it demands participation from all citizens. People should stop going on strikes [...] they should stop politicising. Those who work for the government should work for the Fatherland. Mobilise love for ‘La Patria’. I believe, if governors and governed work together we can handle the situation.”*

In this sequence it is explicit how bodies utter ‘the other’ and inscribe in various taxonomies in order to be/come and explain their ‘selves’: The school-teacher subscribes to labour, motherhood and crime/law. Eco subscribes to class (rich vs. poor) and geopolitics (Bolivia vs. capitalist countries – notions of ‘1st world’). And the ‘rich’ woman subscribes to womanhood (us women), civil obligations (participation, working together), ideology (strikes and politicising activities) and nationhood (love for la Patria). Hence, examples of how bio- and geo-political signifiers cohere. How they function through various tactics that incite, reinforce, control, monitor and organize people’s lives.

And examples of how these technologies of power centred on life, through discursive practices, produce a normalising society and a ‘new’ form of racism inscribed in it.²⁴² How taxonomies work as symbolic orders in which people are placed and/or place themselves (thereby they become naturalising) and how taxonomies distinguish and differentiate people (thereby they segregate). Hence in this light, the sequence demonstrates (through the three very different performing bodies) that the normalised

²⁴¹ Deleuze 1988 p. 36

²⁴² Foucault 1981

designation 'Southern women' as a 'true' and coherent category is an illusion and/or regulatory fiction. And that power-knowledge constructs and binary divisions of male/female, black/white, rich/poor etc. certainly are not coherent categories.

The sequence thereby points to the difficulties of coalition-strategies founded in identity-claims based on a 'natural' *a-priori*, and the illusion that 'women', 'ethnicities' and 'citizens' should have common goals. Hence I would argue, the (female) *in common* is not an expression of a common substance/essence that causes the expression of community. "*It is not an absorption of selves into a common which would imply that the exposition of community is a fusion of many bodies into one body [...] On the contrary 'being in common' means no longer having in any form, in any empirical or ideal place, a substantial identity [...] the community that becomes a unity and that forms an identity loses 'the being' [ethical substance] in common, since community lies in the retreat of such a being.*"²⁴³ And in this line, the utterance of 'the other' does not only sustain 'the self'. It simultaneously moulds, redefines and at times discontinues 'the self'. Which again highlights how power-knowledge-truth operating through coalition-strategies founded in notions of sexuality not only takes disciplinary and regulatory forms, but simultaneously becomes very productive and enabling for the bodies-cum-'real women' who subscribe to, reflect upon and adopt them. Or in other words, how e.g. sex, race and class as strategically implemented 'tools' in political struggles, enable and provide for the individual body in the (re)creation of an imaginary 'common self/other'.

5.6.6 The End Basta!

The female positivities from 'La Imilla' apparently need this coalition-strategy in their political struggle as the film finalises with two bodies from the co-operative stating: "*We've always been poor and we cannot rise. The industrial folks are rich and we've made them rich. If there were no poor there would be no rich [...] Finally I just want to say to the poor population in Latin America and Bolivia that we will not accept to pay this debt [Basta con la deuda!] We cannot pay. We cannot go on starving. The world should know that poor people don't sleep and that we are aware of what's going on. The world should know that our eyes are open and that we never benefited from these loans.*" Through which the film's premise is stressed once again. '*The capitalist notions of development stemming from Western capitalist neo-imperialism are detrimental to Southern women*' and '*Southern women are domesticated within the rationalities of capitalist exploitation and through this domestication their roles as workers are de-politicised*'. Which are the main points of WAD – inspired by feminist Marxist and interdependence theory.

²⁴³ Nancy quoted in Bell 1999 p. 19. See e.g. ethics and morality in *Archaeology & Genealogy* p. 11.

5.7 “The gift of a girl” (India)

This film is predominantly founded in the expository and interactive mode of representation (filmmaker appears audio-visually). There is no voice-over and statements are subtitled in English. The film is recorded on video and obviously has a lower budget than the previous two. Real-sound is clear and the film is 24 minutes long. Concord Video & Film Council/UK, which is a non-profit making charity with more than 3000 av-titles originally distributed the film.

5.7.1 Murder of/or Family-planning?

The film initiates with scenes of different ‘Indian’ visibilities cross-cut in slow-motion transitions into a picture side of purple and yellow flower-pedals falling to the ground, ultra-close-ups on baby-faces, babies on a floor and empty infant-beds. An old woman says: *“In old days we use to raise five, six, even ten children. Men would come to marry the girls and not care about dowry. Today if two daughters are born people will keep them. After that, if two boys are born they will also keep them. Any girl born after this is usually killed.”* Another woman explains how mothers kill their babies and a midwife explains how children go missing. *“Spicy chicken stock is used with chillis and sesame oil. They feed this to the baby to kill it [...] Oleander milk can also be given to the child. First the baby won’t drink it. Then she screams, chokes and dies [...] You can also wrap the child in a wet cloth from head to toe. After one hour the child dies from cold.”* Midwife: *“Yesterday I delivered a baby [...] I took the child to the mother’s home. I don’t know how they kill them. When I return three days later to tie the chord the baby is missing. What can I do?”* The film cuts to *welcome to U-RISE* (Women’s urban and rural institute for social education) engraved in the pavement in front of a big house A co-ordinator explains that she has been there for three years and that initiating the organisation was vary hard. She states: *“Female infanticide occurs frequently. We want to fight it. When we began this work I hated it, wanted to run away. Women refused to co-operate regarding female infanticide. Now we’ve brought awareness through Sangham-meetings, newly-wed workshops, anti dowry processions and even street theatre. We now have women and equal numbers of men supporting us. We can look forward to a bright future [...] Sangham means to protect the baby-girl and prevent her death.”* Overlapping cross-cuts of speaking women, meeting-sessions, banners in the streets, manifestations, baby-girls and mothers.

