

**DANCING ON ROSES II**

**A FEMINIST VIEW OF PATRIARCHAL  
MILITARISM, IMMIGRANTS,  
FUNDAMENTALISM AND  
HEALTH HAZARDS**



Nordic Women's University/Kvinneuniversitetet i Norden  
Nesna University College  
2012

Editors: Nancy L. Coleman, Suzanne Stiver Lie and Berit Ås  
Published by  
Nordic Women's University/Kvinneuniversitetet i Norden  
Nesna University College  
N-8700 NESNA, NORWAY  
[www.kunorden.org](http://www.kunorden.org)

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Font: Adobe Garamond Pro  
Paper: 120g Munken Polar  
Layout: Nancy L. Coleman  
Printed and bound by Interface Media as, Ensjøveien 8, 0655 Oslo, NORWAY

ISBN 978-82-93243-00-7 (book)  
ISBN 978-82-93243-01-4 (PDF)



**Rosenlund, the home of the Norwegian Women's University in Løten, Norway.**



**Participants at the Second Nordic Feminist University at Rosenlund in Løten, Norway, August 2009.  
Photo: Signe Winther.**



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# PREFACE

## WELCOME SPEECH TO THE 2ND NORDIC FEMINIST SUMMER SCHOOL

*Berit Ås, Professor Emerita, University of Oslo, social scientist, founder of The Feminist University at Løten, Norway*

Dear Friends!

It is nice to see you here again, those of you who attended the first Summer School in Sweden in 2007. We are also thrilled that we have new people with us, who all have important activities going on and from whom we hope to receive important ideas and inspiration. I will try to give you a glimpse of why Paola and I feel that a research and teaching institution is important to constitute an institution built according to feminist perspectives and which respects human rights, peace activities and work for climate and environmental causes. A Nordic Women's University should take a stand against fundamentalisms, culturally, legally and economically. It should work against religious systems which threaten women's rights. For those of you who did not attend the Swedish meeting at Kungälv there are reports to read about the speeches and the information which were given in 2007. (See: "Dancing on Roses" I.)

We are gathering today in a building called "Rosenlund": It was for 25 years the Motherhouse of the Norwegian Women's University which had BY-RULES that were exclusively built on feminist goals and principles. In addition to promoting research and academic courses, it was strongly committed to try to reach the general public, especially "ordinary" women, to build their self-respect, self-reliance and courage, to oppose suppression and unjust treatment of women, as well as those weaker groups in society which usually women care for. (The BY-LAWS are available in English from Nesna University College.)

In this building the first meeting of the International Feminist University Network (IFUN) took place. This foundation is located in Treviso, Italia. Its goal is to spread the idea and the new knowledge base carried on by women in different countries and cultures. This network of universities, organized and first conceived as summer schools, are meant to provide material for further development of feminist universities all over the world. The participants' ideas and achievements are published in the book *Portraits* edited by Linda Christensen Ruffman, Paola Melchiori and me.

This mandate to develop an international institution was given to the organizers of a 3-week gathering in 2001 in this house. Women from all over the world who had struggled to give women a status and working opportunity in politics, economy, cultural institutions and education were gathered here on this occasion.

Quite a few things have taken place since the gathering in 2001. Another meeting took place with women politicians of high status; women who had protested both the bombing in Kosovo and the Afghan and Iraqi wars were given the opportunity to meet for 10 days in this house in 2003. There were representatives from Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Brazil, Sweden, Japan, Canada, Barbados, Palestine and Italy.

In 2004 a faculty meeting to plan a future International Feminist University was held in Steigen, in the Northern part of Norway. Steigen was a daughter institution of the original Women's University in Løten. It functioned from the beginning according to the same BY-LAWS as those of the mother institution. While the original Women's University was organized in 1983, the Steigen Women's University was established some years thereafter. Faculty meetings consisting of feminist scholars and activists has since then met in Italy and in Cape Town, South Africa. The last one received a contribution of 100,000 US dollars from the Ford Foundation. Further activities have later been initiated in Latin America.

One of our main motives for establishing a Nordic institution came from the strong backlash that has taken place in the women's movement in Scandinavia. Institutions that address feminist

issues have all been weakened almost to the point of deterioration. The authorities in the media and elsewhere have been able to convince the younger generations that “equality is here”. Older women who do not understand this are just “hanging onto the earlier times”, these young women claim. This is what we could have expected. It has happened to most groups which have gotten some of their demands accepted. They have always been met with counteractions, one of which is to be told that their situation is totally changed and that their struggle is not necessary any more. Another counteraction is to take political actions masked under bureaucratic acts. During the last wave of “modernization” the Women’s University in Norway has therefore deteriorated.

The responsibility for supervision and financing of the institution has been moved from the Ministry of Education and Research and is now under the auspices of the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion. Women, who constitute 51% of the population, have in this way been marginalized together with the handicapped, immigrants and homosexuals. All the funding previously allocated for women’s liberation work was transferred to the young, modern women on the Women’s University Board, who then decided to change both the name and the BY-LAWS.

The Women’s University in Norway was then mostly dismantled. But the opportunity has arisen to form a Nordic Branch of the Women’s University, serving all the 12 regions of the Nordic region. This institution will return to the original ideas of the Norwegian Women’s University, focusing on women’s issues, both the old ones and the new. The new questions which have arisen with the arrival of many women refugees and immigrants are to be addressed. Nor should we forget the worsening economic situation which is developing and having its effects on women around the world, due to the new global financial crises and the ongoing wars and conflicts.

Good luck with our school’s discussions and further plans!

# PART 1: PATRIARCHY: THEORY AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

## RESHAPING THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY. COUNTERACTING NEO-PATRIARCHY

*Paola Melchiori, Ph.D., Free Women's University, Italy & International Feminist University Network, Philosopher, Italy*

### **By Way of an Introduction**

After more than twenty years of intercultural work with women and feminists in what we have called a "Free University of Women", where all kinds of women's experiences and cultures have been exchanged, analyzed and collectively discussed, what still amazes me is the strength of the consensus that patriarchy can still count on. This is true also among young women, and even in the midst of the strongest evidence of its destructivity, globally and over every individual life. Not by chance, patriarchy is the only structure of domination which has taken two thousand years before being seriously challenged, the only one able to thoroughly organize the "love" of its victims for their own chains.

The question I want to address here is: where are we now? Where is the "new border", after more than twenty years of struggles? Is feminism today still able, as it has undoubtedly been in the seventies, to continue challenging patriarchy or is it caught in the organization of a presence in the world that is losing grip in this challenge?

I argue in this paper that feminism has encountered unimaginable obstacles, but has also "slowly forgotten" at what level patriarchy is rooted in the unconscious of men *and* women, embedded in their bodies, in the hidden laws of society, so that conscience and political measures, in a classic sense, are not sufficient to make any change. Moreover, being patriarchy based on a system of differences and oppositions, hierarchically and sexually organized, covering the entire symbolic and material world, this oppositional and hierarchical system "moves along" in new forms, as far as "things change", in order not to change its main structures. Therefore, in order to evaluate what has been really achieved, we have to keep in mind a whole spectrum of different areas and levels, where evident changes can mask invisible forms of permanence. (Bourdieu: 1999)

I want to focus on the area where I think the challenge has been most hidden, most difficult and most forgotten. I argue that it is not only a matter of economic and symbolic domination, through the intimate solidarity of all the institutions in charge of its reproduction, socially and symbolically. It is the depth of a *structure of survival* in which men and women are born and socialized that has been shaken, but is still "holding". Challenging it and trying to change it meant and means destabilizing personal balances strongly intertwined with the organization of social fabric. Patriarchy, this arbitrary social construction has been naturalized, therefore becoming "blood and flesh". The alterations of its balances hit blood and flesh. The fact that "master and slave" are born in the same language means that any act of liberation is contrasted from the inside in every individual. Everybody has an internal enemy supporting "the reasons of the enemy". The unbalance provoked by any challenge against it is therefore perceived as so dangerous that even its main victims, women, often step back, like an abyss opens up in front of them. Unforeseen work still needs to be done, despite the fact that women have become, with an act of subjective birth, individual human beings starting from the models apportioned to them.

### **The Space of Biopolitics**

To better focus the element of the essential strength of patriarchy, which has still to be fully confronted, I will proceed "a contrario", recalling the meaning of the political practices that were the main inventions of the last wave of the feminist movement. Feminism of the seventies marked a new phase and an epistemological rupture. Beyond emancipation and equality, it attacked the very core of patriarchy. I want to recall here some characteristics of feminist practices in order to better highlight which aspects of patriarchy are still the most resistant, invisible and untouched. I think that what is still so strong in

patriarchy, still active today lies at this level, which has been too quickly abandoned. What continues to challenge patriarchy are still the “leftovers” of those practices.

We need to go back to the early seventies, when most of women’s inventions and feminism took place. Even if what was then called “consciousness raising” was mainly a practice of women from the western world, which nurtured, across borders, women’s collective presence in many public spaces, even very official ones such as the United Nations Conferences, where the creative social practices of many small groups born during those years, with their particular form of knowledge production, their rules of democratic game, continuities and ruptures they fostered in relation to epistemological and political tradition. In those years these practices spread around the world as a contagious disease. There were no militants, no distribution of leaflets, no parties, and almost no efforts. Feminism ‘caught on’ through the reciprocal acknowledgement of the different experiences of individuals. It spread out in anomalous forms, not on the basis of a general political theory, which would have left out the peculiarity of each single experience. The perception of its strengths, inside and outside this movement, reached its peak in this particular phase when women, exploring their particular situation and position in the world, reached the core of patriarchy, developing, at the same time, a critique of all forms of established power, at all levels, from the social, to the political to the intellectual. Starting from a “right” of inclusion in the scenery of patriarchy, they reached the core of a structural “impossibility”, discovering their own deep implication within that scene. In subsequent migrations, indigenous and autonomous rebirths, ‘feminism’ developed and split up into many ‘feminisms’, which then transformed and re-invented themselves as they interacted with their different contexts. In the many regions of the world, women experienced an undeniable change when, addressing what seemed to be then, the ‘female question’, re-conceived themselves as autonomous subjects and not objects. There is no place on earth that has not been infected by this force that allows women to take into consideration their lives and their place in history in a different way. The issue went straight to the foundations of society, culture and “civilization”.

Consciousness-raising practices, their particular form of knowledge and political approach were not a practice of civil society. We should not forget the spaces that practice came from: it came from the bodies and the private rooms, the dreams and the hysterical ‘words’ that could not be pronounced in any language. It came from the spaces of physical and moral violence against women, within families, spaces where it is difficult to separate love and care from violence, spaces exiled from public space as much as they are essential to its existence. It was a practice whose truths and whose questions lay in that ‘liminal’ threshold where private and political is still obscurely confused. Its space is the space of “bio-politics”. (Agamben: 1995) Through “an act of impudence”, women proclaimed those spaces “political”. (Fraire: 2002). I am not sure we knew how deep the implications of that intellectual work were. It’s at that level that our practices have been more significant, enlightening and questioning the whole organization of life, the threshold from natural life to social life. Paradoxically that practice was felt as frightening and powerful, more than when women took later public visibility in a more traditional way. We should not forget the core of that practice: it was able to question the public world, the attribution of power, sovereignty, authority, the ways decisions are made, priorities settled, representation and delegation stated –, the whole set of democratic frame, from “another site”. The characteristics of this “site” are perhaps at the basis of both the power and the ‘relative failure’ of these practices, of the contradiction between their effectiveness and their capacity to disappear in the shade.

Consciousness raising in its many forms was the combination of two elements: the suspension of the physical presence of men, and the articulation of intentional linkages with other women, present in mind and body.

The separation from the physical presence of men’s bodies was, at that time, the condition to avoid the impossibility of women “to think of themselves”. (Fraire: 2000) It stemmed from the intuition that patriarchy is so embedded in the hidden prescriptions through which women’s bodies and minds are socialized that an “artificial” situation is needed to start a new path. This allowed the freedom to restructure the linkages between minds and body, at the origin of every production of knowledge. They allowed a diverse recombination between perceptions, emotions and thoughts. To “start from the self” was its methodology. It was the only way to get out from the “hypnotic power” of patriarchal knowledge. (Woolf: 1939) In this process it became possible to put “on hold” the male culture, its

knowledge processes and contents. Male culture became an object of study, used “wildly”, in bits and pieces, capable to give voice to different subjects, feelings and views. The “guarantee” for this work was the collective presence, eye, and intelligence, of other women. Going back and forth from introversion to exteriorization, through an affective and an intellectual motion, emerged knowledge able to grasp minds and bodies, the roots of individual lives together with the roots of social fabric. This knowledge, coming from houses and kitchens, from the underground of private lives and feelings, was powerful and threatening. It questioned all dualisms at the origin of our social and intellectual world, the same notion of “public”, “social”, and “political”.

It is wrong to confuse consciousness raising with the simple narration of personal histories. This practice was much more, namely a psychical, very material process of birth of a subjectivity, together with the invention of the same conditions for its possibility.

It marked also the beginning of a new epistemology. The struggle to overcome dualisms was – initially – not particular to feminism, but part of a social-political culture concerned with the interplay between theory and practice. This made easier the work against dualisms that feminisms carried on in a much more radical way, starting from the splitting that, through the imposed destiny of the characteristics of sexual identities, divides every human being. To challenge dualism meant to start un-doing and de-hierarchizing the basic dichotomies that, founding patriarchy, categorized the whole universe in oppositional and complementary terms: nature-culture, body-mind, feminine-masculine. The analyses of sexual identity and of the world were carried on together, with a focus on questioning identity, subjectivity, sexual differences, forms of culture and politics. Women collectively employed and reinterpreted culture and knowledge from a great range of perspectives, joining forces from diverse cultural and academic backgrounds. New notions and forms of intellectual and political action emerged. The “personal is political” was the summary of all that. It was dangerous, daring, and effective.

For a series of reasons, we have “lost the grip” at that level, while patriarchy has answered to our challenge restructuring itself exactly at that level.

### **The Barbaric Core of Modernity**

We are going through one of those times in history when the normal course of events discloses the hidden structures of society. This crisis is characterized by the collapse and by the reinforcement of patriarchy at the same time. A global restructuring in the organization of patriarchy, which we could call “neo-patriarchy”, is going on. The invisible and unmovable “glass ceiling” women meet in public spaces co-exists today with the most incredible level of violence against women, which is increasing and not decreasing despite progresses in women’s rights. Women have found a mixture of segregation and co-optation, nonetheless in contraposition between public achievements and intangible private patriarchal attitudes. On the other hand their challenge to ‘the rules of the games’ has encountered unforeseen resistance in men. While women move forward, in many fields and situations, the silence of men sounds greater, and a stronger violence emerges. What Virginia Woolf has called, the “magic lines” which divide men and women, move elsewhere in order to be maintained, also using the new awareness of women not to touch old and ancestral balances. Women are today more aware of the how crucial their position is, of the importance of their contribution to the economy, of their roles in society, of their work, both material and social. They got out from the self-perpetuating acceptance of patriarchal values. This “secret current” whose extension and impact is still difficult to evaluate, works at different levels and in different forms, everywhere, at the level of private lives, as of social behaviors. It is, I guess, impossible to stop.

However, this awareness occurs at the same time where women in their traditional roles, as flexible variables in economy and society, are most needed. The global restructuring of capitalism calls for the need of complete women’s availability and flexibility. Male desperation in a universe without a future asks them for the same. Women are asked both by rulers of the economic world and by its victims, for quite opposite reasons, the same thing: to increase their availability, their material and mental work as well as their ‘shock absorption’ function at social and symbolic levels. In a world that is perceived as futureless they are asked to ‘confirm’ a staggering order: an ever more violent “new order” and an ever more threatened ancient order. Hence, their stepping out by their own autonomous initiative from the

role, which has been apportioned to them, is seen as an unacceptable attempt to shirk their duty, thus disrupting society's traditional shock-absorbing mechanisms, both from rulers and from their victims. War is therefore waged against even those simple movements that advocate a change in position, which is likely, though, to disrupt the social structure, and mostly men's personal balances. It is a reaction against a slight movement in what women have always represented, even by their mere presence: namely, that their 'flexibility,' their imaginary and social use value is "given" by nature. The slightest move in this "security system" is perceived as extremely dangerous. It opens up the vulnerability that every act of arbitrary violence carries inside.