Through this opening sequence the film presents its complex of problems (infanticide of baby-girls as an effect of local power-relations) and the possible solutions (strategic implementation of surveillance and education in order to create

change). It highlights how dowry-claims have been reinforced during the past 40-50 years and that dowry-claims connected to material resources are detrimental to bodies/babies with a 'female mark' and entwined in coming of age, marriage, family, birth-control and infanticide. Through this it links the individual body to 'the social' and shows how notions of sexuality and the 'female' mark/visibility-cum-signifier are central issues of life and death. Visibility becomes a trap. It entwines anatomo-politics of the human body with bio-politics of the population and shows how analytics of sex penetrate both spheres at the same time. Initiating infinite surveillances, control, medical and/or psychological examinations etc. aimed at the entire (social) body.²⁴⁴ Hence the filmic topic operates within the realms of the calculated management of life and the disciplinary forces aimed at mothers in the regulation of the species, or in development-terms: *family-planning*.

However, the targeted change is not (as frequently) aimed at reducing the population, but rather evolving around the 'letting live' and the administration of life. Thereby I find that the premise of the film subscribes to Article 3 of The Universal Declaration of Human rights: *Everyone has the right to life* regardless of distinctions of race, sex, language and religion. In this light, the viewer is presented with power-knowledge-truth, morality and patterns of self/other reflections, and apart from contemplating the repulsive injustice on bodies deemed human bearing a 'female' mark, the viewer might contemplate some of modern life's crucial questions: What is the right to life? Simply to survive? Or to have a 'good' life? What is a 'good' life? And is the right to life as a governmental doctrine part of global population growth? If yes, what consequences does that have? (epistemes stemming from e.g. Malthus 1766-1834).²⁴⁵ Hence, through the dissemination of bio-political issues and panoptic mechanisms the attentive viewer's thoughts will be moulded. Thereby, the sequence can be considered a disciplinary mechanism installed in order to conduct the viewer's relations to sexuality and the telos of world-population: Effects of 'the womb'? 'The womb' and Law? How many children should I have? What future awaits 'our' children as bodies of the world? What is to be done? Hence, an event of non-uniform epistemic dispersal and adoption in the constant recreation of modern wo/man.

5.7.2 Rationalities & Techniques – Panoptic Arrangements

The film cuts to a village-scene in which a U-RISE expert/feminist speaks to a listening crowd (predominantly female visibilities and children). A child is being 'shared'. *"Until now this child belonged to its parents. Now her mother asks us to look after her. Her*

²⁴⁴ Foucault 1981. See e.g. Bio-power & bio-politics, pages 33-36

²⁴⁵ Lübke on Malthus – the founder of so-called demography – in *Filosofi* 1995 p. 68-70

child is now one of ours. We must all look after her like her father and her mother. We must show her affection as she elders.” Followed by visibilities of U-RISE members walking in the fields, small half-naked girls, local audience to their performances. And overlapping a song sung by the women: *“She gives meaning to the women’s movement. She gives light to the women’s movement. Sing a beautiful tune. Without your song dawn will not break. An eye when painted is so beautiful. Without you there is no tale to be told. Till you become fire your life will be full of sorrow. The suffering will never end. Your destiny will not change until you change it.”* Subsequently various experts from U-RISE elaborate on their techniques and rationalities: That they strive to turn bad news into good news, count the days before delivery with the mother, make the pregnant woman their friend, visit the mother and child before and immediately after birth, bring gifts to the family, arrange processions in the village to celebrate the newborn’s birth and if they suspect that the child might be killed, they visit the mother and child frequently after the birth. A U-RISE expert explains: *“We give advice to the mother as well as moral support and encouragement.”*

This sequence reveals how modern government founded in feminist ethics of care and resistance strategically implements panopticism in order *“to induce in the inmate [here the mother] a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power.”*²⁴⁶ And how panopticism as an optical system can be used as *“a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behaviour, to train or correct individuals.”* And/or *“Whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behaviour must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used.”*²⁴⁷ From the moment pregnancy is a visible ‘fact’ of the body, U-RISE members and their supporters observe and surveille the body in question. Further, visibility is drawn upon immediately after conception of the child and consecutively linked to sexuality when the child receives its ‘mark’ (boy/girl) and is ‘placed’ in the symbolic order. If this mark is feminine, the event, and thereby the mother and child is exposed to the whole village through a procession.

Subsequently the whole village knows that there is a baby-girl who according to the discourse of U-RISE has the right to life and needs protection. Through this optic performance the mother will know that ‘others know’ and if the child ‘goes missing’ punishment (in milder or harder form) might occur. In this sense the body/mother is subjected to fields of visibility and will possibly assume responsibility for the constraints of power. She will inscribe the power-relation in her ‘self’ and thereby she becomes the (power) principle of her own subjection. In the same context, U-RISE’s strategic

²⁴⁶ Foucault 1977 p. 201. My insertion.

²⁴⁷ Foucault 1977 p. 205.

implementation of advice, moral guidance and ‘friendship’ points to how morality founded in scientific rationality on sexuality takes a disciplinary form, internalises disciplinary practices, works as normalisation and at the same time both subjugates and contributes to the individual subjectivity.

5.7.3 The Sovereignty of Gold & Suicide

The following sequence cuts to an old woman who explains: *“They come and ask to marry the girls and they ask how much gold do we get? A poor family struggling to survive, how can they give gold?”* Cutting into scenes of newly-weds and to a local man surrounded by women in a village: *“If a family has three or four daughters they ask for 8 or 10 pounds of gold. As for the dowry they [the girl’s family] haven’t got 10 pounds. The newly married girl lives with her husband for two or three days. The husband squanders the money and sends her back home for more. If she returns with empty hands her in-laws abuse her family. It’s humiliating for her family and causes her problems.* Followed by a woman speaking to the camera situated in a big crowd of mothers: *“Even if you offer a kilo of gold for each girl this is not enough. Even if you bear ten children they send you home for more money.”* The gaze now in another village and fixed in a scene of seated mothers all carrying babies in their arms or on their laps. One of them explains smiling: *“If we decide to bring up our children we can’t afford to pay dowries. Besides they are only going to suffer [...] We all die from overwork. It’s better that they die now. Married girls resort to kerosene or drugs to end their lives. Taking all this suffering into account it is better for the babies to die now.”* These explanations cut directly into a mourning-scene. A small room crowded by crying and screaming people performing their grief around a corpse lying on a bed of flowers. The gaze zooming into an ultra-close-up of a stiff dead woman (still wearing her glasses) touched and pushed by the crowd with the glasses bumping up and down. In the following scene there is a procession for the deceased. The corpse is situated in a high flower-covered chair and carried around the village. A voice-over explains: *“In our community, if a woman commits suicide, her husband will blame her family. He will ask for compensation money. Usually 40-50.000 Rupees.”*

This sequence functions to highlight the profound problems U-RISE are struggling to fight and the moralities which ‘need’ to be moulded by ‘new’/other (feminist) moralities. The statements of local bodies point to, that their understandings of ‘the right to life’ are connected to notions of having a ‘good life’ and not simply ‘to live’. And that bodies signified as ‘poor’ and ‘female’ will suffer as they grow up because of a hard life and the dowry-system. This demonstrates how they are practicing their freedom to choose (death) for their infants as (not) coming bodies of society. Close to how pregnant bodies in a geo-

political set-up called Denmark practice their freedom to choose so-called clinical abortions and thereby also the (non) future of a foetus/child in their society. However the two situations diverge in the sense that a foetus in the womb has not yet entered the symbolic order as a sexed being, and feminist ethics of care cannot be attached to it as a specific person with specific sexual rights. A foetus in this geo-political set-up (DK) is to a certain size not even designated *a person*, which in fact would make it very difficult to legitimise induced abortions, and it is well-known that a long and hard feminist battle has been fought for women's rights to legal abortions. So-called sexual rights have followed the adult woman and person, as a citizen and worker! Thereby, the film points to the importance of the symbolic order and how this entwines in rights and laws founded in notions of sexuality and citizenship. And that a being must be signified a person/human in order to have rights and must be sexed in order to have sexual rights.

Hence, the film highlights how bio-politics of feminist resistance are entwined in Christian values and inherent discussions: *"From the moment of conception, the embryo must be treated as a person and must be defended, cared for and healed, analogous to any other human being [...] This 'inalienable right to life' must be recognised and respected by civil society as well as by political authorities [...] Throughout centuries theologians, canonists and priests have debated issues surrounding abortion, such as homonisation, or the point at which an embryo becomes a human being, the body-soul relationship."*²⁴⁸ And considering the power-games involved in the disputes about and determinations of so-called 'homonisation' (theological as scientific) it becomes quite clear, how the body as such does not exist prior to the application of signifiers. This, I believe, is what Ferguson refers to, when he studies the corporeal forms of Modernity: *"The distinctive feature of modern embodiment lies particularly in the process of individuation; in the identification of the body with the person as a unique individual and, therefore, the carrier of values and legally enforceable rights."*²⁴⁹ Hence, the construction of body as space, in space. And in this light, the feminist struggle of U-RISE is not only a struggle founded in sexuality (the 'making' of the body) but also in that of citizenship (the making of a situated body in a specific territory, entailing specific civil rights). Where the targeted bodies/mothers as the inscribed surfaces of events actively and retrospectively (re)create their own surfaces in their acts of self-inscription. This reveals how the right to take life is/should be replaced by the *let live* and (self)administration of sexed citizens. Which is further reinforced in the filmic discourse by the statements and visibilities evolving around suicide, and undertones of 'how women are forced by circumstances to take their own lives', and how this should be

²⁴⁸ *Catechism of the Catholic Church* quoted by Neale and [...] Neale in Carver et al. 1998 p. 151

²⁴⁹ Ferguson 1997 p. 1

prevented for the betterment of society. In Foucault's words: "*Death is power's limit [...] suicide became in the course of the nineteenth century one of the first conducts to enter into the sphere of sociological analysis; it testified to the individual and private right to die, at the borders and interstices of power that was exercised over life. [...] This determination to die, was one of the first astonishments of a society in which political power had assigned itself the task of letting live and administering life.*"²⁵⁰

5.7.4 Education f/or Sterilisation

The film cuts into a scene in the U-RISE compound. A young mother is sitting on the floor with a beautiful baby-girl on her lap and several U-RISE experts are speaking to her: "*Why do you want to kill this child? Come on tell me. Don't cry. Just answer the question. How can we help you dear? We're here to help. There are people here to take care of the child. Do you really need to kill it? Is it necessary?*" The person 'under attacks of care' is crying and answers in defence: "*Before I couldn't send my first girl to school. Couldn't provide a school-uniform. This child is just like the other one. I did not send her [the first child] to school.*" After which U-RISE members 'medicalise' the effects of her confession: "*You should educate her well. For your husband's death you get 7000 rupees, and if you're sterilised you get 20.000. If you save this money for them, you need not worry anymore. Bring these girls up like boys. They will earn money and help you. State-schools provide allowance for their education. You must treat boys and girls alike and bring them up with affection! Save one rupee a day. That will help you in the future. With this you can buy school-uniforms. State-school education is very good. Why worry? These are government policies for you benefit [...] You wouldn't have understood these problems before, but now you do [...] Have courage and raise the girls. Don't think about killing them. Don't worry about anything. Forget the past and look ahead. Trust the Sangham. We will provide the support you need!*" Followed by an interview in front of U-RISE's building where the film-maker (FM) enters the picture-side and asks the mother (M) from the previous educational session standing with her child in her arms. FM: "*Do you regret wanting to kill her, having cared for her?*" M: "*Looking at her now I feel pity, but at that time I wanted to kill her!*" FM: "*Did you really...want to kill her? Is that what you are saying?*" M smiling: "*That's what people do around here!*"

This sequence reveals how forms of resistance of the U-RISE feminists and their technologies, work on different forms of power installed in the targeted body. U-RISE experts are subscribing to women's rights and fighting local power-effects which "*exercise an uncontrolled power over people's bodies, their health and their life and*

²⁵⁰ Foucault 1981 p. 139

death."²⁵¹ The strategic utilisation of confession stands out as a central technique and technology in their power-struggle. Through confession they apply bio-power to the immediate everyday life of the confessing body. The body is marked by her individuality, attached to her own identity and imposed to a new law of truth: 'You must not kill your baby-girl!' Through these rituals of discourse she is turned into a subject. She becomes a subject to the group by control and dependence and is tied to her own subjectivity by a conscience of self-knowledge. Now as a (potential) member of the 'Sangham people' she is furthermore imposed to a certain type of behaviour, which is developed through regulated communication: "*Lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience [...] enclosure, surveillance, punishment and reward.*"²⁵² U-RISE feminists are directing the conduct of the body towards a specific end, which indicates that their modes of action are destined to act upon the possibilities of action of others. This is government. "*To govern is to structure the possible field of action of others.*"²⁵³