This "deep need of security" is common to very traditional societies as well as to modern societies. It keeps together fundamentalist crusades against women with the new roles apportioned to women in postmodern society: torturers, soldiers, the "new Condoleezzas" that will come up in the near future. As ethnic wars have shown, women's bodies have to be tokens, "carriers", not subjects in themselves. Whatever the content could be, the important thing is that their function as the concealed basis of the social bond is maintained. (Levi Strauss: 1969; Balandier: 1974). This allows for women to continue to be charged with imaginary meanings, rooted in a deep unconscious structure of people and society. A deposit of dreams, security, rage and ambiguous "love". This imagery works outside the control of intelligence, rationality and will. And outside borders. Women therefore become, in the social imaginary, as they have always been, symbols of a deeper order, whose disorder is perceived as threatening the very basis of civilization.

The present 'normal' degree of social violence is also nourished by *this* violence, which further exacerbates the opposition against women's autonomy, whatever meaning is attached to this word. We have so far underestimated the level of violence that the attempt to touch these balances can develop both in social and personal settings. The increase in violence against women, both in the North and in the South of the world, shows its significance. A renewed attack is conducted for the absolute need to control women's choices on their bodies, not only by religious people but also by the most amateur scientists and politicians, in the name of civilization and moral values.

We should therefore ever more seriously tackle *together*, the emergence of a new awareness and evidence 'of women' and 'on women' which seems to be 'progressive' for mankind as a whole and at the same time, the increase of an ancient violence that comes both from the world that has declared itself as bearer of civilization and from its opponents. If on one hand extremely modern figures emerge, such as cyborgs, a step backward into prehistory is made in these aspects of social life. A hidden umbilical cord links the fragmented core of modernity to a new surge of 'barbarism'. A non-hidden war of sexes is going on, where modernity and the old traditions are allied, where the need to exploit women as "a last resource" is combined with the ancestral resistance against their recognition as equal partners.

Not enough has changed in this very material 'theatre of imagination'.

One of the real defeat of our movement has been the almost impossibility to have men thinking on their own masculinity, mainly on the contradiction between the fact that the body which they need for their own protection is at the same time a persecutor and a victim, the body which they claim to love and protect, in reality or in metaphor, is the same against which they throw themselves as killers. Psychoanalytical thought has given some answers to that, but what we need is a popular consciousness raising, the same that women have done based on their own needs, slaveries, desires and complicities.

Young women find themselves in a difficult transitional time, caught between changes which "have" been taking place but which are not stabilized and are easily used against them. They have to face at the same time complete contradictory messages. They meet a real level of hysteria against any advance in women's condition. If girls, in many countries, really all over the world, a little more protected from early pregnancies, take advantage of an unknown space in secondary schools, laws are proposed to protect boys, like it has happened in the relatively advanced country Botswana. On the other hand, despite all that, the illusions of love are not only products from the media. Even if "rethought through", love and maternal love have not been sufficiently reconceptualized in order to offer solid new ground to new identities. Violence against women, as well as the deep misogyny in public spaces, shows a never ending war between the sexes, going inevitably on under the old imaginary of the complementarities among sexes, speculative inventions of the same unique male subject. In this mortal embrace of secular dreams still lie the old traps.

They tell us, on the contrary, which were the only policies that were able at the same time to strengthen women as subjects and effectively touch the basic structures of patriarchy effectively. The thorough analysis of the concealed structures of sexuality and of primeval relations, at the junction of the private and public spheres, where ‘barbarism’ and ‘civilization’ are still confused, initially central issues in our work, were too quickly abandoned in favor of a more political and public presence, in classic terms. As violence against women shows us, these issues are still the only ones able to cross extremely different cultural borders. Women’s lives remind us of what the human species has not yet figured out in a “civil” way: birth, procreation, sexuality, and survival relationships. In this interplay between postmodern emancipation and the most secret places from where men and women still draw their survival is hidden the “unthinkable” that feminism has too quickly stopped thinking and re-shaping.

### **In Way of Conclusion**

The present historical events push us to rethink globally in a perspective able to re-conceptualize the relationship between political space and the “natural existence” of human beings. It pushes us to show and question the hidden passages from nature to civilization, from natural life to political existence and to re-focus the hidden aspects of the brother’s pact that is at the foundations of our societies. The challenge of these times is to understand the deep mechanisms characterizing the global crisis and to collaborate in a civil solution without becoming trapped in the old roles of rescuing society within a very traditional imaginary of good mothers looking for peace and care only; and/or of true politicians able to deal with the rules of the public world. The creative women’s practices described above still indicate future directions and bases for women’s knowledge and politics, opening a path to the redefinition of the political spaces of our times. They define a whole new set of questions, reminding us of the need for further conceptualizations. Despite all the difficult changes we have made in our lives and in the world, we have too often accepted rules, mediated desires, and accepted hierarchies of men in deciding what was important and what not. Still only from these sites we can imagine the future. Only from these personal, public, intellectual, common, bodily and embodied spaces, women from different cultures and situations may map their intertwining worlds and, in so doing, challenge patriarchy.

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## PART 2: WOMEN IN CRISIS: GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

### WOMEN IN CRISIS IN WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH: THE CASE OF ESTONIA

*Ilvi Jõe-Cannon, former Director of Estonian Women's Studies & Resource Centre, Tallinn University, Estonia*

#### **Summary**

Ilvi Cannon's presentation at the Løten seminar on women in crisis in August, 2009, was based on Estonian women's experiences derived from the life stories in, *Carrying Linda's Stones: An Anthology of Estonian Women's Life Stories*, (Editors: Suzanne Stiver Lie, Ilvi Cannon, Lynda Malik & Rutt Henrikus) Tallinn: Tallinn University Press, 2006, reprinted in 2007, 2009. The examples of crisis were cited from the women's experiences during World War II in their country and the occupations by the armies of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Women in their stories talked about political terror, repression, arrest, deportation, finding food for their hungry children, losing their husbands, but rarely of sexual violence due to gendered cultural norms that prevailed in Estonia.

Sexual violence, to which women always fall victim by armies on the move, was cited from Antony Beevor's book, *Berlin: The Downfall 1945*. Rape ran at epidemic levels during the Red Army's advance through Eastern Germany toward Berlin and crisis was experienced (endured) not only by young German women, but also the old, and nuns in monasteries. Among the estimated 130,000 women raped, the severity of the crisis was such that 10 per cent of them committed suicide.

#### **Women in Crisis - the case of Estonia**

For the presentation of the above topic - women in crisis, or what can be called also conditions of extreme adversity – I draw examples from the fifteen life stories that appear in the book *Carrying Linda's Stones: An Anthology of Estonian Women's Life Stories*. The stories are from World War II and the occupations. The book was born at the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre in Tallinn. Its editors draw on a vast resource when compiling this book, which was published in 2006 and is now in its third printing.

The resource is a large collection of life stories that exists in Estonia. At least 5000 life story texts are at the Literary Museum Cultural History Archive in Tartu and, in addition, there are the ones collected by different museums and archives. Thus the total number of autobiographical texts or memoirs approaches 10,000 in Estonia, a country of little more than one million people.

During the period under consideration – World War II and the occupations – three critical events impacted the population of Estonia: the fleeing to the West by tens of thousands (estimates run between 70 and 100 thousand), the deportations of tens of thousands to Moscow's hinterland, and the survival of the remaining population in the country. Individuals in each group experienced crises peculiar to their situation. Crises can occur under different conditions – they can be precipitated by economic difficulties, personal problems with one's children or spouse, natural disasters, accidents, violence or wars. In the examples I use in this presentation I tried to select episodes from the life stories that reflect some of these conditions.

#### **Deportation to Siberia**

Regarding deportation, I think it is necessary to explain briefly how Estonians understand the word 'deportation'. Rutt Hinrikus, one of the editors of *Carrying Linda's Stones* explains it thus in the book: "It means the forceful removal, either individually or *en masse*, of peaceful people to Siberia during the Soviet occupations. It means unexpected violence against innocent people."

## Deportation of 1940/41

The first Soviet occupation occurred June 1940 to June 1941. Arrests began already in the beginning, eventually totaling about 7690 people, and a mass deportation was carried out during the night of June 13-14 in 1941. Among those arrested early were the country's president and his son's family. The president's daughter-in-law in her memoirs recalls in an amazingly dispassionate tone the tragic events that began with her family's and President Konstantin Päts' (KP) arrest by the Communist authorities on July 30, 1940. She had been scared of Communists since her childhood, when she had witnessed the imprisonment of her father for a short time by the Communists, and her mother's brother, a clergyman, had been tortured to death by Communists.

We packed whatever we could, basically clothes, mostly for the children, as well as food. All of this took place under the scrutiny of the guards. All of us were crying, except KP. My son Matti said to him, 'Grandfather, why aren't you crying?' KP answered that he had already shed all his tears for the Estonian nation and he had no more left. It was getting dark, but still raining, when we climbed into the car. My brother-in-law, who had not been arrested, stood next to the car, as did our cook. And that was it.

She controls herself well in this crisis situation. They were first taken to Moscow and then to a NKVD (KGB predecessor) house in Ufa, where about a year after their arrest, KP and her husband were taken away and she never saw them again.

About an hour or so later, a car came after me. /.../ I said that I would not go without my children. They permitted me to take my sons along. At the NKVD building, we stopped behind a door and I was told that they wanted to talk with me inside and the children had to wait outside. I stroked their heads, told them to be good, and that I would be back shortly. My return was five years later when my younger son was no longer alive. When I asked during my first interrogation, 'Where are my little boys?' the interrogator answered me via an interpreter, 'They were yours, but now they are ours.'

After serving her term, she returned to Estonia in July 1946 with the remaining son, but the NKVD did not leave her alone.

Days and weeks passed working, studying, and caring for my son. And always the question remained with me: why don't they leave me alone? I had the feeling, constantly, that something was closing in on me. /.../ On March 8, (1950 -ed.) I was again called to appear in the evening at the headquarters. I did not go directly from work, but stopped at home first. Matti was sitting at the desk and doing his homework. I stroked his head gently and said, 'May God protect you.' Then I put a towel, soap and toothbrush in my bag, and left.

In that crisis, she did not panic, but resolutely went about preparing for the inevitable. She was banished to Kazakhstan and returned to Estonia in 1955.

## Deportation of 1949

The second deportation story was written by the fourth child in a family of 12 children. It was the second mass deportation and it occurred during the second Soviet occupation.

It was March 24, 1949 and mother stayed with my sister Helgi, who was studying in Tallinn... During the night, they came to arrest Helgi, who was hiding in the school building, and they took mother instead. She was taken in a car to Lasnamae, where she was shoved into a cattle car, and her trip to Siberia commenced. Upon arriving at her destination, she had to sign a document that stated she had come of her own free will. At first, she was put together with Russian petty criminals, but later the Estonians were separated from them. Indescribable anguish was hers every day, because she was worried about her children.

During that night the children were at home and the rounding up of people for deportation took place likewise in their village :

The whole village had been on an alert all night because the dogs would not stop barking. In the morning of March 25, between five and six o'clock, the authorities came to our farm to arrest my mother. We children were told to line up on our knees along the wall. They wanted to know where our mother was. We all screamed because we were afraid that they would shoot us. Meanwhile they searched all our buildings. Then they told us to get up and that we had to be taken to Siberia, or else we would be abandoned. The children were shaking from fear and shouted, 'We do not want to be abandoned!' Little Enno, who had been sleeping in mother's bed, woke to the screaming. The guard said, 'Here's one more. Get out of bed and off to Siberia with you!' The little boy could not find his suspenders and he stood there, crying and holding up his stockings. The oldest ones were told to gather bread and meat into a sack. My sister pulled a pillowcase off a pillow and stuffed bread and raw meat into it. Everything had to be done very fast /.../. Men armed to the teeth were everywhere around us. They took us to the school (about 100 meters away) where trucks were waiting for us. /.../ A lot of village people were /.../ transported to the school house and loaded onto the trucks. We were told that if we tried to escape, we would be shot. Cattle cars were waiting for us in Johvi. Long trains rolled to the cold land. A bucket was placed in the corner of the car. Those people who had brought blankets with them would hold up the blanket for anybody that needed to use the bucket. /.../ At the stops, we were given food and the bucket was emptied (we had to do that ourselves). We were heavily guarded and escape was impossible. /.../

From Estonia mother heard that her children had been deported. She lived in agony. During the night she would make plans to escape and find her children. But in what direction? The children wrote their aunt /.../ who (ed.) sent their address to their mother. Mother applied for permission to join her children. Almost a year passed before she was allowed to go.

Another woman describes her family's experience during the same night of the mass deportation. The family's father had been arrested in 1945 and sent to Siberia:

Mother was courageous and told them to put their rifles down, because we were not criminals. The four of us cried and kept close to mother. Although mother had heard that we were on the list of deportees, she had made no preparations for it. She figured that since those deported in 1941 were allowed to take along only what they could carry, there was no sense in packing anything because four little children could not carry much. The neighbor's wife brought us a huge loaf of bread and a warm coat for my little sister. Our arresters were officials from the neighboring township and Russian soldiers. We were given two hours to pack our things and during that time, one of the officials managed to stuff his pockets with father's tools and other things. The Russian soldiers did not do that, and they were not cruel to us. They were the ones who almost forced us to take along a 40 liter container of milk, and it saved us later from hunger in the cattle car.

### **Deportation to Poland and Germany**

Although the following woman's story does not fall into the definition of deportation as I cited previously, in that she was not deported to Moscow's hinterlands, she was nevertheless forcibly taken from her homeland by the retreating German military authorities. Her story discloses an early crisis as a young woman. Having been raised in a religious, patriotic home, she hears from the man she loves that he is a Communist:

I was shocked. How can that be? Aren't they revolutionaries? They belong in prison. At school, we had learned about the harm they had done to our country. At political gatherings it was explained who was who. On Independence Day mother put on her best silk scarf, father put on a tie, and we all went to the school house where a formal ceremony was held and patriotic speeches were made. Everybody stood up and sang the national anthem. Everybody displayed the national flag in front of his house. Everything was so secure, and I had to fall in love with a revolutionary. A Communist! I had to recover from that.

They did marry and had a child before the first Soviet occupation occurred, which recruited her school teacher-husband into active involvement with the government. After Germany invaded the Soviet Union and the German military arrived in Estonia, Communists had cause to fear for their lives:

"My husband had to leave. We agreed that I must not know where, because should the authorities interrogate me, I might not be able to withstand the pressure. 'I shall return,' he said to me. I never saw him again."

She was arrested in 1943, imprisoned and a year later, when the Germans were retreating they did not have time to execute all their prisoners and they were shipped to Germany. She was among the latter and was placed in a Stutthof prison camp. She and a friend managed to escape from the prison and came to a village near Danzig, which happened to be an area where the advancing Red Army and defending German soldiers were engaged in a fierce battle.

After the war ended, she and the friend managed to get to a repatriation camp in Poland where she met a young Russian engineer, whom she married a year later.

Eventually the couple went to Estonia, via Russia, and had three children.