However, as an important element of modern government is freedom, the body and subject is faced with several possibilities, in which several ways of behaving and several reactions may be realised. The film does not follow this individual body so the viewer will never know whether the mother in question thanked yes to sterilisation, yes to receiving state-money for powers' surgical intervention in her body, yes to saving this money, yes to planning her life, yes to raising her girls like boys, yes to sending them to school, no to killing them, no to the past and yes to the future. All disciplinary mechanisms proposed to regulate movements, clear up confusion, dissipate unpredictable ways of being and calculate distributions; and as we shall see also crucial techniques in increasing both docility and utility of the human body in a modern system of production. "*Mechanisms of power which, instead of proceeding by deduction, are integrated into the productive efficiency [of the body] into the growth of this efficiency and into the use of what it produces [...] These are the techniques that make it possible to adjust the multiplicity of men and the multiplication of the apparatuses of production.*"²⁵⁴

5.7.5 Creating Difference through Equality

The film now cross-cuts to various visibilities of working women washing clothes, surrounded by children, carrying water etc. overlapped by a beautiful and melancholic Tamil song. The film-maker re-enters the plot asking a U-RISE expert: "*Can you stop all these practices? Not only in this village but also in the other? Do you think that all of you can put an end to it?* The expert answers: "*Yes! People have a much healthier attitude*

²⁵¹ Foucault The subject and Power p. 211

²⁵² Foucault The subject and Power p. 218

²⁵³ Foucault The subject and Power p. 221

²⁵⁴ Foucault 1977 p. 219. My insertion.

compared to before. Whether we have girls or boys we must plan our families. What difference does it make whether it is girls or boys? This is what we teach them. Not only are there jobs for girls but also in which they do well [...] The government is responsible. Besides sometimes girls can concentrate better on their work. They can earn as much as men and be happy!" Cutting to small girls working at a gasoline station, women washing clothes and women working at the market. The expert re-appears stating: *"I'm much confident now and more aware of female issues, their liberty, rights and the respect they deserve. Everything I've learned is useful and easy for me to share with others."*

Following the film includes a scene in which U-RISE experts are practicing a performance-session later to be exposed to the villagers. A body performs the mother with her unwanted girl-child and the other bodies subsequently 'work' on her mind, tell her about economic options, that they will help her, that together they can fight the dowry-system and if suitors come and ask for dowry 'she' knows where to send them. The expert performing the mother ends up stating: *"OK, you've persuaded me. I agree to bring up the child but I want to come with you and protest against dowries. If we get rid of dowries I'll keep my baby-girl."* The performance-session ending with 20 women yelling aloud: *"Save, save, save the baby girl! Save, save, save the baby-girl"*. Which cuts into a street-manifestation where a large crowd of women and men yell out: *"Long live the women's union. Join together and fight together. Men and women protest together. If we fight together we will succeed together. Don't kill them! Don't kill the baby-girls! Girls are no different from boys. Let it flourish. Let the women's movement flourish. Praise female liberty and down with female slavery."* Overlapping a scene where an angry mob of female bodies is tearing to pieces a large film-bill-board illustrating a male hero and a female desiring him.

This sequence demonstrates how bio-power brings life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations. How power-knowledge becomes 'an agent' of transformation of human life and that the life of the species is wagered on its own political strategies. It shows how power performed as resistance takes charge of life and subscribes to regulatory, disciplinary and corrective mechanisms, which at the same time provide and enable for the bodies-cum-sexed citizens. And it high-lights, how notions of sexuality become central to *"political operations, economic interventions (through incitements to or curbs on procreation) and ideological campaigns for raising standards of morality and responsibility."*²⁵⁵ Thus, a mean of access both to the life of the body and the life of the species, which again demonstrates a clear entwinement of an anatomo-politics of the human body and a bio-politics of the population. In the same context it reveals how:

*“This technology of power centred on life produces a normalising society and a new form of racism [sexism] inscribed in it.”*²⁵⁶ However, this demands a bit of explanation, as the respective ‘room of the film’ was/is obviously not beyond a situation where sexed signifiers (based on marks founded in visibility) play an important role as determinative for life or death.

What this ‘new form of sexism’ signifies, is a situation in which sex is politicised by U-RISE experts and brought in as a strategic tool of a political struggle to transform society and its potentials. And how notions of sexuality link to practices of freedom and equality e.g. articulated as: *“Praise female liberty and down with female slavery.”* Expounding how the dream for equality necessarily implies ‘othering’ and/or ‘new’ creation of difference. The ‘other’ (and ‘self’) must be pointed out in order to explain what needs to be ‘equalised’. ‘He is. I am not. We should be equal’. Thereby the enunciation of equality becomes a paradox, which in itself generates difference. Or in Arendt’s words, twisting the picture: *“Equality of condition, though it is certainly a basic requirement for justice, is nevertheless among the greatest and most uncertain ventures of modern mankind. The more equal conditions are, the less explanation there is for the differences that actually exist between people; and thus all the more unequal do people become.”*²⁵⁷ And to elaborate on the film-scene, it is clear how the raising of awareness of women’s rights in order to establish equality (between women and men) discursively sustain a (new) difference between them. Which is furthermore reinforced by panoptic arrangements and the imagination that fe/male visibilities should hold specific ‘natural’ essences. Hence, discursively constructed notions of e.g. sex, race and class and the constant utterance of their constructed binaries and visible differences generate potential segregation. Which point to that: *“The principle of equality cannot equalize physical characteristics, and a danger point arises when educational and social inequalities have been addressed, because it is then that such differences will be resented and the more conspicuous will those become who are visibly unlike the others.”*²⁵⁸ High-lighting how statements are determinative for imagining ‘the meaning’ of visibilities and how important visibilities are in the making of statements that become deemed as real (and different).

5.7.6 U-RISE, WE-RISE

The film ends with a woman stating: *“Initially we didn’t know anything. The Sangham-women have taught us how to swim. If you show us to cast a net, we can cast a net and catch fish. They taught us how to catch fish.”* Followed by a song *“Don’t kill the female*

²⁵⁵ Foucault 1981 p. 146

²⁵⁶ Foucault 1981 p. 146. My insertion.

²⁵⁷ Arendt quoted in Bell 1999 p. 69.

²⁵⁸ Arendt quoted in Bell 1999 p. 69

child. Let's stop the dowry-system...” and overlapping cross-cutting visibilities of women and men, close-ups on holding hands and bodies carrying signs saying “*Don't kill the female child*”, “*Long live women's groups*” and “*Let's stop the dowry system*”. Thereby the film's premises are spelled out again, through bodies performing the very messages. U-RISE's presence is legitimised, ‘development works’ and ‘women are empowered for the betterment of society’. And in this light, the viewer might feel sympathy with the political struggle of U-RISE, which seen from a ‘female’ perspective, by a viewer living in a body with a female mark, seems an important one however problematic it may be. Because the viewer (I) now believes that this mark has very real consequences in imaginary locations ‘out there’ and that if ‘her’ body had been born ‘there’, life might not even have been an option, which after all is the only point of reference a viewer can subscribe to. However, if a mother, the viewer might also experience a dilemma of gendered subjectivity and sympathy with the mother who kills her child (performs an abortion) due to her care for her ‘self’ and the child. Hence, this small analytic exercise demonstrates exactly how represented subjectivities embedded in audio-visual morality are very effective in moulding ethics and in maintaining sex and gender theories actively alive in modern bodies’ minds (e.g. mine).

5.8 Summing Up

Through the above I have demonstrated some of the discursive constructions and representations of gendered subjectivities in development rationalities and practices. And how Danish NGOs represent (some) so-called ‘Southern women’ via development-films stemming from several geo-political set-ups and circulating in one called Denmark. I have high-lighted how issues of sex, gender and geo-politics are applied to represented bodies in development films and pointed to that representations as audio-visual discourse do matter. Both as (re)politicising tools of film-makers and in the viewer's creation of ‘self’ and ‘out there’. In this light I have stressed the stance that so-called ‘others’ are always already (mouldable) constructs in bodies’ minds and a necessity for the creation of ‘selves’, and that gazes and decipherings of ‘reality out there’ necessarily must be linked to embodied cultural intelligibilities and the way these have been facilitated to bodies in specific localities (through e.g. education and mass-media). I have furthermore pointed to development-films as providers of ‘rooms of interpretation’ and geo-political descriptions and arguments. And that the circulation of dominant geo-political models and arguments, represented in and proposed through a genre of film designated as films from the so-called ‘South’, are potential and important moulders in non-uniform national self-identification; and also conducive to reinforcing ‘Southern’ and ‘Northern’ positivities and imaginations of ‘Danish’ bodies’ pertinence to the so-called ‘West’.

Furthermore, I have shown how WID, WAD and GAD discourses have been heard in film-contexts and are fully implemented in development-films. At the same time I have problematised the documentary ‘dream’, that it should be possible to make a meaningful and fully coherent representation of a ‘Southern woman’s’ life ‘out there’. Because the reading and deciphering of the exposed filmic discourse necessarily comes about in the viewer’s mind, because documentaries are not facts and because the ‘Southern woman’ as a historico-discursive construct is a regulatory fiction and/or a complexity with no totality and certainly not a coherent reality.

However, in the same light I hope to have demonstrated that ‘Southern women’ and/or just ‘women’ as taxonomies for coalition-building founded in identity-claims drawing on notions of sexuality, are very useful power-knowledge constructs, which not only discipline and regulate the bodies involved, but at the same time provide and enable for the individual body subscribing to these very constructs. Hence, symbolic categories extremely relevant for creating modern subjectivities rendering these constructs real and generating social change. Which I find, is exactly what make these power-knowledge constructs and ‘locations’ in the symbolic order such important parts of identity-politics and highly relevant tools and targets for development interventions. And in the same light, very powerful instruments in constructing ‘regulated freedom’ to control masses through their own self-control and thereby also crucial techniques in increasing both docility and utility of the human body in modern systems of production. In this context, I have pointed to the importance of multilateral relations, ratified international treaties and the role of international development clusters such as the UN and its specialised agencies, the World Bank and IMF. And such clusters’ influence in the non-uniform epistemic dispersal-cum-adoption of international development rationalities in various geo-political set-ups – through e.g. international human rights, international women’s rights, tenets on ‘good governance’ and democratisation, structural adjustment programs etc. And how such rationalities through bodies and minds and concrete materialisations have led to positive results for some and negative results for others.

Thereby I have tried to reveal how micro-powers operating through the individual body (as politics of sexuality detectable through articulations and performance) are entwined in much broader patterns of power, and impossible to look upon as ‘isolated sizes’.

Anti-sexist power-struggles, of bodies who unite and act as (‘Southern’/‘Northern’) ‘women’, entwine in multiple dimensions of constructed and pro-claimed subjectivities, configured within the scientification and disciplinary practices of human beings, attached to e.g. parental processes, labour, race, class, citizenship and geo-political imaginations. All taxonomies of segregation conducive to transforming bodies into modern individuals

that are not merely ‘free to chose’ but obliged to be free and connected to the on-going establishment and transformation of so-called civility. Thus, I hope that it is clear to my reader that I am of the conviction, that anti-sexist battles (as e.g. represented in the three selected gender sensitive development-films) are power-struggles subscribing to practices of freedom and equality, and that freedom and equality are not states of being nor constitutional forms, but forms of power co-extensive with bio-politics and the on-going creation of mind-sets and desires of modern wo/man. Thereby I cannot (and never will) claim that bodies share the same epistemologies and ontologies, but I can suggest that the techniques and technologies and regimes of truth implemented into political struggles founded in notions of sexuality (at least in the ‘rooms’ of the selected gender-sensitive films) share certain similarities – elaborated on in my conclusion.