Upon her return home in 1948, she goes to her mother's farm, where she had left her daughter from the first marriage:

My daughter was playing by the river with other children. Suddenly five or six girls were running toward us. They stopped in front of me. Which one is mine? I knew that she was the oldest girl in the village. The tallest girl had light brown, braided hair and a very serious face. I did not recognize any of her features, but I sensed that she was mine. We stared at each other. I went to her and put my arms around her, but felt that she wanted to pull away. I continued to look for ways to reach her, but with no success. It must have been a hundred days and a hundred nights before I began to notice contact between us. A year went by before she called me 'mother'.

After her husband died of cancer, her two adult sons were killed. The older one died in a motorcycle accident and the younger one was shot together with his business partner on Christmas Eve in the dangerous business climate that existed after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

.... my grief was a mother's grief. Both my sons were no more. Children had been left without a father, a woman without a husband... /.../ I began to fear the approach of Christmas. On Christmas Eve each one of us remained home. We started giving the gifts to the children on Christmas Day, at lunchtime. I saw the two remaining owners of the firm again on the first anniversary of the deaths. They came to my house and offered to take me to the cemetery. A large headstone, with his image carved on it, was placed on Eduard's grave. Would I want one for Pavlik? Yes, I would, but a small and simple one like Andrei's, and without his face on it. Who could bear to look at it?"

## Remaining in Estonia

Those who remained in Estonia experienced crises of a different sort. A young Jewish woman and her mother were evacuated to the interior of the Soviet Union as the German military was moving into Estonia:

When I announced at the conservatory that I plan to be evacuated, I was given a letter of reference which stated that our destination was Ulyanovsk. Mother knew that it is a relatively large city on the Volga River and that living conditions would be good. We left on July 3, 1941. Our journey lasted several weeks. When we finally reached Ulyanovsk, we were told to remain in our cars and that our journey would continue. We saw the city lights, but the train did not stop. We rode and we rode.

When war ended, she returned to Estonia:

I must admit that after my return, I felt insecure in Estonia. Suspicious glances followed me on the street. While in exile, I had dreamed about being in a Tallinn cafe. Now, when I went to a cafe, the waitress threw me a glance as if to say, 'How did you manage to crawl here?' When I went to the pharmacy, the pharmacist who had been there before the war was so startled to see me that he dropped the dish he was holding. All of this affected me strongly. I fell into deep depression. I did not want to see anybody. I was scared of people and their hatred. I even ended up in a hospital for a while.

A historian who was a student at Tartu University during the war recalls:

... I did not return to Tartu in the spring of 1944. It really was not possible to continue studying because Tartu was bombed every night. Battles intensified and the March 9 bombing in Tallinn put us in the midst of firestorms. We spent the night in the cellar of the Art Building, hearing the sounds of explosions around us. My younger sister had gone to visit a friend in the evening before the bombing raid and we were worried about her.

When the Germans were retreating and the Red Army returning to Estonia, people were faced with the critical decision whether to flee or stay. The historian recounts:

Toward the fall of that year flight from the country started. My remaining friends departed. Our family considered leaving. Father had even secured a document which would have given us passage on some German ship, but he decided to stay. I think father and mother had become indifferent about their future by this time. As for me, it was inconceivable to leave my homeland. In addition, I could not imagine what I would do abroad. A lot of people in the farms around us simply started to go toward the coast although the chances of getting on some vessel were very slim.

She returns to study at Tartu University after the return of the Soviet occupation:

I chose history, because a highly regarded professor was still on the faculty. The fact that the subject could be ideologically sensitive did not enter my head. Unfortunately, the highly regarded history professor was soon arrested and my own student career started off badly. A May Day festival was organized for university students in 1945 and I presented a skit about a 'politically suspect living newspaper'. I thought that I was being simply humorous, but the authorities accused me of offending the Red Army. They railed at me all night at the Tartu NKVD headquarters. I was released in the morning, but they kept my passport. /.../ When war ended on May 9, I lost my nerve and fled to my father's farm.

She eventually gets back her passport:

But the incident left in me an irrational fear that never disappeared. The fear was augmented by the periodic arrest of people, including my friends. I myself had a

scare once when a fellow student fled to Finland by skiing across the frozen gulf. The Finnish government turned him over to the Soviet Union. NKVD called me in and asked if my friend had told me of his plans to flee. I was able to avoid the trap by saying that whenever the young man visited me he was drunk and spoke unintelligibly. They believed me.

A school teacher writes about her experiences during the second Soviet occupation:

I finished school in 1950 with such high grades that I was awarded an excursion to Moscow. When I returned from the 10-day trip to Moscow, my father was in prison – an enemy of the people.

I was sixteen when my double life began: at school, I had to recite the history that was taught, march in demonstrations, vote at Komsomol meetings that lasted a whole weekend, visit kolkhozes.... At home, we worried about our future, but mostly about our father, who was being taken from one prison to another, and who was eventually sentenced 25 years hard labor, plus five years of exile.

It was strange to be in history class and to discuss German collaborators and the liquidation of kulaks as a class. I would feel my body getting chilled. But the worst sensation went through my body whenever the classroom door opened during class. Many had been taken away that way, and I could be next.

A woman whose family owned a farm writes in her story:

Hard times started and we fell into debt. They came to the house and said our taxes were unpaid. They ordered everything in the room to be taken except the beds. Mother had hidden her sewing machine and the mirror in the hay barn. We did not have anything else. One official declared that the cow had to be taken. The four of us stood there snot-nosed and in rags, holding mugs with some milk in them. After a long silence one of the uniformed men said that the cow must remain for this family.

### **Fleeing to the West**

Among the Estonians fleeing to the West, the majority consisted of women and children. The decision to leave their homes invariably caused a crisis, because it is emotionally very difficult to leave one's home and go to a foreign land, especially in the midst of war. They put their lives and the lives of their children at risk.

In the story of one family, a mother and her four little children headed for a place in southwestern Germany after arriving at a harbor in northeastern Germany:

The going was slow and, at times, dangerous as war raged around us. Public transportation was spotty due to the fuel shortages and the destruction inflicted by the Allied bombings. The latter caused us to seek shelter, which we found frequently in the basements of railroad stations. /.../ Looking back, it is hard to believe that we made it from the northeastern corner to the southwestern part of Germany through the relentless Allied bombing raids, inadequate food and drinking water, and absence of medicine. Others who were fleeing were not so lucky. Children became ill – some died and had to be buried. Some people who were at the wrong place at a wrong time became casualties of war.

The following excerpt is from the story by a young woman who received her medical degree at Tartu University during the war. The young physician fled to Sweden with her husband and infant daughter:

As for getting on a boat going West, it wasn't easy. There were many more wanting to flee than spaces available on the boat. When they heard that I was a physician, they made room for us. The wife of the boat owner was close to term in her pregnancy and it was considered wise to have a doctor on board. /.../ (The) boat was a two-mast sailboat. It had neither a motor nor a staff, but did have a captain who had attended a marine school for a few years, and a mate. There were almost 300 people on board and no bunks. People and their bundles were in the hull. Nor were there any toilets! When necessary, one had to manage over the side, in full view of everybody. Other than a small container of water, there was no drinking water either, and it was decided that the water was to be given to children under the age of two. /.../

There was no map in the boat; just a penciled sketch of coastlines and that was inadequate for navigation. Once Russian planes circled over us, but they did not fire. On the second night, we saw lights in the distance and thought that we were approaching Gotland, but it was a German convoy. The Germans were going from north to south, while we were headed from east to west. In order for them to notice us, we gathered up our gloves and lit them on the deck. But that proved to be a wrong move, because the Germans began to shoot at us. Although we had to extinguish the flame, we did manage to get safely through the convoy in the dark. Two days after leaving Kihnu, a Swedish pilot boat crossed our path and led us to Slite harbor on the island of Gotland.

A woman whose saga eventually ended in Australia recalls the fleeing:

I knew then that the Germans were retreating. On Monday morning, September 18, I caught the 6 a.m. bus and arrived at work early and found Ilmari sitting on the secretary's desk. There he sat and he asked me, 'How about getting married?' He was in his overnight crumpled second best suit and unshaven, and I was in my everyday office outfit, but we went to the Registry Office! /.../

Ilmari had started to doubt /.../ whether it was sensible to leave, but I was quite certain. We went to Ilmari's cousin's place to collect some of his things. We spent the night in my little room and started packing in the morning. /.../ Once we were packed, we carted the bags and bundles to the highway, where we stopped a passing truck by waving a bottle of Benedictine at the driver. /.../ On the afternoon of September 19, 1944, we were loaded with our bags and bundles onto the transport ship *Donau*. Our boss came to say goodbye and asked me why we married so suddenly. I said that it is so much simpler doing it here and this way we might not be separated so easily. /.../ Early in the afternoon the ship left Tallinn.

A woman who fled as a child with her mother and grandmother recalls:

Then I saw my mother unlock the Blue Room cabinet and remove her own doll Maria. She placed it carefully into the bottom of the only suitcase we had. (I did not know then that Maria was meant for me, for when I was older. I still have Maria here in Florida).

Aunt Alma did not come with us. She stayed by the gate and waved good-bye. She said she was not leaving her piano. Everybody was crying, me too, because Tondu did not come to the gate to say good-bye. The cat had known we would never return. My father had sent a letter with a mutual friend, some money and promised to meet us. We waited for him on the beach at Kuressaare but he did not come. We went without him with our bundles and the one suitcase in the last boat with the last people.

Quite often war and military occupations are accompanied by the raping of women and pillaging in general. The Estonian women's life stories rarely contain references to rape, sexual violence, or sexual favors in exchange for survival. In the Estonian culture these are considered taboo subjects. In addition, the Soviet military personnel during the first occupation were interested mostly in stealing watches off people's wrists and merchandise from the stores, and Estonians were not perceived as enemies to be conquered as was the case in the occupation of eastern Germany where raping by the Soviet military has been well documented by researchers and scholars (for example, in Anthony Beevor's outstanding study, "Berlin: The Downfall 1945"). During the second occupation, which was much longer (46 years), incidents of rape are known to have happened in Estonia, but the gendered cultural norms and taboos prevented these incidents from becoming public.

There were Estonian and other refugees who happened to fall victims of rape during their flight to the West. The Latvian-American writer Agate Nesaule in her award winning novel, "A Woman in Amber", describes an episode in East Germany during their flight from Latvia to the West when Red Army soldiers found them hiding in a basement:

They ordered her (her mother-ed.) and other women to remove their shoes and overcoats. When Hilda (a young German woman-ed.) fumbled with her buttons, they slapped her and screamed at her. Then two soldiers started to pull her behind a partition.

'No,' she cried. She fell on her knees on the muddy floor and raised her arms as if praying. 'No, no, no,' she pleaded.

But the soldiers were unyielding. They only dragged her more roughly, so that her knees scraped along the rough cement floor. Momentarily safe, the other women looked away. If the soldiers took Hilda, they would leave them alone for now. If Hilda resisted too much, the soldiers might choose one of them. /.../

Hilda was pulled behind the partition.

'What are they doing to Hilda?' I whispered to my mother.

'Shush. Don't say anything. Don't cry. Shush.'

I could hear Hilda moaning, then the grunts, laughter and jeering of the soldiers. Then more grunts. Grinning soldiers crowded around the partition. Hilda shrieked a couple of times, thuds followed, and she subsided to a whimper. Finally she made no sound.

## **Conclusion**

The women represented here have shown great endurance and remarkable ability to cope with adversity in times of crisis. Although they were living under extreme conditions, they held fast to their cultural and historical roots.

## **“NOTHING ABOUT US WITHOUT US.” SUSTAINABLE REINTEGRATION FOR SURVIVORS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)**

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*Written by Nancy L. Coleman based on Betsy Kawamura's PowerPoint presentation*

### **Human Trafficking/Prostitution As One Consequence of War**

Trafficking in persons involves forcing, defrauding or coercing victims into labor or sexual exploitation; debt bondage or even force-feeding with drugs to control the victims. It includes men, women and children. (Compiled from the US Bureau of Public Affairs and other sources.) Human trafficking and subsequent prostitution are typical consequences of war.

### **Some Causes and Effects of Gender-Based Violence (GBV)**

Conflicts, war and natural disasters, resulting in displaced persons and impoverishment, and governments not willing to see peace as a viable option.

- Neglect; people considered as 'collateral damage'.
- Loss of family heads, resulting in loss of leadership and family cohesion.
- Poverty.
- Inefficient 'displacement', immigration and asylum seeking policies. No protection.
- Criminal groups profit from vulnerable women and children as easy prey.
- Supply side, i.e. traffickers develop strong 'bridges' to their markets in the West.
- Deprivation of human rights, dignity and *freedom of expression*.
- Global health risk.
- Growth of organized crime.
- The safety and security of all nations are undermined.
- The demand for prostitution and other sexually violent activities is *inflamed*.
- Conflict resolution and peace-building are impeded.

Survivors are targets of humiliation and 'sanism' (irrational prejudice involving social attitudes) from the public. Victims suffer a severe loss of dignity, *re-marginalization* extending into future generations as well as extended families. There is also an impact on witnesses, and at its worst, GBV can become a *potential cause of future wars*. Survivors want a chance of belonging in their society and receiving *dignity for healing*.

The consequences for the individual victims can be devastating, resulting in self-destructive tendencies or suicide. Victims risk being tortured, infected with HIV, sustaining physical impairment, and experiencing reproductive health problems. They are often rejected by their families and society in general, and experience severe financial marginalization, often leading to prostitution in order to survive. As a group, they are 40 times more likely to experience rape during prostitution. Such experiences may require them to be institutionalized. Use of drugs, alcohol, or other substances follows, and they have difficulty in forming relationships with other people. Children resulting from GBV can be orphaned, and they are generally ostracized by society.

Even if a victim tries to lead a normal life, there will be draconian effects. She will wonder how she can find an intimate partner, what to tell him about her past, when to confront him with the facts, and also what will happen if she is HIV positive as a result of GBV. She will also ponder whether her partner will be bullied and marginalized as well, and how any children the couple might have will be treated. Further issues will involve how to find a job, whether to put any information about her past on a CV, whether such information will be treated confidentially, how a new boss or colleagues will react if the information becomes public knowledge.

The victim will say to herself, “I am a failure. I will never be able to succeed, be loved, be financially capable, be able to have a career. I am a permanent failure and will be stigmatized.” And the public will conclude, “These people will never be able to succeed, be trustworthy, capable of deserving love, be capable enough to do *anything*. They are irreparable. ”

### **Innovation, Creativity and Well-Being**

Survivor Focused Working-Groups and Seminars have as their goal to glean expert opinions from survivors and provide support and international bridging for the participants. Norwegian participants can exchange information with other countries where there is conflict or are considered high risk zones. The groups also discuss innovative approaches to legal prosecution and strategies to disseminate information about GBV around the world. Survivors’ voices must be heard in all phases of decision making: “Nothing about us without us.” The groups also provide guidance in the implementation of United Nations resolutions and other initiatives (see below), as well as mediation and legal tools.

### **Strategy and Scope of Issues to be Analyzed**

Strategies include:

- ‘Bench-marking’ available wellness and reintegration programs for survivors, and creation of ‘Golden Standards’ for such programs.
- Synergies with other survivor groups, i.e., from landmine accidents, people who are HIV positive, those with mental/physical health challenges, etc.
- Etiology of Gender-Based Violence, including supply-side and demand-side of prostitution and human trafficking.
- Poverty, social/political settings, history of armed conflict, availability of weapons, migration and asylum issues, sex tourism, impact on victims of HIV *from survivors’ perspectives*.
- Streamlining implementation of UN resolutions, Palermo Protocol, CEDAW, etc.
- Highlighting economic impact of GBV, and addressing urgent financial security issues of the survivors.