6. Conclusion

Now it seems appropriate to conclude my narrative, which is aimed at giving a personal contribution to my field by looking into:

- **How do Danish Development NGOs represent ‘Southern women’ in selected development-films?**

In relation to my problem-formulation it has first and foremost been important for me to look into my main object of study, the symbolic location in dominant development discourse: ‘Southern women’. And give an answer to what is a **‘Southern woman’?** This has partly been approached through a problematisation of sex and my conviction that sex, sexuality and gender are not ‘natural facts’ but rather power-knowledge constructs traceable in history, founded in scientific rationality (*scientia sexualis*) and important cogwheels of the concept Modernity. Some might find my problematisation more careless than radical and conducive to evading the biologically established existence of sexual functions for more superficial variables. Or in other words, some might find that I speak of sex and gender as if they do not exist. This has not been my intension. Rather, what I have intended to demonstrate is how they exist in development-discourse and practices, how they are exposed through development-films, possibly function between performing protagonists and viewers, and how they are conducive to real and lived effects.

At the same time I have wished to show how deployments of power through feminist development interventions are directly connected to the body, to bodies’ functions, to physiological processes and to bodies’ imaginations of ‘selves’ and ‘others’. In this sense I have pointed to the interconnection between *the biological* and *the historical*. That *the biological* and *the historical* are bound together in an increasingly complex fashion in

accordance with the development of modern technologies of power which take life as their objective. Hence, I have argued that sex and sexuality are not exterior domains to which power is applied but rather results and instruments of power's designs. Sex- and gendered subjectivity is performatively constituted by the very expressions that are said to be its results. Or in other words, it is through the repeated 'play' of sex, sexuality, fe/maleness, masculinity, femininity etc. performed in gendered relations, that the 'I' is insistently constituted as 'woman' or 'man' (or none of them and hence in positivistic 'trouble'). And if the 'I' is the effect of a certain repetition, then there can be no 'I' that precedes the sex that it is said to perform. Thereby, the imaginary 'Southern woman' as an epistemic construction (similar to the 'Northern woman') becomes both a location of power-operations and a body caught in the symbolic order. And at the same time a body that is what it does. A statement and a visibility in one and/or a performing body signified as a 'woman' in 'the South', who installed in a gender-sensitive development-film will both sustain and decompose her positivity through performance and articulation – obviously according to the mind that looks at 'her'.

I have furthermore wished to demonstrate how bodies' imaginations of pertinence to specific soils, territories and regions are 'similar' discursive constructs, also traceable in history, open to scrutiny and their effects to criticism. Again, my argument has not been put forward in order to negate that territories, regions and soils are different and that borders are not there. They obviously are! But rather, to highlight how bodies come to subscribe to notions of place and space (the national vs. the international, the local vs. the global, 'North' vs. 'South', 'West' vs. 'Rest' etc.) and entwine these with their relations to 'selves' and 'others'. And in the same line, how the **geo-political imagination** of a certain juridico-political space should be considered in relation to the geo-politics circulating through statements and visibilities in that specific societal constellation. Hence, I have stressed that geo-politics, operating as power-knowledge through bodies and minds, are what render geo-political imagination possible and when/if materialised as visibilities through e.g. maps, flags, pass-ports, notes, currency reserves, uniformed military/police, parliaments, state-apparatuses, ballots, prime-ministers, tax-returns, social security-numbers, confined territories of borders etc. these imaginations (may) turn even painfully real.

Some might find such speculations absurd and that it is obvious that 'we' pertain to specific geographical nation-states and that these are crucial for 'our' possibilities and scopes of abilities, which certainly are not irrelevant speculations. However, it could be questioned, if a territory designated as a nation-state (or if territorial divisions designated as 'North' and 'South') are really the anchorage points that supports the manifestations of

national and international identity. Is it not rather a complex idea that was formed inside the deployment of geo-politics and interconnected with power? Where power in a given space becomes a very complex mechanism, embracing the development of production, the increases of wealth, higher juridical and moral values placed on property relations, stricter methods of surveillance, tighter partitioning of the population and more efficient techniques of locating and obtaining information.²⁵⁹ I believe so, and also that for geo-politics to work these must necessarily operate as bio-politics and/or through micro-powers, which are the powers that render macro-powers real. Hence, so-called ‘Southern’ and ‘Western’ bodies can be seen as historico-discursive constructs founded in bodies’ will to spatial power; where space is fundamental to any form of communal life and in any exercise of power, and where much broader ‘states of mind’ rest on small regional practiced panopticism.

Bringing me to the second working-question set forth in my inquiry. **How and why were films implemented into Development rationalities and practices?** This has been studied in a geo-political perspective and dealt with throughout the whole study by my investigation into how Danish NGOs represent ‘others’ in development-films stemming from the NGO environment. My findings demonstrate how audio-visual representations of ‘gendered subjectivity’ in development-films are coextensive with dominant development discourse and its inherent symbolic orders. Which again points to Foucault’s notions of discursive practices and statements defining limited systems of presences. That gazes are caught in discursive practices determinative for what the viewer ‘sees’. Or in other words, signifiers are crucial for the construction of visibilities and at the same time necessary enunciative devices for communicating bodies’ actions and thoughts e.g. in films. In this context I have shown (in my field of analysis) that development-films circulating in a geo-political set-up by the name of Denmark, were not simply implemented into development-practices, but rather, utilised as a strategic technology in order to construct development as a ‘visible field’ and legitimise development-interventions ‘out there’ (predominantly founded in rationalities on guilt, responsibility and solidarity).

Hence, it was partly through the strategic utilisation of the film-medium that statements could be connected to visibilities and carry into the light of day imagined geo-political ‘reality’ – exposing ‘others with a strong need for help’ and confirming ‘Danish society’s’ potential as development-facilitator. Demonstrating how the calls for bilateral development interventions ‘out there’ (e.g. development projects) were/are coextensive with interventions ‘at home’ (e.g. via education and mass-media). And fully in line with

²⁵⁹ Foucault 1977 p. 77

rationalities of Unesco put into written discourse in 1946: “*Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed [...] the organisation will collaborate in advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples through all means of mass-communication [...] and promote the free flow of ideas by word and image.*”²⁶⁰ Rationalities and techniques I find are still in constant realisation through the world-wide spread of television-apparatuses and audio-visual dissemination of dominant development discourse. However well-intended, operating as panoptic actions embedding practices of freedom and equality, bio-power and discipline, linked to places and gazes and their inherent technologies. Conducive to reinforcing imaginations of (some) gazing selves as ‘developed’ bodies of the ‘1st world’ capable of helping (some) ‘poor bodies’ of the ‘3rd world’. A multiplicity of actions upon actions, where bio- and geo-politics disseminated through statements and visibilities, mould ethics of viewers to impose particular conducts on particular human multiplicities.

Which brings me forward to, how issues of sexuality and geo-politics are applied to **represented bodies in gender-sensitive development-films** (re)inventing so-called ‘Southern women’ as positivities. In this context I have highlighted how (film)bodies are inserted into pre-defined and cross-cutting themes stemming from development clusters and rationalities and thereby always already contextualised within dominant-development discourse. Where themes evolve around: project-related information, conflict, war, youth, education, culture, environment, development assistance, dept, trade, minorities, indigenous people, media etc. In these filmic narratives bodies act and perform various ‘characters’ related to the themes while the film-medium transforms or transfigures bodies when they are revealed and reveal themselves. And as for the gazing viewer, these bodies are already stamped by the viewers’ fantasies and imaginations. Thereby I argue, that ‘Southern women’ as visible positivities are not defined by sight, but by complexes of actions and passions, actions and reactions emerging into the light of day as multisensorial complexes.²⁶¹ Thus, by adopting this stance, I have moved beyond ‘naturalised’ ways of seeing and proposed that ‘female’ positivities figuring in various development-films come into being as such through: performance, discursive practices and normalised roles of gendered bodies – where “*the gendered self [other] has no ontological status apart from the acts that compose it; only gestures, movements and styles constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self [other].*”²⁶² Hence, overall I have moved away from gendered visibility as a ‘natural fact’ and focused on how sex as an articulated political identity-claim becomes effective, how notions of sexuality are

²⁶⁰ Unesco constitution. See appendix D

²⁶¹ Deleuze on visibilities 1988 p. 59

²⁶² Butler quoted in Lloyd in Carver et al. 1998 p. 126. My insertions.

adopted and turn into ‘womanhood’, ‘motherhood’, ‘femaleness’ etc. and how such actions supply discursive formations with a thickness of female positivities. At the same time, I have high-lighted in my analysis, how issues of represented gendered subjectivity not only take disciplinary and regulatory forms, but simultaneously become very productive and enabling for the bodies who subject/subscribe to them, or how power-knowledge-truth enables and provides for the individual body in the re-creation of subjectivity, and how practices of freedom and equality penetrate bodies and minds through feminist government in contestation.

In this context, the represented **feminist struggles**, exposed in the selected gender-sensitive development-films disseminated by Danish NGOs, are fully in line with rationalities of WID, WAD and GAD. The films I have studied more closely all reveal what happens, when cohesive forces are put into motion in the ‘rooms of the films’. They expose how feminist experts of various institutional set-ups implement bio-power and modern techniques and technologies into political struggles and coalition-strategies in order to create social change. Or put differently, *feminist government through community* working on, through and with bodies demonstrate how subjectivities are being moulded and gendered in various geo-political set-ups by similar techniques and technologies. I.e. **education** as disciplinary and enabling power-mechanisms, techniques of **confession** as objectifying and self-subjectifying practices in rituals of discourse where ‘true’ subjectivities are invented and **panoptic arrangements** to impose specific behaviours and conducts on specific human multiplicities. Some of the examples of **how bodies are gendered** can be found in scenes: Where female positivities are invited to ‘other’ (‘men’) in order to care for their ‘selves’, become ‘true females’ and gain access to their rights. Where powers of care are internalised in and adopted by bodies, as prerequisites for empowering ‘mothers’ and improving their (children’s) lives. Where bodies are invited to subject their ‘selves’ to expert-knowledge, recognise their ‘selves’ as ‘women in lack’ and act upon their ‘inferior’ positions related to property and law. Where bodies are invited to ‘plan for the future’ with out-set in their bodily capacities and possibly coming roles as mothers and workers. Where bodies get actively involved in feminist power-struggles in order to act upon the possibilities of others, as government in contestation. Where bodies are linked to parenting processes as mothers and directed towards specific ends. Where bodies as female visibilities are sucked into normalising processes of citizenship and economy, and use gendered categories to fight for their rights. Where bodies are invited/deemed to recognise their ‘selves’ as sexed citizens (situated ‘women’) due to their roles as unfortunate parents and workers in power-constructions referred to as nation-states. Where bodies subject to racial and gender discourses in order to sustain their rights and fight power (with power). Or, where bodies inscribe power-relations in

their ‘selves’ due to their subjection to fields of ‘female’ visibility etc. Hence, all situations in which bodies practice powers of freedom and equality, with outset in statements and visibilities founded in notions of sexuality. And all situations, where notions of sexuality become tools in creating and establishing coalitions-strategies founded in identity-claims based on power-knowledge and illusionary ‘natural’ *a-priori*.

Following this line of reasoning, it could be argued that the recast of gender into development rationalities and practices is dressed in notions of sex and sexuality founded in scientific narratives, which to a large extent help maintaining sexual theories actively alive, through the flexibility of their boundaries and through their accommodation of counter narratives (performed as resistance). The strong focus on sex and gender in development clusters, furthermore demonstrates how (feminist) development-practices utilize **bio-power** and how development works on bodies (‘female’ as ‘male’) through anatomo- and bio-politics. Focusing simultaneously on ‘the body as machine’ and the ‘species body’. Where the anatomo-politics of the human body concern: “*Its disciplining, the optimisations of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the increase of its usefulness and its docility [...] and its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls*”. And the bio-politics of the population concern: “*The body imbued with the mechanics of life and as the basis of biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity.*”²⁶³ Hence, bio-power effected through an entire series of interventions and fully in line with dominant development discourse. Where *good governance* and *participatory development*, through *empowerment* and co-operation with *civil society* are central issues of so-called *economic globalisation*.²⁶⁴ And in which ‘mothers’ and/or ‘women’ become of paramount interest as crucial symbolic locations and potential bodies capable of increasing their usefulness and docility in the ongoing development of capitalism²⁶⁵; and at the same time capable of going through pregnancies, which render these bodies ‘gates to life’ and amenable to regulation and discipline for the ‘betterment’ of the human species.