### **Expected Outcome**

The working groups are survivor-centred, and results are monitored by various user/‘client’ groups. Peer-based mentoring is used to identify key areas of healthcare concerns and to evaluate the process and results. Key issues facing GBV survivors must be re-conceptualised; masculinity versus femininity must be redefined. Discrimination and stigmatisation must be prevented at the work place, and socio-economic integration should occur via labour integration. Media and ‘awareness campaigns’ aim to reduce stigma and ‘sanism’ (irrational prejudices). Awareness-raising and training programs for the United Nations, peace-keeping forces, militia, and police aim to facilitate the implementation of UNSC resolutions 1325, 1820, CEDAW, etc.

## Stages with Main Characteristics for Evaluation

(Adapted from Report of the Commission on Aids in Asia, presented to Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary general 26/3/09)

Stages	Main Characteristics	Factors to Evaluate
Denial Stage	Response based on fear and denial	State political engagement/support? Awareness of 1325/1820?
Ad-Hoc Stage	Recognizes problem but responses not informed by evidence	HIV programs in place? Financial resources? Legal environment/jurisprudence?
Informed Stage	Responses mature but not comprehensive nor to scale	Anti-discrimination measures in place? Community, civil society will + involvement?
Mature Stage	Response comprehensive w/ all necessary elements+right integration into institutional mechanisms	Institutional structures+governance?

Coordination of information on GBV is lacking at the highest levels. There is no political will to share information, agencies compete for resources, and there is misappropriation of the resources themselves. Two approaches are available: the top-down approach, where state heads disseminate information to the grass roots, and the bottom-up approach, where grass roots disseminate it to the state heads. Sri Lanka was used as an example to show the stages of national response.

### United Nations Security Council resolution 1325:

This landmark resolution on women, peace and security was adopted on 31 October 2000. It reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and in post-conflict reconstruction and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

United Nations Security Council resolution 1820: This resolution, adopted on 19 June 2008, follows up 1325, with an emphasis on sexual violence in situations of armed conflict. Key provisions of the resolution recognize a direct relationship between the widespread and/or systematic use of sexual violence as an instrument of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security; commit the Security Council to considering appropriate steps to end such atrocities and to punish their perpetrators; and request a report from the Secretary General on situations in which sexual violence is being widely or systematically employed against civilians and on strategies for ending the practice.

### CEDAW Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

ICC International Criminal Court. The Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice is an international women's human rights organization advocating for gender-inclusive justice and working towards an effective and independent International Criminal Court (ICC). Based in the Hague, it advocates for inclusion of gender based crimes in the investigations and prosecutions of the ICC, and to promote the rights of women victims/survivors of armed conflict.

**Palermo Protocol** to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children, was adopted by General Assembly resolution 55/25. It entered into force on 25 December 2003. It is the first global legally binding instrument with an agreed definition on trafficking in persons. The intention behind this definition is to facilitate convergence in national approaches with regard to the establishment of domestic criminal offences that would support efficient international cooperation in investigating and prosecuting trafficking in persons cases. An additional objective of the Protocol is to protect and assist the victims of trafficking in persons with full respect for their human rights.

The Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice is an international women's human rights organization advocating for gender-inclusive justice and working towards an effective and independent International Criminal Court (ICC).

The organization is based in The Hague, the Netherlands, the seat of the ICC, in order to advocate for inclusion of gender based crimes in the investigations and prosecutions of the ICC and to promote the rights of women victims/survivors of armed conflict throughout the justice process including through the Trust Fund for Victims.

They advocate for the use of international treaties, specifically the Rome Statute of the ICC, to advance women's rights and gender equality domestically.

## WOMEN IN CRITICAL LIFE SITUATIONS: CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN IRAN

*Azadeh Rahmati (Ibrahim Said Ali), Kurdish political activist, Business Management, University of Teheran and Salahedin University, Iran*

### 1) Grateful

Before I begin my presentation I would like to say that I am very happy to have the opportunity to be here with you and especially grateful to Berit As and Suzanne Lie who made it possible to give this speech at Feminist University summer school at Løten.

### 2) My own early experience

I was born 4 years after the Islamic revolution. I was indoctrinated like everyone from my generation. Teachers in primary school always brought a painting that showed us differences between hell and heaven. Women without a Hijab were hung up by their hair and tortured by hot oil. But women with a Hijab enjoyed nice weather lying down in front of the Golden house by a blue river. They were served lots of fruits and delicious food by gorgeous angels. But I had a father who resisted Islamic ideas and made me politically conscious. My father with his friends in Kurdistan (western part of Iran) suffered a lot and their ideas taught me to fight against discrimination. I learned to speak out in protest. This resulted in my later political engagement.

### A. Historical background

I would like now to give you some thoughts on some central issues especially around the suppression of women. But first I would like to give a brief historical background.

The Islamic Republic of Iran was proclaimed in April of 1979. This is 31 years that Islamic dictatorship has been in power. One month after the revolution women had to cover their hair. If a woman refused, it was regarded as a crime to go against the dress code instituted by law. Many women, for example, pilots, judges, singers, artists, business women, etc. lost their jobs. Actually, the women's movement existed many years before the Islamic revolution. They had pushed hard for acceptance of the family protection law introduced in the 1940s. This law made it illegal to beat women or children. It also gave the same rights for divorce for both men and women. It was mainly during the 1960s that women gained the protection of the family law. This was the turning point for women in Iran. However, this was the first law that was revoked in 1982. Many of the civil rights won by women were revoked. Since the revolution women's rights have moved backwards instead of forward. For thirty years women's movements have been trying to win them back, but we have not yet returned to the level of rights we had 60 years ago.

### B. Educational system

From elementary school and through high school, until we reach the age of 18, and even later at the university, both boys and girls are taught according to Islamic ideas through memorizing and memorizing like parrots. No one dares to argue or to question anything. In Iran education, under the influence of Islamic ideas, men learn that woman was created from a crooked rib of man. That's why, during these 30 years, men have learned to control women much more than before. A great focus on education and the increase of female student entrance up to 65% has not changed this situation. Still women are treated as less qualified just because of their biological sex.

### C. Public reaction and authoritarian suppression

For many years people have been writing about the legal status of women. After younger women entered the public arena they brought women's issues to the attention of public opinion by establishing assemblies in different parts of the country in a peaceful manner. These assemblies were attacked in an unexpected way. Women in these assemblies were imprisoned and received heavy fines. Many were tortured, and some even received the death penalty under guise of jeopardizing national security and spreading propaganda. Today the whole world has heard our cry for justice.

#### **D. Women's place in the family according to the legal system – Sharia law**

According to the law, the family is headed by the husband and he is the judge in all family matters according to the Quran. A woman must speak quietly; she must carry out all her duties towards her husband. She must avoid not giving her husband the chance to beat her. Disobedience on the part of the wife has to be punished by the husband, for he is judge of the family.

Also, courts are led by men and there is not a single woman judge in the court system. So a woman who loses faith in an institution, such as the family or business, has no choice but to turn to another institution dominated by men. Always a male voice decides how women should behave. Men run most of the centers of power. And that is a male dominated society.

Iran has adopted international political and civil rights conventions as well. Discrimination between the sexes is prohibited in these conventions. Iran is obliged to respect these conventions, but Iranian laws are not in accordance with these conventions.

#### **E. Polygamy and discriminatory law**

One of the extremely discriminatory laws against woman concerns polygamy. A man can have up to 4 wives and can divorce any of them without reason. On the contrary, it would be very difficult or impossible for a woman to seek divorce.

Women are only entitled to half as much or less inheritance than men according to law. Also according to the law, in accident situations damage payments to women are half of the damage payments paid to men. As witnesses in the courts two women equals one man. The male is the norm and measure in Iranian law. The law is an insult to women and makes life difficult for them.

In a society where the law upholds traditions that oppress women, honor killing and stoning still continue.

Women's movements and civil rights movements have worked for years to raise the age of criminal responsibility. But still girls at the age of 9 and boys at the age of 15 are tried and punished as adults. In other words, 9-year-old girls and 15-year-old boys are treated in the same way in court as 40-year-old adults. The only concession is to postpone execution until children are 18. Sometimes they don't even wait until they are 18. A recent example is Atefeh from Neka, who at the age of 16 was hanged for having relations with a man outside marriage.

#### **F. Marriage to refugees gives difficult Iranian status**

For years Iranian women married to Afghanistan refugees or Iraqis have been subjected to hardship. Their children have no legal status as Iranians, but if the father was Iranian, the children do not face this problem.

In addition to women's movements, various movements of students, workers' unions, journalists, teachers, different nationalities such as Kurds, Baluchs, Arabs, Christians, and Jews, are different voices calling out for civil rights and liberties. However, many of these activists are presently in prison. Drastic measures are taken to destroy these groups. Many of their members have lost both their job and lives.

The feminist movement in Iran has fought over a century for the right for women to determine the course of their own lives, the right to choose one's dress, the right to divorce, and to have marital equality. All of this to no avail!

#### **G. Censorship**

As in other despotic regimes censorship is a characteristic ingredient in Iran. Most of the Websites are filtered. Even e-mails are controlled, as are telephones and mobiles. Police remove satellite dishes. To publish books you need government permission after censor approval.

#### **H. Conclusion**

The large number of women who pursue education and who attempt to take their rightful place in politics and culture have no chance to succeed. Protesting against the growing violence supported by these laws should continue to change the situation. To spread information about the necessity of changes must continue.

## PART 3: HOW WOMEN LAND IN POVERTY

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO WOMEN WHEN THE WELFARE STATE WITHERS AWAY?

*Leena Erasaori, Professor in social work, University of Jyväskylä, Finland*

I'll start with a translation of a Finnish song:

#### **Jelly Jelly and Ice Cream Party**

Jelly and ice cream party, had an unhappy ending  
The Black Angel took away the birthday boy

Mother's screaming on the balcony, her hair's a mess  
And she's screaming for the janitor, she's out of her mind  
The little guests all still whimpering in fright  
Father's telling something confused to the police

Who told him to eat too much birthday cake  
And pour cold juice down the other kid's necks  
That puts you into the Devil's pan to fry  
Not even the most innocent is safe in this world

Who's to protect the child? Who's to love the child?  
And protect the child from hurting those little feet?  
The bad Black Angel takes whomever it wants  
And that's the only angel there is

The bad Black Angel took the birthday boy  
The bad Black Angel took the vacuum cleaner  
The bad Black Angel took the little tyrant  
The bad Black Angel took the birthday boy  
(translated from Tuomari Nurmio's 'Lasten mehuhetki')

The text is translated verbatim from a very popular Finnish song of the 1980s. The song has maintained its popularity over the years because of its somewhat vague or symbolic message and an easy sing-along tune, which adds to the song's contradictory messages. When the song was first released one popular interpretation of its protagonist, the Black Angel, was that it represented capitalism. It was easy to arrive at such a conclusion, since the singer/songwriter was indirectly connected with 1970s left-wing radicalism. Thus when a former cleaner from the National Board of Building (N.B.B.) and an active trade union member spoke the following words, I could hear the Black Angel soaring in the background:

A member of parliament I know asked me what should be done with that Engel, should we sell it and put it in the stock market. I said go ahead, sell the lot, so that they'll get the Black Angel for Christmas just as we did back then.

These lines were expressed by Marja, an ex-cleaner and unemployed (in 1995, Finland, Jyväskylä) and here the feelings are revenge towards her ex-colleagues and the Engel enterprise. This Marja was unemployed maybe about ten years and since then has had a pension – a tiny one I guess. Besides Marja – a cleaning woman a great many of female professionals, architects and engineers got unemployed and later on went to early pensions.

### **Re-organizing the State**

These women I found when working on a study centred around one example of the changes that have been taking place in Finnish public administration: the close-down of the former National Board of Building (N.B.B.). From the ruins of the N.B.B. grew the State Real Estate Agency (S.R.E.A.) and the Engel concern.

The question was: how the global vocabulary of privatisation is translated into the local dialect or practices. When the N.B.B. was closed down at the end of 1994/beginning of 1995 it was an organisation which employed 2083 women and 1153 men (on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1994, the number was 3400 people in total). The largest single group of workers within these numbers were the cleaning personnel: some 1500 people, all but a few of them women. The S. R. E. A. employed just over 200 people and Engel, in the beginning, employed 660; some also found employment in other public bureaux. About 1500 people had to find something else; most of them found unemployment or were given early retirement. Among the people forced out, the cleaners were again the largest single group, almost 1000 people.

Many of the central bureaux or ministries that were part of public administration had experienced the same fate, that is, they had gone through various changes during the 1980s and 1990s. There is a similar process going on in Helsinki and other municipalities as happened when the National Board of Building.

The N.B.B. was split into two separate organisations, the S.R.E.A. and the Engel concern. The 'company-izations' of Engel was a violent process and it turned out to be illegal as well. One thing that contributed to the social setting which brought about the change in question was an economic depression also unseen in Finnish history. Unlike other European countries or the United States, the Finnish economy had prospered up to the end of the 1980s, largely due to export to the former Soviet Union. In the late 1980s banking had been freed from restrictions whereas before it had been strictly controlled by the Bank of Finland. Finland was known as Europe's Japan. Thus when the economic depression began, the crises in Finnish export and industry were made worse by a serious banking and loan crisis. When the depression started, a relatively inexperienced centrist-conservative government was formed to run the country. One of its most important ministers was the Minister of Finance, Iiro Viinanen, who has been characterised as a Thatcherite, and not without cause. Anyhow, what happened with the National Board of Building was very similar to the tendencies in ex-socialist countries: privatisation of public property. And especially privatisation of the municipal tasks and services. And in Finland as well as other Nordic Countries this means the tasks of the welfare state.

Some people say that the Finnish recession was a gift from heaven to the neo-liberals. Though the recession had been over for more than ten years, what was left? The way to handle big decisions is similar to what Naomi Klein describes in her *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*. We are not given electric shocks, but we are doing everything in a hurry. No time to plan, to think over etc. The feeling of constant crisis was created during the recession and left to all our politics.

The Finnish Supreme Court decided that the change from N.B.B. to Engel concern was illegal, and the cleaners who took it into the court were right. The beginning of Engel was a 'transfer' not closing down. The Court ruled that the state should pay compensation for the illegal dismissals, which was also done. The manner in which the N.B.B. was privatised was not merely illegal; it was also illegitimate in the sense that the Ministry of Finance had known about the 'illegality' but decided not to inform parliament of the matter. Also, the highest-ranking official in the Ministry of Finance, who played a central role in preparing for and carrying out the reform, stated publicly in a TV documentary that 'the people in the Ministry of Finance knew well enough that the reform in question was illegal, but they tried to 'trim it of illegal characteristics' enough so that it would fall short of the 'essential elements of illegality'. The Finnish constitution states that officials are under obligation to follow Finnish laws and statutes, but as far as the privatisation of state utilities is concerned, these laws are apparently invalid. Perhaps the greatest illegitimacy in the whole matter is, that the official in the Ministry of Finance who played a central part in the reform could publicly announce that he knew the process would (probably) be illegal, but that it was still worth carrying out because it saved state money.

Since the recession in the 1990s not only public cleaning has been privatised, but also what I call three low-paid female jobs, catering and caring, the last one not as rapidly as cooking and cleaning. Caring in old peoples homes and institutions is on the way to privatization. Catering and caring in public institutions is run by multinational business (International Servi Systems/ISS, who nowadays owns the Engel concern) and Sodexo. Polly Toynbee claims that when the private business runs for example the cleaning of the hospitals or catering in children's day-care centres, the entrepreneurs takes 60% and the employees get 40%. The privatisation of the welfare states it not in the interest of working women.

When women don't get descent wages in low paid female jobs, they don't get descent pensions either as pensions are related to the salary. When neo-liberalism and New Public Management is pushing away the welfare state women's situation is getting worse. Also when talking about professional women on the other end of the hierarchical ladder as the cleaners. Of course there are also women who profit from the situation but the most part is on the losing side. Women lose also when they do not get services for themselves, for their children or for their mothers.

When talking about poverty in Finland, we are also talking about poverty of care. The poverty of care especially concerns old people, the majority of them being women.

The tendency in the Finnish society is from more equality to less equality. And the welfare state is playing a big role here. When the Finnish welfare state was founded and improved, the example was taken from other Nordic countries. This is what we need also now since the Nordic welfare states are restructured. We need Nordic sisterhood again!



# PART 4A: WOMEN AND CHILDREN IMMIGRANTS TO SCANDINAVIA

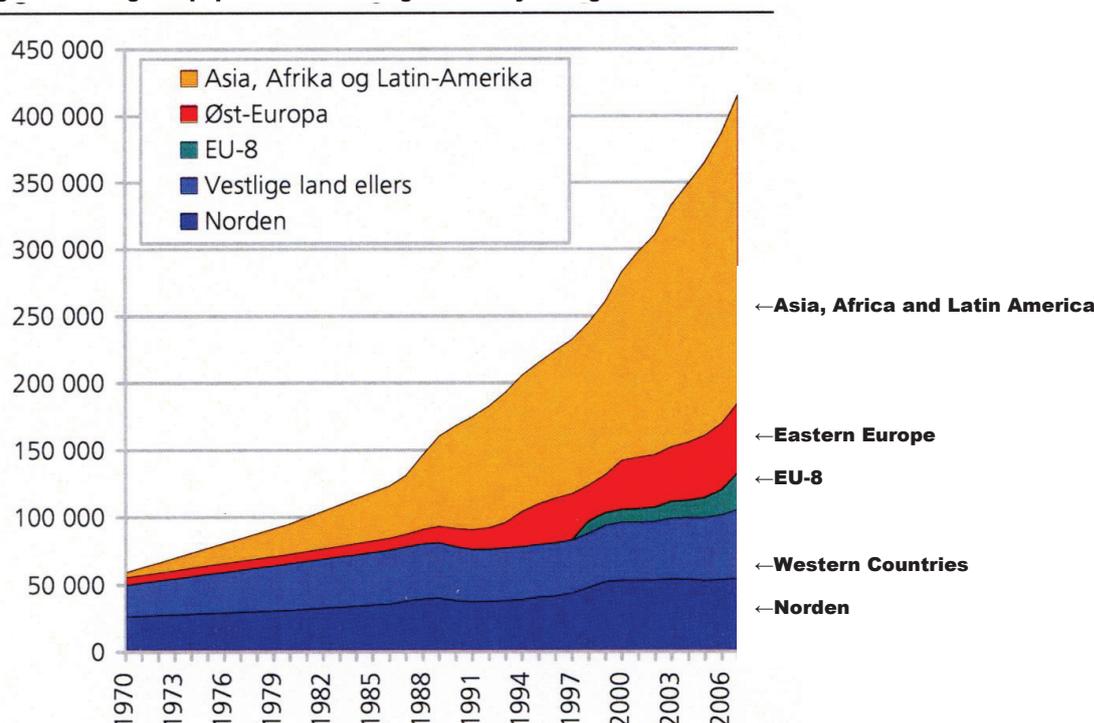
## AN OVERVIEW OF THE SITUATION OF IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN NORWAY FROM THE 1980S TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY

*Suzanne Stiver Lie, Professor Emerita, University of Oslo, sociologist, Norway, Co-founder and Academic Director of the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre, Tallinn University, Estonia*

### Introduction

I will give a brief overview of the situation of immigrant women in Norway from the 1980s to the middle of the 21st century. The sources I build upon are: 1) a study I did together with Cecilia Boan in the 1980s on three immigrant women's groups – British women representing the Western immigrant, Yugoslavian women representing the migrant worker and Chilean woman representing political refugees (N=150). Eighty percent of the British women are regarded as love migrants, that is, they are married to Norwegian men, 2) a study in the 1980s by Bente Puntervold Bø on 3rd World immigrant women: Pakistani, Indian, Moroccan and Turkish women (N=212), and 3) the most recent study is by the Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics' study of "Living Conditions among Immigrants in Norway 2005/2006." (SSB) (N= 3053). Ten of the largest immigrant groups from the third-world are included. They include persons 16-70 years old with at least two year's residence in Norway as well as descendents living in Norway who are born abroad of foreign parents and descendents born in Norway of two foreign born parents. Descendents constitute nine per cent of the sample. The following areas will be investigated concerning women immigrants' lives: their education, language proficiency in Norwegian, employment, discrimination, use of social welfare and religious activity and affiliation. These indicators can be regarded as measures of integration or lack of such, but first some background.

**Figure 1. Immigrant population according to country of origin 1970-2007**



Source: SSB's Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway, 2005/2006.

## Basic facts on Immigration to Norway

Figure 1 from the SSB's study (figure 1 in this study) shows that from the 1970s until the late 1980s immigration from Western and Nordic countries dominated. From the 1990s and up to the present immigrant groups from Asia, Africa and Latin America dominate. Recent figures from 2008 show that there are 381,000 immigrants and 79,000 Norwegian born immigrants. Both of these groups together constitute 10% of the population. Thirty per cent of descendents of immigrants are Pakistani (SSB, 2008).

## Immigrant Women's Educational Background

Of those interviewed in the above mentioned studies in the 1980s, 70% of the British and 64% of the Chilean women had over 12 years of schooling before they came to Norway compared to a mere 7% of Norwegian women aged 20-69. This means that these two immigrant groups had 9 to 10 times more women with schooling over 12 years than the total Norwegian female population (Lie and Boan). The majority of 3rd world immigrants had low levels of schooling. Over 3/4s of Turkish, 56% of Moroccan and 30% of Pakistani women living in Oslo had 5 years or less of formal education – among them a large number of illiterates. Interestingly there was a slightly higher per cent of Pakistani women in Oslo with more than 12 years of education than the total Norwegian female population (Punternvold Bø).

What have been the changes in educational backgrounds for immigrant women in 2005/2006? Unfortunately, British and other Western immigrant women are not included in SSB's studies since 1996. These women are regarded as having little or no adjustment problems. In the 1980s and to the present westerners were and are not regarded as immigrants by Norwegian authorities or by many researchers as well as the mass media and general public. These "invisible" immigrants also suffer discrimination and occupational disqualification, as we will see from a later discussion and from today's panel discussion "*Western women's experiences of discrimination in Norway*".

The SSB study has better statistics of the education that immigrants take after they come to Norway than what they brought with them in their cultural baggage. However, here are some tendencies. Generally, immigrant women had lower educational levels than immigrant men when they came to Norway. Twenty-three per cent of adult women have had no education at all, and 26% have had only primary school. This is true for consecutively only 12% and 20% of the men. Turkish and Pakistanis, both men and women, had for the most part low educational levels when they came to Norway. Iranian women are the only group who had a higher percent of higher education than Iranian men in their cultural baggage – 47% against 28%.

There are also few who have completed an education in Norway. The process of resocialization is a painful and taxing process of relearning which includes further schooling, the acquisition of new language skills, often new occupational skills, new customs, insights into the new culture, etc. Even after living many years in Norway, for example only 10% of Pakistani women compared to 13% Pakistani men have taken education in Norway. However, the picture is different especially for female descendents of immigrants. SSB's recent study shows that 79% of all girls with immigrant background in Oslo, who are born in Norway, complete a high school education. They score better than the country's average of 69% of all pupils who complete a high school education. They also score slightly better than 75% of ethnic Norwegian girls who complete high school. A worrying trend is that over 50% of boys with immigrant background do not complete high school in the course of 5 years. As a result there is a danger of an increased rate of gang activity, criminality and a life of unemployment.

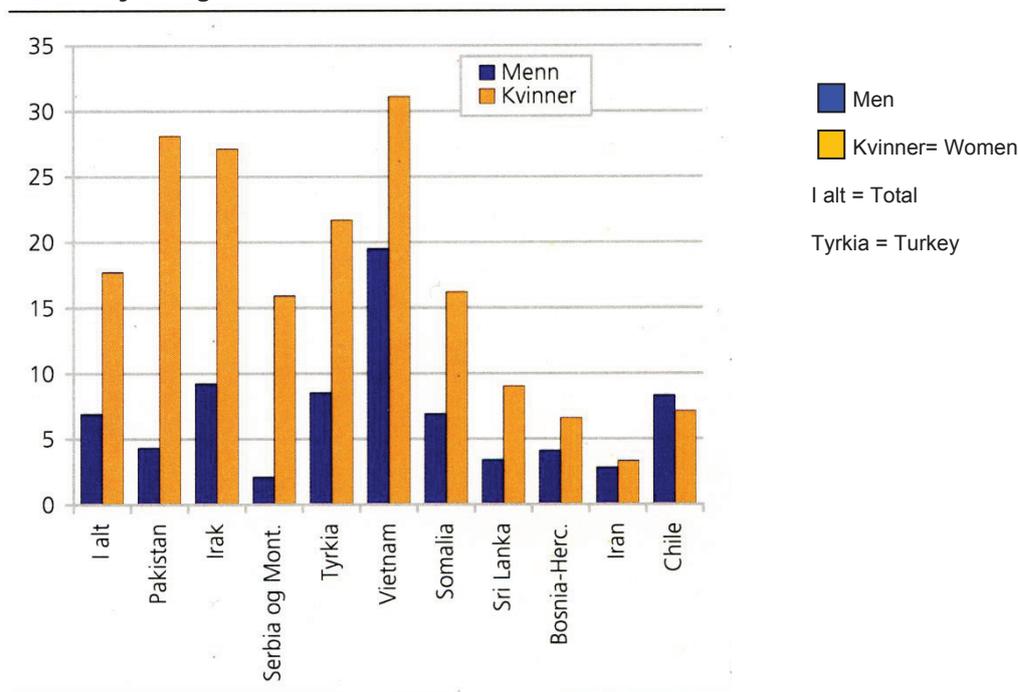
In the population since 2004/2005 there are now more young women than young men who have completed higher education which has a duration of more than four years at a university or college. A high per cent of girls with minority background between ages of 20-24 attend the university. For example 64% of girls with Indian background take higher education .

## Language proficiency in Norwegian

Acquisition of the Norwegian language is an important part of the resocialization process and integration into the Norwegian society. Figure 2 (Figure 16.3 of SSB's study of 2005/2006) shows that especially women immigrants from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world regard themselves as having poor ability in Norwegian. This is especially true for women from Pakistan, Irak, Turkey and Vietman. Figure 3 (16.4 in the

SSB study) shows that the majority of 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrants who are employed do not regard themselves as having poor ability in Norwegian. But those unemployed immigrants, especially women, think that they have poor or very poor ability in Norwegian. This is especially true for Vietnamese, Pakistani, Turkish and Iraqi women.

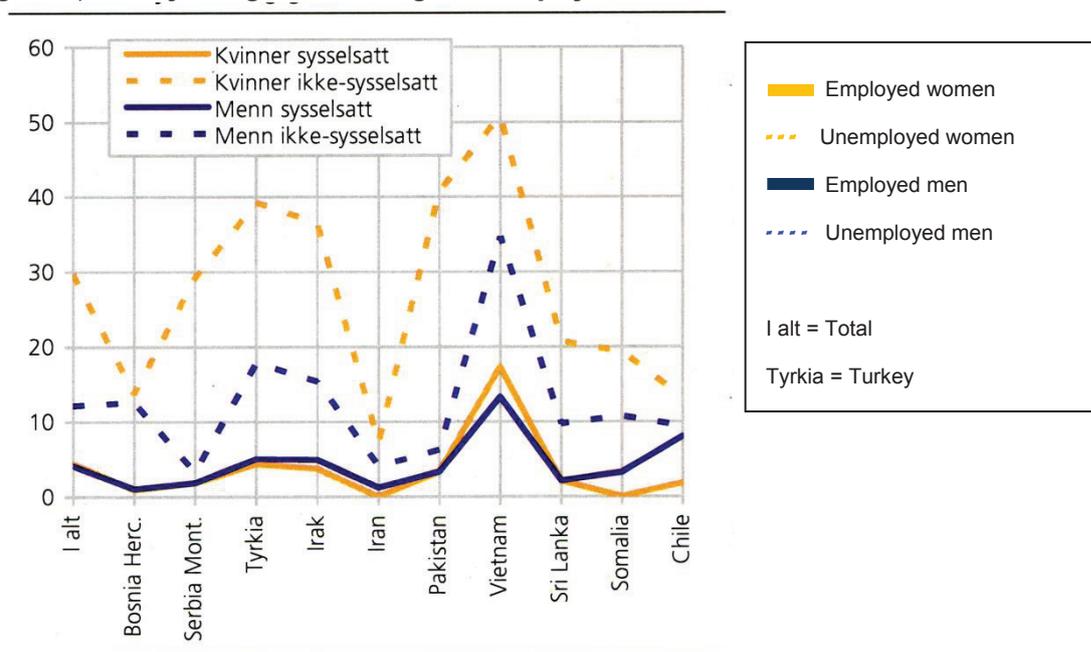
**Figure 2. The proportion who evaluate their Norwegian ability as poor or very poor, according to gender and country background**



Descendants and immigrants who have come to the country in the first school year are not included.

Source: SSB's Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway, 2005/2006.

**Figure 3. The proportion who think that they have poor or very poor Norwegian ability, according to gender, country background and degree of employment**



Descendants and immigrants who have come to the country in the first school year are not included.

Source: SSB's Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway, 2005/2006.

## Immigrant Women's Occupational Activity

Occupational activity can be a measure of immigrant women's integration. Table 1 shows that the immigrant women groups studied in the 1980s were, with the exception of Pakistani women, extremely active in terms to their ties to the labor market. Employment rates for immigrant women in Norway were considerably higher than those for women in their country of origin. Employment rates for immigrant women were similar to and indeed often higher than corresponding rates for the total Norwegian female population.

British women were most often found as teachers, in the health services and clerical work. Chilean women were most often found in cleaning or factory jobs despite their high level of education. Yugoslavian women were found in typical migrant-worker jobs, side by side with other migrant workers from less industrialized countries, e.g. unskilled factory work and cleaning jobs. Pakistani women had the lowest occupational activity, despite that they have a higher per cent of women who have longer education than immigrant women from Morocco and Turkey. Most likely their low occupational level can be explained by a stronger segregation of the sexes and that they interpret Islam more strictly than in Morocco and Turkey.

## What have been the changes in the ensuing 30 years?

As shown in table 1 the pattern for 2008 is a mixed one for immigrant women's employment as compared to the 1980s. Although there has been a substantial increase in employment for well-educated Chilean and Indian women, there has been a substantial decrease in employment for Yugoslavia, Turkish and Moroccan women. This might have to do with the financial crisis and that these groups have low levels of schooling which make it difficult for them to find employment which is often of a repetitive nature. Although first generation Pakistani women's employment has almost tripled since the 80s, never the less, they are the group which still has the lowest participation in employment.