Therefore, what (feminist) developers deem as repression of ‘women’ turns into a very powerful (re)active force, where practices of freedom and equality are constantly reinforced through bio-power. Related to Foucault’s critique on the **repressive hypothesis**, and his conviction that repression is not a block to power but rather a very important part of it. Which I have brought forward in my analysis by highlighting how ‘women’s’ practices of freedom and equality are important tools of modern self-government, constantly sustaining what they wish to fight, namely ‘women’s’ inscription

²⁶³ Foucault 1981 p. 139

²⁶⁴ Slater 1993

²⁶⁵ See Bio-power & Bio-politics page 35

into repression and inequality/difference. Or in other words, practices of freedom simultaneously install imagined repression and practices of equality simultaneously install imagined difference, which very effectively generate the active sexed citizens whom Modernity thrives upon and within. Thus Foucault's argument has come full circle too. Where the repressive hypothesis on sexuality was the cornerstone for the advance of bio-power,²⁶⁶ bio-power has now implemented the repressive hypothesis. Feminist development clusters' deployment of women's struggles for freedom and equality take outset in repressive hypotheses, which subsequently become a very effective technology for constituting sexed citizens out of bodies, through the maximisation of their political participation in a given societal constellation. And as for gender-sensitive development-films distributed by Danish development NGOs and in circulation in the geo-political set-up of Denmark, I can finalise my narrative by suggesting that most of these films just reinforce the power-mechanism once again. I.e. through their exposure of (some) 'Southern women's' need for freedom and equality (due to their repression and inequality), which supposedly can be facilitated by support and active participation from sexed citizens in the 'North'. Therefore I find, that most gender-sensitive development-films stemming from the Danish NGO environment can be considered kaleidoscopic projections of dominant development discourse – legitimising development-interventions 'out there' as well as 'at home' – in the ongoing geo-politics of sexuality.

In line with power-struggles founded in notions of sexuality, freedom and equality I give my final words to Foucault: *"The task of philosophy as a crucial analysis of our world is something which is more and more important [...] Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine what we could be to get rid of this kind of political "double bind" [...] We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has been imposed on us for several centuries."*²⁶⁷

7. Afterthoughts

Having come to the end of my thesis, there are some relevant points I would like to bring to the fore. Some might find, that my conclusions are dystopian and pessimistic, clearing space for nothing but nihilistic political passivity. That I see subjectification as enslavement, freedom as unattainable illusion and human agency as a self-deceptive game entangled in Modernity as a domination plot. Which are in fact some of the frequent criticisms targeted at post-structuralist methodologies inspired by Foucault. However, I find that such criticisms have completely missed the point.

²⁶⁶ Imagined repressed sexuality needed to be brought out in order to find the 'truth' about modern wo/man and within these discursive practices sexuality was constructed as a 'truth'. Inaugurating a certain human interiority, which could be rationally administered by professionals and 'individual's self-administration'.

As far as I am concerned, through the adoption of so-called Foucauldian methodologies (archaeologies and genealogies) it becomes possible to high-light that so-called structures did not ‘fall from the sky’ – did not arise out of nothing – and that their accumulations lie exactly within human agency. Hence it could be argued, that if it was possible to create such structures, it is also possible to change them – however difficult that may be – but before that can happen, the human complexities from which they arose need exposure. And in this line of reasoning, if consistently implemented, post-structuralist approaches should never lead to lethargic states of mind. On the contrary, they might help us amplify some of those mobile lines of force, which historically have taken shape on the margins of politics. Or in other words, through destabilisation and denaturalisation of the present regimes of truth and through provision of conceptual tools and arguments, such methodologies might just help maximize the capacity of individual and collective thought, which again might enable a revaluation of those values by which we are governed – and through which we govern others as well as ourselves. Therefore, I fully agree with Rose when he states:

*“To analyse [...] is not to seek for a hidden unity behind some complex diversity. Quite the reverse. It is to reveal the historicity and the contingency of the truths that have come to define the limits of our contemporary ways of understanding ourselves, individually and collectively, and the programmes and procedures assembled to govern ourselves [...] Its aim, therefore, is to reshape and expand the terms of political debate and enable different questions to be asked.”*²⁶⁸

Which is in fact what I have tried to do in this thesis, by pointing to the historico-discursive construction of ‘the body’ and how bio- and geo-political rationalities through various developmental techniques and technologies are deployed, put into motion and come into effect in varied geo-political set-ups through social groups and communities.

Hence, I hope to have created some uneasy disturbance in my reader’s mind. I hope to have achieved (at least for the moment) the effect, that it now seems more difficult for you to truly define your ‘*natural sex*’, your ‘*natural born citizen*’, your ‘*natural cultural pertinence*’ and not to forget, your ‘*natural division of the seen from the said.*’ And having said this, I must stress, that within such contemplations (of the constructedness of one’s ‘sex’, ‘nationality’, ‘audio-visual reality’ etc.) I cannot subscribe to some theoreticians’ pure desire and impracticable dreams, that such contemplations should be

²⁶⁷ Foucault *The subject and Power* p. 216

²⁶⁸ Rose 1999 p. 276

possible beyond the mind-sets of Modernity.²⁶⁹ I am, as I have pointed out throughout this whole study, of the conviction that there is nothing beyond discourse. I.e. our social realities are configured and conceptualised within the boundaries of language(s) and/or historico-discursive symbolic orders. And, as far as I am concerned, this does not lead to any despair at all, because it is exactly within these boundaries that we are completely free – to think, recast, create, act, feel, dream, change and be!

Therefore, within this study I utilise my freedom,²⁷⁰ not to propose normative prescriptions – based on personal convictions and orientations – of how modes of action should be arranged in the future in order to seek for ‘best’ solutions to urgent problems. That would simply undermine my whole approach as well as my beliefs. But to state, following Foucault to the very end, that I find radical criticism an absolutely indispensable tool in any dream for transformation.

*“Criticism is a matter of flushing out thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as one believed [and] As soon as one can no longer think things as one formerly thought them, transformation becomes very urgent, very difficult, and quite possible.”*²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Here I am thinking about e.g. Bauman, Giddens, Habermas.

²⁷⁰ See Freedom in its practise pages 37-39

²⁷¹ Foucault in ‘Practicing criticism’ quoted in Sybylla 2001 p. 66. My insertion

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