**Table 1: Occupational activity of selected immigrant women's groups for 1980 and 2008 in per cent.**

	1980	2008
Pakistan	13%	32.3%
India	44%	56.1%
Morocco	50%	41.4%
Turkey	57%	42.8%
Great Britian	64%	60.5%
Chile	52%	67.6%
Yugoslavia	84%	64.4%
-----		
2008 Employment in entire country total		68.5%
Empoyment of immigrants in total		58.7%

Sources: Aftenposten, March 15, 2010 ; Lie and Boan; and Puntevold Bø, 1985: in Lie, *Mellom to Kulturer*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget,

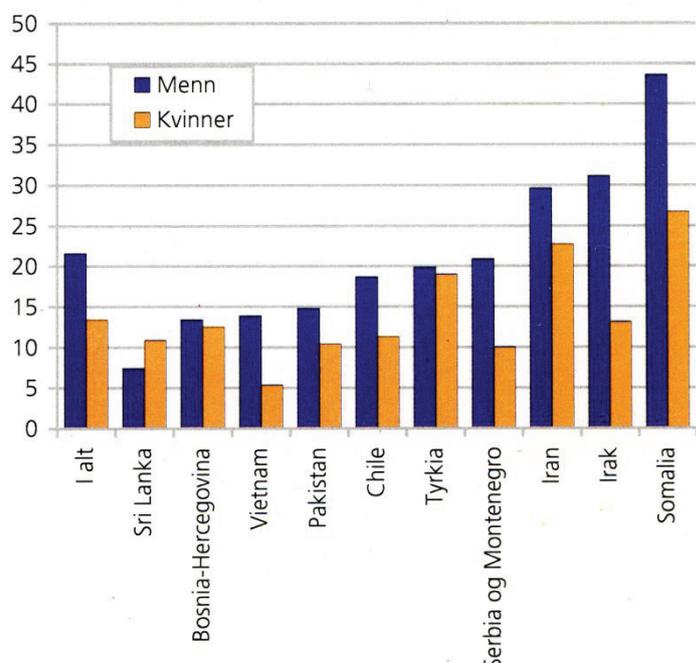
## Immigrant Women's Experiences of Discrimination

Immigrant women in the 1980s study by Lie and Boan were asked if they encountered discrimination in general in Norway, in which specific life situations and in what forms. The experience of discrimination varied greatly between the three groups in terms of degree, form and area of discrimination. Twenty-two per cent of the British, 33 % of the Yugoslavs and as high as 61 % of the Chileans answered that they experienced discrimination. Of these 67 % of the British, 25 % of the Yugoslavs and 61 % of the Chileans experience discrimination in finding employment. This shows that being the most highly educated of the three groups; it is the British and Chilean women who meet the most problems in finding employment suited to their qualifications. Devaluation of the well-qualified immigrants' educational background and job experience can be regarded as a form of institutional or structural discrimination. By this is meant the rules and regulations of a social system which have intended or unintended consequences of discrimination.

Discrimination of the British was limited in degree and primarily concentrated to their work place. Although Yugoslavs said they met less discrimination in finding a job, discrimination was most often encountered at their place of work in the form of unfriendliness, isolation and being overseen. Chileans emerged as the group exposed to the most blatant forms of discrimination, in all areas of life – at their work place/school, on the street, public transportation, in stores and restaurants, and on the housing market. It seems likely that discrimination would affect immigrant women's quality of life and subsequent integration.

Well-qualified immigrant women experience special problems and frustrations in finding a job commensurate with their education and training. They encounter structural barriers in getting their educational credentials recognized. Often they are found in jobs for which they are over-qualified. They are represented in proportions similar to and indeed often many times greater than well-qualified women in the total Norwegian female population. Nevertheless, these women most often are found in jobs below their occupational training. No questions regarding discrimination were asked in the Bø study.

**Figure 4. Proportion who answer yes to the question if they had experienced discrimination the last 5 years, after country of background and gender. In percentages.**



Source: SSB's Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway, 2005/2006.

### Discrimination of immigrants in 2005/2006

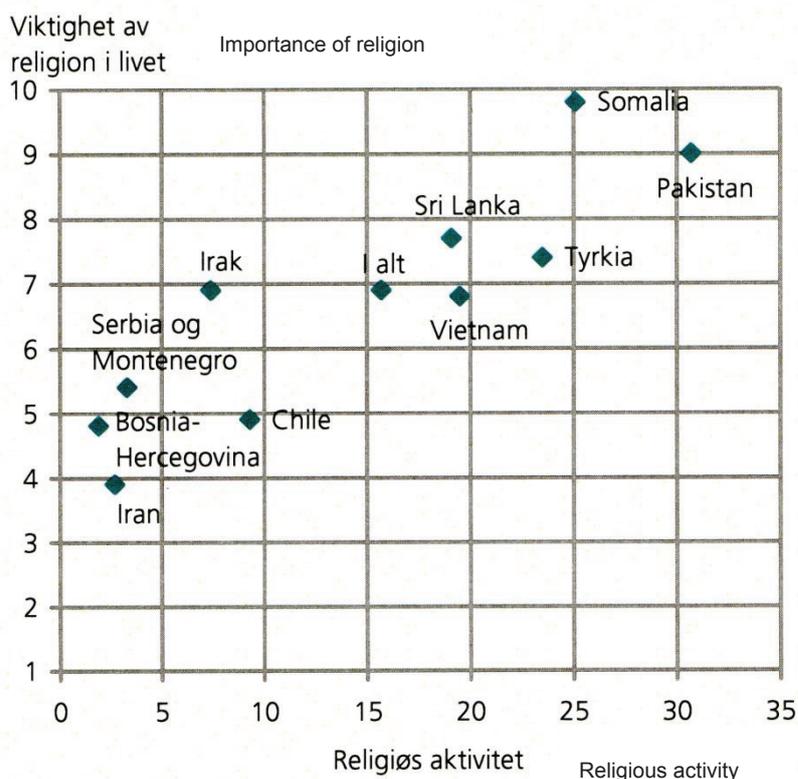
Almost half of 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrants in SSB's study on living condition for immigrants in Norway 2005/2006 have experienced discrimination in one or several areas. There is a great variation between immigrant groups. According to Figure 4 (SSB's Figure 20.2) immigrant groups from Somalia, Iraq, Iran and Turkey, both men and women, have experienced the most discrimination of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrant groups in the last five years. Women from non-western lands earn half of what immigrants from Western lands earn. Women experience less discrimination than men. They are to a lesser degree exposed to situations where discrimination is high.

There is another form of discrimination by immigrants. Pakistani women bus drivers have experienced discrimination from immigrant men on the job. They have experienced negative rumors about themselves. Also other women have quit their jobs because of discriminative behavior and harassment from immigrant men (utrop.no 19.02.2008). The extreme sex segregated society of Pakistani immigrants might explain the low per cent of Pakistani women's employment despite their long residence in Norway.

### Social Welfare support

Many immigrants are more economically independent with a longer time in Norway, but there are large variations according to country of origin. Immigrants or Norwegian born with parents from Asia, Afrika, Latin-America and Eastern-Europe have a greater probability to belong to low income groups than the population in general. In these groups social welfare ordinances and living allowances are more common than in low income groups in the entire population. SSB's data in 2005/2006 show that 50% of the population works for an income, 42% of immigrants as a whole and only 33% of 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrants work for an income. The SSB study shows that many immigrants get higher welfare subsidies than Norwegians because they have wives who do not work and they have many children. Some immigrants live better with unemployment benefits than they did when working. The highest users of welfare are Somalians and Pakistanis. Pakistanis are the 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrant group who has been the longest in Norway and Somalians are among the latest newcomers.

**Figure 5. Religious activity and importance of religion, after country of origin.**



Source: SSB's Living Conditions of Immigrants in Norway, 2005/2006.

## Religion and Integration

There has been a radicalization of religion among 3rd world immigrant groups in Norway after the terrorist attacks in New York, Madrid and London. This varies considerably according to national groups. Figure 5 (8.6 in SSB's study of living conditions of immigrants in Norway for 2005/2006) shows that immigrants, both men and women, from Somalia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Turkey regard religion to be very important in their lives as well as a high level of religious activity. Women are more religious than men but go less often to religious services than men. Immigrants from Iran, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro and Chile are the most secular of the immigrants in this study. Half of Iranians in Norway answer that they do not belong to the Islam religion today. Although the SSB's study does not draw any conclusions as to religion and integration, in my estimation, religious activity and how important religion is in your life for 3rd world immigrants, especially for Muslims, would be important indicators of integration – the more religious you are, the less you are integrated into the Norwegian society. Many of the values of the Muslim culture and religion, especially regarding women, are in contradiction to values of the Norwegian population. A visible sign of an upsurge of religiosity among 3rd world immigrants, especially among Pakistani and Somalians, is the increase of young women wearing the hijab and young men sporting long beards.

## Conclusion

Since the late 1990's studies of immigrants have concentrated mainly on 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrants. An earlier study (Lie and Boan) has shown that western well-educated immigrants have particular problems gaining employment equivalent to their educational background and having their educational credentials recognized. Dropping western immigrants from current studies mask their problems. Figures from the SSB's 2005/2006 study show that there is great variation between 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrant groups regarding their relearning process concerning education, and language skills in Norwegian. It was found that few of 1<sup>st</sup> generation immigrants from the 3<sup>rd</sup> world take educational courses in Norway. However, on the bright side regarding integration is that a high per cent of female descendants complete a high school education and many continue to take higher education. This will increase their possibilities for employment and integration into the Norwegian society. More worrying for the process of integration is that fact that many young immigrant males drop out of high school diminishing their chances for employment. It is necessary that the government increase opportunities for a more practical education for the last mentioned group. Language proficiency in Norwegian is especially low for unemployed women and men from 3<sup>rd</sup> world countries. Poor Norwegian language skills lessen chances for employment and slow down integration. It is therefore important that the government increases the opportunities for immigrants to learn Norwegian and to increase their possibilities to continue their education in Norway. These are key factors in the resocialization process which would lead to greater chances of employment and decrease the use of social welfare programs. An increase of religiosity among 3<sup>rd</sup> world immigrants can be seen as a negative sign for integration in these groups.

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## THE SITUATION OF CHILDREN SEEKING ASYLUM IN SWEDEN

*Eva Wilks, psychotherapist, Kungsör, Sweden*

I will talk about the situation for children seeking asylum in Sweden, based on the study I have been working on for over a year. It is more or less finished. I would think the situation for children seeking asylum, and their families, is more or less the same in the rest of Europe as it is in Sweden, and it is probably worse in many countries. After I have given my speech, Wawa will continue and talk a little about her work with children seeking asylum who come on their own.

### **My Study**

I started my study in May last year as a part of my education to become a chartered psychotherapist. I decided it should be about children seeking asylum who suffer from Pervasive Refusal Syndrome. I had heard about these children some years ago in Sweden, there were so many, but for a couple of years it had been quiet. Before I say anything more about this, I will say something about the rights of children seeking asylum in Swedish society.

### **Rights in the Society**

According to the law, these children have the right to take part in society, which means attend pre-school, primary and secondary school, and high school as long as they have started before 18 years of age. Also they have the right to get help from the social welfare system if they do not have a good life situation. The National Health System is required to give the children the same health care and dental care as for Swedish citizens. It is also forbidden to discriminate the asylum seeking children according to the European conventions.

### **Pervasive Refusal Syndrome**

During the 1990s reports were coming in about children who lost contact with all other people, went into apathy and the reason for this was hopelessness and helplessness for a timeless future where also their families had many psychological problems. In Sweden this phenomena turned up in the late 1990s among children seeking asylum. The problem grew, and around 2005 there were over 400 children suffering from this syndrome. Many of them were just lying in bed, in a kind of coma all the time, being fed through a tube in their nose and with no contact whatsoever with the outside world. They had to have nappies as they were incontinent. No other countries reported this phenomenon; it seemed to happen mainly in Sweden. It was a big thing in the media and there was a lot of pressure on the government to do something. In the end a temporary law was passed, and all the families with children who were seeking asylum could stay permanently. No more cases appeared, and the sick children slowly got better.

### **Results**

When I started to look at the problem, I did not know whether it still was a problem, since the media had been so quiet. No research had been done either. I was able to get information about cases through contact with voluntary workers in central Sweden, from Stockholm to Göteborg and Sundsvall to Skövde. I soon found around 20 children with pervasive refusal syndrome in central Sweden. At the end of my study (April09), I contacted them again, and by then, there were around 30 children, 4 of whom were hidden. Fifteen of them were awaiting deportation. In many families more than one child was in this condition, and some had been lying in bed for more than one, up to two years. No one knows exactly how many children are in this condition. My contacts with the Socialstyrelsen (the Social Administration) showed that since these children have no specific diagnoses, they cannot be reported or counted. The reason why they can't have the diagnose PRS is because in literature it is not described exclusively as a syndrome among children seeking asylum, and in Sweden all of the victims are refugees. Now the children have the "giving up" symptoms, and that is not a proper diagnosis, as different specialists in medicine cannot agree upon asking for it. During 2005 when there were so many, a theory was put forth that these children were manipulating their surroundings. Media took up this thread and

even Socialstyrelsen mentioned this in their information about the illness: Watch out and see if these children are manipulating, it says in Meddelarbladet, the newsletter from Socialstyrelsen! And despite the fact that it has been established that there is no more manipulation here than in any other illnesses we human beings can get. The only thing that can heal these children is to get asylum, because of the safety they feel within their family. We know of no children that have been cured after deportation. One reason for not being better at home is the traumatic experiences these children have from the home. Even if there would be good health care, it is most likely that these children cannot receive this, due to the great fear they have of going back to their home countries. Home country, for that matter, is perhaps not the right term, as many of them have been fleeing from country to country all their lives.

Now I will give a few case studies so that you get an idea of what kind of children they are:

### Case 1

*Last summer I came across a 13 year old girl who had been lying in bed with no contact whatsoever for one and a half years. She was tall, and it was difficult for her mother to look after her. Her father had disappeared when they got their second NO from the Migration Board and court. After that the daughter got worse. Even her 12 -year- old brother was in a bad state. He hardly ate, lay in bed most of the day and did not want to go to school. He said he had nightmares every night. They had fled from Serbia when they as Romani had moved back to Serbia after 5 years in Germany. But after they had moved into their house, 6 Albanians came in through the window the first night, took the father away during the night and beat him up. The mother was raped by 2 men in one room, and the 2 eldest children, now ill, had pistols pointing to their heads the whole night while all this was going on.*

*The family fled only a couple of days after this to Sweden. But the 2 eldest children suffered from PTSD (post-traumatic-stress-) and in the end, when father left, the girl went into PRS. I contacted the Migration Board, but they said they had not read the papers from the doctor and they realised she was so ill and had been ill for so long. It was a bit of a scandal for them when they realised this.*

*I followed the family to the Migration Board, and on my way there, I only had the 12 year old boy in my car. We talked about his life and I asked him what he wanted to be when he grew up. He said he wanted to have his own army and that he looked forward to killing a lot of people. This is so typical for PTSD- one of the symptoms is that the victim identifies himself with his own inner aggressor. I think some of the young soldiers we talked about yesterday suffer from this when they come home and start beating up their wives and show aggressive behaviour.*

*This family was a lucky one; they got their permission to stay in Sweden. Today, 1 year later, the girl has only just opened her eyes, she can walk and sit up with support, and say a few words. Her rehabilitation will take a very long time, and we do not know how well she will recover.*

### Case 2

*This is a 10-year old boy, the eldest son in a Romani family of 6 that have been refugees for 9 years, first in Germany for 5 years, then in Serbia for a short time before fleeing to Sweden. They have been in Sweden for 3 years and have sought asylum. In Germany life was good, but when they had to move back to Serbia when the war was over, their home had been taken and as Romani, they were moving around from place to place, as they could not stay due to harassment from either Albanians or Serbs. The two eldest sons saw their father being beaten by the police. They took the father away for 3 days, and the mother was sexually abused by the police, 3 men, during his absence. She is suffering today from these traumatic experiences and cannot talk to her husband about it, because she is afraid of what he might do (leave her?).*

*In the end their situation in Serbia was so bad that they had to leave in 2006. In the autumn of 2008 they got their second negative decision from the Migration Court and heard they had to leave. The 10 year old boy got depressed and stopped going to school. The whole family was frightened by the staff where they were living and fled to a woman who is known to help refugees. She helped them find a place, but the mother and*

*the eldest boy got worse. They did not eat, became apathetic, and were just lying down. The mother got some nutrition drink from the doctor, but nothing was given to the boy. After three weeks he had taken his mother's drink, but he got worse and couldn't stand on his legs and was starting to wet his pants. I went to see the family then and the family told me their story. The boy was so scared, and I could see how scared he was to go back to Serbia and always feel fear when his father is not around. Also the brother who was one year younger was scared and they cried a lot while I was there. The mother could not sit still as she felt so much anxiety.*

*After a month I heard that the eldest son had closed his eyes and was getting nourishment through a tube and using nappies. A month later his younger brother stopped going to school and did not eat much. I visited them in the spring and both were lying in bed, one unconscious and the other one now so afraid that he hyperventilated every time a stranger came into the room. I contacted the Migration Board and they said that they take no responsibility for what happens with the sick children when they go home, it is the parents' responsibility to get healthcare. I contacted some people in Sweden who work with NGOs in Serbia to find out what healthcare these families can get when they return. They all say that there will be none. Being Romani and having no home, money or relatives, they cannot count on getting any. They think the child will die.*

## Findings

My findings in the study were first of all that these children do not get good enough health care in Sweden. Many of the helpers that I interviewed said this. The psychiatric care is vary varied; in places where there are mobile teams, they get more, but in more remote places there is none. All the children get is a nourishment tube and nappies. There are still a lot of prejudices and questions in the health system as to whether these people are manipulating the system to their own advantage.

The reason why children who are so sick have to be deported from Sweden to home countries where they can get no healthcare is that when the first decision was taken at the Migration Board, they were not so ill. When they have gone through all the processes and got NO from everywhere, their condition worsens, but then the Migration Board does not take this into account, it is their original status that matters. I also found that the documents from doctors about the status of the child were very short and sketchy. And the Migration Board told me that they cannot make decisions in favour of the child, like giving them asylum, with so poor documentation from the doctors.

Of the 15 children that now are about to be deported (2009), 7 of them are from Armenia, 5 are Romani from Serbia and some are from Caucasus and Uygur, a Turkic people from China. Of course I could not just sit by and watch the object of my study when I realised what a cruel migration policy we have in Sweden, and to children! These children will be sent home to countries where they will die!!! Together with some others, I contacted and visited politicians, migration officers, broadcasting companies and newspapers. So far there have been articles in 3 papers, and on the news on TV4, the state channel and radio news.

I found that the volunteers that work for refugees often work in isolated places and with little networking. I started working with Save the Children at the grassroots level, and they tried to get their central organisation to act – but got a reply that they only work long term with these children. I can see that all the people who are doing tremendous work for refugees ought to come together and build opinion – what a power they would have!!

In the summer some doctors from “Doctors in the World” have followed me to the different families to write new documents. So far 5 of the 15 children have got permanent permission to stay in Sweden. But there are still 10 more left and only last week the father of an apathetic girl that we have visited and were awaiting a decision for, tried to commit suicide. I am not surprised, listening to their story and seeing the parents and the girl's two brothers. The mother was wagging like the orphanage children in Rumania all the time, in order to in some way stay together. The father was moving around all the time, banging his head on the wall out of frustration. They made me think of animals that you

chase until they are almost dead. And it was the Swedish system that had been chasing them after they came from Iraq 3 years ago. The only chance I see for them to stay is if we can prove that parents are not capable of looking after their child. There is a paragraph in the law that says “synnerligen ömmande omständigheter” (visible extenuating circumstances), and this should provide a legal basis to be extra human to children, but the policy so far has not taken children into account, they are just something added to their parents. Children do not have their own reasons for seeking asylum. Not in these families.

# **PART 4B: WESTERN WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION IN NORWAY**

## **PANEL - WESTERN WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN NORWAY**

Unfortunately, Western immigrant women are not included in the Norwegian Bureau of Statistics' studies of immigrants since 1996 so little is documented regarding their experiences of discrimination in Norway. These women are generally regarded as having little or no adjustment problems. As early as the 1980's and to the present, westerners were not regarded as immigrants by Norwegian authorities nor by many researchers as well as the mass media and general public. These "invisible" immigrants also suffer discrimination and occupational disqualification, as we will see from today's panel discussion "Western women's experiences of discrimination in Norway".

### **1. THE HIGHER EDUCATION YOU HAVE, THE LESS WELCOME YOU ARE.**

*Ursula Gelis, German political scientist working with issues of abolishment of nuclear weapons and against militarization of society, member of the Women's League of Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Norway*

The disturbing title of my 15 minute presentation immediately reveals my frustration of being an ambitious academic woman currently living in Norway. This is not a scientific lecture which gives a detailed account of what Chris Jonasson calls the highly exclusive Norwegian society. (Ås, Kvinner, p. 10): A society surrounded by and captured within its narrow societal model and which hardly allows the so called 'strangers' to 'join the club'. I want to invite you on a journey through this little world where about 4.8 million people are struggling to cope with sudden wealth due to the exploitation of natural resources.

I will first share some experiences with you about rejection, insults and the lack of respect I encountered during my job hunt. Later on you will be introduced to remedies I found by becoming a member of WILPF for instance, and my personal fortune in getting acquainted with professor Berit Ås.

#### **Welcome to Norway**

It's always nice to meet someone who wants to help you, especially when in a foreign country. Shortly after I moved to the Oslo area, I met a Norwegian psychologist who introduced me to the realities in this world. Coming from Germany and used to an education system highly focused on skills and a decent professional background, I was introduced to another reality. We were talking about my potential entry into an institution perfectly suited for my academic background and job experiences so far. I had to learn that my competence would be nearly meaningless for the 'guy in charge'. I was told: "First of all, you are married so it would be a difficult task for him to convince you to have an affair with him, and secondly you are new to the country which means that you are not equipped with a network helpful to him. And: Here your skills are of minor importance". This was my welcome to the Norwegian patriarchy! My conclusion was that I could not 'serve' the leading figure anyway. In my reading the main point was that I could not increase his network, suitable for his own career advancement and which would certainly mainly be bestowed on other boys whom he has probably known from his schooldays. In other words: I was not a point of reference. In addition to that, my broad experience could only be perceived as a threat. My contribution to the advancement of this particular institution was not at all on the agenda. Berit Ås addresses this phenomenon in her book: 'Women in all countries', the mental blindness within the dominant society. (p. 23). Everybody not part of the majority is perceived as a suspect difficult to judge.

By the way, in 2004 I sold one of my paintings to Berit, with the title: 'celebrating blindness'. At that time I was still shocked about the code of conduct I had to face. I agree with Berit that this mental blindness is not necessary born out of evil inclinations, but emerges as a result of a false consciousness about the dominant society's own legitimacy (Norway is the best country in the world) and a lack of deep interest in other concepts or cultures. In such a societal setting the notion of empathy easily evaporates.

As an admirer of Bertolt Brecht's method of alienation I take you with me into the wonderland of Tupillil (or reading it from right to left: a kind of Lilliput).

## **Tupillil**

Let's imagine that in my home country I was a specialist on protected species. One day some people from TUPILLIL are coming along because they would like to establish a similar facility for protected birds in Tupillil. An exchange of letters starts and I notify the Tupillilians that I will move to their country in a very short time. I have not only all the necessary skills useful for the running of such a facility but also personal contacts to similar institutions all over the globe. I had worked with protected species for years also internationally. In addition to that, I am able to speak the relevant languages in this profession.

After moving to Tupillil I start to contact the project group. Nobody is interested in seeing me or inviting me to follow the development. I am nearly unable to make an appointment, at conferences the most I can get from the project leader is: "I know who you are." Who am I? The beggar who has to offer her expertise and knowledge to people who just start from a point where I have been a decade before? Do I have to speak to people who don't even want to know what I actually know about protected species and their treatment? What is this all about?

I have to experience tactics of making me invisible - you all recall one of Berit Ås's suppression techniques. Being a resource of great value, equipped with certificates from influential people in the field of protected species worldwide, I cannot get anywhere here. While meeting the project leader, he tries to disguise his insecurity by only referring to his own doing - not a question about my experience with protected animals ...or perhaps about my personal future prospects in the country. I have to say, being around a bit in the world, Tupillil, i. e. Norway, is the first country where I met such a huge indifference towards experiences not made in Tupillil. It is yet fair to say that hope for a change lies with the younger generation. The people now in charge, around 50 or older, do often perceive competent immigrants as threats and women are even twice discriminated if they want to enter the man's world of political science and politics. Actually we can talk about triple discrimination: Being an immigrant, a women and an intellectual. It's the dangerous combination of arrogance, again: (Norway is the best country in the world), and a strong inferiority complex. Of course, I cannot say all Norwegians of my generation or older are acting in such a discriminatory and blind way, but many are. With the help of my female colleagues from the Women's International league of Peace and Freedom, I have not given up trying to understand the mechanisms ruling Ibsen's country!

Norway's self-image is one of a non-hierarchic society. That is mainly wishful thinking. Immigrants for instance are strongly categorized. The ideal immigrant is the one who can fill a gap within the working force. We are talking about a person equipped with needed skills currently unavailable among the nationals. The poor fellow called refugee is welcomed because her/his presence in the country increases the home grown notion of helping to reduce the suffering in the world. The weak refugee is accepted as long as she is not becoming stronger than the host. The asylum seeker is unwanted, is somehow only an economic burden. My case represents a different model within the hierarchy: Being married to a national allows me to enjoy a lot of benefits. I can work and if I am unable to do so (because people do not want to employ someone with a foreign name), the ministry of employment is offering courses and job opportunities (in theory!). Last year for instance, I was invited to start a program to become a bus driver! When I asked about the criteria which led to this 'extraordinary opportunity' I was told that I am able to drive a car and I am a female immigrant. For somebody with master's degrees from highly respected universities and academic programs at 6 universities in 4 countries, this is quite a challenging invitation! I have to conclude: "There is something rotten in the state of Norway."

I think I leave it here and we will talk about the remedies and strategies of survival after we have heard the other presentations. Thank you very much.

## 2. ALIEN, INTRUDER OR PERSONA NON GRATA?

*Nancy L. Coleman, American, Ph.D. in Scandinavian literature, retired high school teacher, Brumunddal, Norway*

### **Background**

I have chosen to entitle my remarks, “Alien, intruder or persona non grata”. I was afraid I would be laying it on rather thick. But when I heard the titles that my colleagues on the panel had given their remarks, I became very aware that we must all have similar deep-seated feelings about how we were treated on the job market, and to a certain extent by Norwegian society.

As I look back on all the things that happened to me as an academic trying to enter the workforce, the main impression is an experience filled with paradoxes. I will mention several of them as I continue. I came to Norway from the USA in 1970 as a student of Norwegian literature and language (Ph.D.), with no plans to stay. My mother’s ancestry was Norwegian. Curiosity led to my studying just about everything Norwegian, and finally to a Ph.D. in Scandinavian literature. I had studied in the USA and Germany and came to Norway fairly late in my studies in Norwegian, so I tried to pack much into a limited time. I also stayed longer than planned.

I had a stipend the first year in Norway, but I needed a part-time job to finance the 2<sup>nd</sup> year. Then I met my husband and stayed in Norway. Both of us were in the same field; it would be easier for me to stay here than for him to move to the USA.

### **Alien**

Even as a student I had to get permit to live (not work) in Norway. I well remember my first meeting with the Foreign Police at the beautiful building in Oslo called Victoria terrasse. It started with a first-floor encounter, together with foreign workers from places like Italy and Pakistan. All of the office workers were ensconced behind glass or walls, and the acoustics were such that you had to speak loudly to be heard - and everyone could be a part of your “case”. The people behind the glass made you feel like you were caught in a Kafka novel, and they had an annoying habit of asking people to repeat things. They projected an attitude of skepticism that made you feel like an alien.

Paradox 1: I came from a country that is one of the closest allies of Norway, where many states were settled by a substantial number of Norwegians, where just as many people claim Norwegian ethnic background as live in Norway. Yet, as an individual with Norwegian roots and both a personal and professional interest in exploring her heritage, I might just as well have arrived from outer space. As far as the authorities were concerned, I was an alien, and the context was irrelevant.

My case seemed difficult, and the first-floor bureaucrats couldn’t handle it. I pondered: was I the only student from the US who had ever come to Norway? I was sent up to the third floor. By that time I was wondering if they were going to let me stay, or whether a space ship would be sent for to take me back wherever it was they thought I belonged. But I learned it was an improvement to be sent up to the third floor! Once you got upstairs people were reasonable, interested in what you were doing, and certainly within limits, allowed to think a few of their own thoughts. This was a short interlude of feeling almost welcome. I should have met the third-floor people more often in years to come!

### **Intruder**

By 1972, I had married and decided to stay in Norway. As soon as I entered the workforce, I passed from being an alien to an intruder. This was the basic attitude towards “foreign workers” in the 1970s. In those days, your potential employer had to fill out a form. An important question to be answered by the employer before the “foreign worker” could actually be employed was, “What efforts have you made to find a suitable Norwegian citizen to fill this position?”

Paradox 2: My early jobs were teaching English, and I was a native speaker. But the main point for the authorities was that a job, no matter what it entailed, be filled with a Norwegian citizen.

The form was to be sent in by the employer, and I never saw the answer to this question. I did, however, get a permit to teach English and German at AOF (education organization for the Labor Party). After several months, a fellow student asked if I would like to try my hand at real school teaching at a middle school, 6 weeks as a substitute. I decided it would be good experience. In my naïveté I thought that my work permit applied to this as well. How stupid. Towards the end of the 6 weeks an angry letter arrived from authorities. It seemed to say, “Do you think you can pull the wool over our eyes?” It contained threats of being deported, maybe imprisoned. To me it seemed like an over-reaction. They seemed to know everything anyway. Why didn’t they know this job was almost over? Moral: intruders into our country and workforce will be prosecuted! I even felt my marriage was seen as an intrusion. And in its essence, this treatment was discriminatory towards women. I guess I did not need a work permit to be a homemaker. But what would happen to a man in my situation? I think the authorities would have assumed he was the breadwinner and probably not have reacted in this way. End of story: my husband had to call and talk sense into them.

We moved to Hedmark, where I also came to be considered an intruder into the workforce. I was now faced with the issue of whether my long university education and degrees could possibly be approved in Norway, or whether I had to take my education all over again. In the meantime, I was able to transfer to AOF Hedmark and continue my teaching - with a new work permit, of course. I started the long process to get my education approved. But it was difficult to find out how to do it. No one could tell me how to start. (Du må ikke komme her og komme her!)

### **Persona Non Grata**

Paradox 3: I was more interested in Norwegian culture than most Norwegians, also an expert in a restricted field. Norway always likes for foreigners to love their country, talk and write about it, so that people will come here (as tourists, of course, and leave lots of money!). But if you stay too long, and maybe know too much, you are made to feel like an intruder. You are really a *persona non grata*, so why don’t you just go home?

There was a basic difference in the way most people reacted to you and how the authorities did. Authorities made me feel like a *persona non grata*, but very many people were genuinely interested in what I was doing, and also fascinated that a foreigner could find Norwegian culture so interesting, want to learn as much as possible about it, and participate in it actively. Colleagues and friends gave me almost without exception the encouragement necessary to keep going, and I will always treasure their efforts and friendship.

Paradox 4: The authorities behave in a way that is contrary to the way most Norwegians see foreigners (academics) who want to participate in the workforce and contribute to Norwegian society.

When I decided to stay in Norway, I had my degrees and most all of my education from the USA. This was apparently not the way it was supposed to be, and my lengthy education, which had not cost Norway anything, was viewed as a problem rather than an asset by the authorities. The workplace could be a bit skeptical, but seemed to respect me after they got to know me. I have pondered many times why it was so “awful” to have a person with university degrees from the US come to Norway and want to work. At the same time, I learned it could mean high status for a Norwegian to have studied in the US. I have never figured this one out!

Paradox 5: The same education is an asset for a Norwegian but a liability for a foreigner. It took 5 years to have my education approved. I provided piles of documentation for every course I had ever taken. After 4 ½ years, my degrees were approved on the condition that I take an extra exam in German grammar. It was their experience that foreigners with degrees in German did not know enough grammar! I decided to take some more exams in Norway, to strengthen my case, so to speak. I took an English major from the University of Oslo, an exam for teachers educated abroad, etc. The result was OK, “lektor med opprykk”. But I had a doctorate. There was a wage bonus for teachers with doctorates, but since I did not have my doctor’s degree from Norway, I was not eligible. In any event, I

landed a job in the gymnasium/vidaregåande skole, even with tenure! I worked there for 30 years.

As for the doctorate, there have been several comical situations through the years. A colleague of mine took a doctorate at the University of Trondheim, and our principal got very excited about it. "This is the first time in the history of our school," he proclaimed at a teachers' meeting, "that a teacher at our school has taken a doctorate." I kept my mouth shut, of course. But a colleague challenged him. "That's ridiculous!" she said. "Nancy had her doctorate before she started working here." The principal didn't say much, but when my colleague returned from Trondheim, doctorate in hand, there was a lunchtime celebration, accolades and flowers for him. After the principal welcomed my colleague back, he called me forward and gave me a nice bouquet as well!

Another comic situation arose a few years ago following a round of negotiations for better pay for teachers. I read the memo sent out to the schools suddenly I noticed that the "doctoral" pay bonus no longer had the word "Norwegian" in front of doctorate. I debated a long time as to whether I should make another try for the bonus. I talked to my union representative and was encouraged to do so. But I should have left well enough alone - unless I was just looking for entertainment! I am convinced that the authorities had simply forgotten the word "Norwegian" in front of "doctorate" on the memo. I wrote a letter to ask if I were not eligible for the bonus. Someone sent my letter over to the authorities responsible for approving foreign education. They didn't bother to look in their file, but sent me a letter explaining that I would have to send in documentation of my entire education for approval, so I could be eligible to work in the Norwegian system. No mention of the doctorate. I called the office and explained that my education had been approved about 20 years ago. I only wanted to have my doctorate recognized. They promised to look into it. After several more weeks, I got an e-mail message. They wanted to know what kind of doctor's degree I had and how it happened that I had it. I had no idea what to reply to this. (I honestly do not think that the person had ever met anyone with a doctorate.) I replied that it was a Ph.D., explained the procedure, and concluded that this was the normal procedure for taking a doctorate. Another round of correspondence ensued, but it was full of words and music - and resulted in nothing.

### 3. TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF A FOREIGNER IN NORWEGIAN ACADEMIA

*Suzanne Stiver Lie, Professor Emerita, University of Oslo, Norway, co-founder and academic director of the Estonian Women's Studies and Resource Centre, Tallinn University, Estonia*

This is an attempt to describe how formal and informal mechanisms at universities can keep unwanted researchers from gaining positions. I also try to show how researchers can take advantage of the rules. My experience with discrimination began when I applied for a position at the Social Pedagogical Study Alternative at the University of Oslo. But first, some background.

#### **The Social Pedagogical Study Alternative: Its Origins**

The Social Pedagogical Study Alternative (Sosialpedagogiske studiealternativ, or Sos. Ped.) was founded in 1974 after several years of conflict within the Institute for Educational Research (Pedagogisk forskningsinstitutt (PFI)). The conflict had developed gradually in the late 1960s. It can be seen as a phenomenon in many institutions, especially within the Social Sciences at the University of Oslo. It came as a result of student unrest in many countries, especially France and the US, in the late 1960s, and occurred simultaneously with mass enrollment called the “educational explosion”. The political climate among a large number of students at the University of Oslo was radical and critical of what they held to be an “elitist” university environment. Many of them were also anti-American. US policies in Vietnam were an issue. In the forefront of this campaign was the most radical student organization, the AKP(ml)'ers (Arbeidernes Kommunist Parti (Marxist/Leninist)–Workers Communist Party (Marxist/Leninist) — who romanticized Marx, Lenin, Mao Zed Dong and Pot Pol's political ideologies. Members of their party infiltrated many institutions such as the theater, schools, public offices, factories, etc.

Sos. Ped. represented a new and more sociologically inspired approach to the discipline of education. School and the educational system were seen in relationship to the society at large. Sos. Ped. was at odds with the conservative and psychological, and test orientated PFI. The study was practice oriented, had a critical societal and radical profile where students had a great degree of collaborative impact on the study and evaluation forms which were unusual in Norwegian higher education. It also emphasized qualitative and action research which was at odds with the more quantitative research emphasized at PFI. The study was headed by Professor Eva Nordland, and aided by an assistant and four radical students who called themselves the “band of four”. There were essentially two political factions within Sos. Ped. – “Let the 1000 flowers bloom” faction led by Eva Nordland and an authoritarian Marxist-Leninist faction led by the radical students.

#### **My First Encounter with Soc. Ped.**

My engagement at The Agricultural College of Norway at Ås, where I headed a project on the conflict in rural communities against consolidation of municipalities, was coming to an end. In 1975 I heard that a temporary lecture position was available at Soc. Ped. As a sociologist I thought that the sociological critical perspective of Soc. Ped. was challenging and I applied for the position. I had applied for other positions, also, and did not think too much about the application until two students knocked on my door and wanted to meet their new lecturer. I was surprised as I had not been notified of the appointment. I invited them in for coffee. During our conversation they told me that it would be a very difficult job for a woman with a new baby, and that I was being paid much better than the assistants. They considered this unfair. I asked them whether they had come to convince me to withdraw from the position, “Oh no! We just want to give you a realistic picture of your new work place,” they said.

Later, I learned that they had reported to the general student and faculty assembly of their visit with the new lecturer and had concluded that she was unsuited for Soc. Ped. No one at the meeting reacted to this questionable visit. My only competitor for the position was a student leader who was a member of the “band of four”. At the time there was a student campaign at the university against obtaining a doctor’s degree. This worked to my advantage because my competitor was less educated. I had a Ph.D. from the U.S. on the introduction of the 9-year school in Norway and also more publications than my competitor. I learned later that the selection committee also regarded the other candidate as a “rabble-rouser” and wanted to prevent him from gaining faculty status. In other words, I was used as a pawn in a political struggle.

## **Harassment**

With few exceptions, I was never accepted at Sos. Ped. It was a period of almost two years of continuous harassment. I always considered myself on the left of the political spectrum, but no one was interested in finding out what I stood for – after all, I was an American! I experienced much America-hate. As a result of continuous harassment, I developed high blood pressure (240/110), bleeding from the nose several times a day. A few years later, my condition resulted in a heart attack and double by-pass surgery. I was described in the Sos. Ped. student newspaper as the worst thing that had happened to Sos. Ped. since the “University Evaluation Committee”. The Committee had been appointed to evaluate the Alternative Study from 1975 to the end of the test period in 1978. It was to decide whether Sos. Ped. should become a permanent discipline at the University. It was also written in the same newspaper that I was “hair in the soup”.

## **Majority Rules**

Fortunately, I had a good working relationship with Professor Eva Nordland, the faculty head of Soc. Ped. Because of the collaborative study where the majority rules, she was robbed of her influence and harassed. She was described in a lecture by a student assistant teacher as a “whore in relationship to her discipline.” Because of overwork, lack of faculty help, and continuous harassment, she was hospitalized after a slight stroke. A student who started a writing campaign against the harassment of teachers and students with different views from the AKP(ml)’ers and other radical students, was verbally attacked by a group of radical students. She suffered a nervous breakdown. Student assistants mostly lectured on the conflict between Sos. Ped. and PFI. Not much effort was devoted to developing social pedagogy as a discipline from the Marxist-Leninist orientation. Outside lecturers helped to develop the Study Alternative based on Eva Nordland’s vision.

An older student told me confidentially that he was sent by the Labor Party, who sympathized with Eva Nordland’s educational experiment, to monitor the development of the study program. It was the student’s belief that the radical students were trying to ruin Sos.Ped. To me this did not make sense. Why would they want to ruin the most radical study at the University? In his opinion, radical students would then prove that the University was an ultraconservative institution. Could he have been right? Meetings where important policy was adopted were held after 5 p.m., when few were in attendance. Since the majority ruled, students had more power than the faculty in deciding such things as teaching schedules. For instance, my class instruction was scheduled for 4 p.m. on Friday. Such was the climate at SPA at the beginning. Teaching capacity improved after several faculty members from PFI made their positions available to Sos. Ped. in the spring of 1977. The question remains: why did I stay in such a situation for almost two years? The answer is that I don’t scare easily, I didn’t want to give up, and I didn’t have any other job prospects.

## **From Hell to Heaven**

One day I received a call from Diakonhjemmet’s School for Social Work, asking if I would lead a project on “Evaluation of Social Workers Daily Practice” for a two- year period from 1977 to 1979. I had applied earlier for a position there without success. However, they liked the work I had done in rural sociology and offered me a job as a researcher. I said I would accept if I found a nursery school with a place for my two year-old daughter. The next few days I looked frantically for a nursery school. I

finally found one and accepted the position. I literally went from hell to heaven. I spent two years in an invigorating and intellectual environment.

### **Problems Trying to Obtain a Permanent Position**

Since my husband was in the Norwegian Foreign Service, I wanted to find a permanent position with liberal rules about leave of absence. The University was the best bet. An opening as Assistant Professor in Educational Sociology occurred at the Institute for Educational Research in 1979. I applied together with three other candidates. The selection committee regarded me with suspicion because I had been a lecturer at Sos. Ped. Two of the members who had evaluated my work for the position at Sos. Ped. and had praised my work, now concluded that I was not qualified for the new position even though I had in the meantime published a lot more. In my pursuit of a job, I also had obtained several evaluations of competence in different fields.

I later learned that the Institute had a particular person in mind for the position, but he had decided not to apply. Later he regretted his decision. The result was that none of the four candidates were judged qualified for the position. A long battle ensued. I was aided by feminist researchers who helped me write letters of complaint in my defense. I finally got the position after my application was reviewed by several faculty committees and administrative levels of the University.

### **Survival Strategies**

I was marginalized and given no position of importance within the Institute. For example, I was assigned the position of a safety deputy. Later, I was given the unpopular bureaucratic position of a curriculum director for a year. My survival strategy was to use my time on research, besides teaching and supervising students' Master's theses. As a result, I out-published most of my colleagues. I also made contacts with other researchers in the field of women's studies in Norway and abroad. My research emphasis on women's issues was regarded at the Institute as not the most relevant research topic. On the bright side, however, I was appointed by the Social Science Faculty to head the Women's Studies Program, "Gender and Society" (1989 – 1991), and was appointed the Vice Director for Equal Opportunities at the University (1991-1992).

My survival strategy paid me in good stead when a full professorship was advertised at the Institute in 1991. Six of the scientific staff applied for the position, as well as three outsiders. I applied, thinking that I would never get the position, but hoped that I would be evaluated as having "professor competence". To my surprise and to the surprise of others at the Institute, I was ranked number three behind two persons outside the Institute. The other candidates were not ranked. How was this possible that I was so highly ranked? The selection committee comprised of three foreigners who did not know any of the candidates. Had it been a selection committee of Norwegians, as an "outsider" I would not have had "a snowball's chance in hell", as the adage goes, of being ranked so high. Norway being so small, everybody in the same discipline knows each other and cliques are easily formed. A special government policy in 1992 made it possible for individuals who have received professor competence to obtain positions as professors. I received a full professorship in 1993.

### **Final Rewards**

By using the strategy of taking leaves of absence and concentrating my teaching and commuting between the University of Oslo and places where my husband was stationed in the Foreign Service, I was able to enrich my intellectual endeavors. In this way I became Visiting Scholar in Human Rights and Education at the Institute of Education, University of London; Visiting Scholar at the Murray Research Center at Radcliffe College, Harvard University; and Visiting Scholar at the Center for Behavioral Research at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon.

I concentrated on comparative research in the area of immigrant women, women in higher education, and women in Eastern Europe. Through my research on women's issues I became an activist. While my husband was stationed in Tallinn, Estonia, I co-founded the Estonian Women's Studies and Research Centre at Tallinn University in 1997, following two years of preparation, and became its Academic Director. My task was to train up a staff. I was also project leader for the book, *Carrying Linda's Stones: An Anthology of Estonian Women's Live Stories*, Tallinn University Press 2006. It is now

in its third printing. Before returning to Norway in late 2000, Tallinn University honored my work with a dinner and I was presented with a gift and the following letter by Rector Mait Arvisto.

*Dear Prof. Suzanne Lie,*

*On behalf of our university, I would like to express our appreciation and gratitude. It was a great pleasure to have you at our university, and the reason is very simple. You have changed our university. Thanks to you we now have a place that is intensively used, Women's Studies and Information Centre. It is the best women's studies library in the Baltic States. What is even more important is that you have changed our mentality. Now we are more democratic and gender sensitive.*

The Centre celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2007. I still have weekly, sometimes daily contact with the Centre. Despite considerable harassment, discrimination, and rejection at the Social Pedagogical Study Alternative and the Institute of Educational Research, I nevertheless managed to have a fruitful career. I retired as Professor Emerita in 2004.

### **Post Script – the Fate of Social Pedagogical Study Alternative**

In 1979 The University's Collegium decided that Sos. Ped. should continue as an independent study within the Institute for Educational Research but under the direction of a provisional committee outside the Institute. In 1983 this was replaced by a council within the Institute run by representatives from both study directions. As the differences between the two separate study directions were no longer so meaningful, the two study alternatives were united in 1990. Student recruitment had changed drastically since the 80s. The student AKP engagement was replaced by career orientated students who were more interested in completing their studies as soon as possible. The faculty at Sos. Ped. were exhausted by the endless meetings, little time for research and little time to develop their own research interests. Before and after her retirement in 1991 Eva Nordland continued her version of social pedagogy at the Folk University in Sandnes Commune.

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# PART 5: GLOBAL RADIATION HEALTH HAZARDS

## HEALTH HAZARDS CONNECTED TO ELECTROMAGNET RADIATION

*Sissel Halmøy, M.S. in Cybernetics, Secretary General Citizens' Radiation Protection and Chair International EMF Alliance, Norway*

*English summary by Nancy L. Coleman of Sissel Halmøy's PowerPoint presentation in Norwegian*

Participants discussed health risks in connection with cell phone use, and exchanged ideas about how to stage a national health campaign on health risks connected to cell phone use. Sissel Halmøy, Senior Advisor for Green Warriors of Norway at Norges miljøvernforbund, was responsible for this session.

In her presentation, Sissel Halmøy characterized electromagnetic radiation as today's most severe environmental threat. She discussed the health hazards connected to exposure to EMF, or electromagnetic fields, focusing on her own health problems as a result of working close to high voltage power lines for a number of years, and gave other examples of people who have suffered the consequences of the many sources of electromagnetic radiation that surround us all in modern society. Cell phones and wireless zones pose a particular threat, and the consequences may be dire. Virtually everyone is being exposed to electromagnetic radiation through use of cell phones, wireless land line telephones and wireless computer networks.

Halmøy explained non-ionizing electromagnetic radiation. There are two main groups, low frequency and high frequency. Appliances connected to the mains belong to the low frequency group, while wireless appliances belong to the high frequency group. Low frequency radiation comes from high voltage cables, transformers, heating coils, alarm radios, razors, stoves, vacuum cleaners, irons, hair dryers, trains, trams, and subways. High frequency radiation comes from wireless network antennas, transmission equipment in wireless PCs, wireless phones and their base stations, antennas for cell phones, cell phones themselves, radar, and radio/TV transmitters.

Halmøy addressed the question of how children are being affected, and recommended that parents show caution in giving cell phones to their children. An example of a youngster who has serious health problems as a result of exposure to electromagnetic radiation is Gaute, age 12. He cannot go to school, and he has to wear a shield to protect him from radiation from cell phones and WLAN (wireless local area network). There are also teachers who can no longer work in a school environment. The journal *Utdanning* recently ran a feature article about the health risks from wireless computer technology in the schools. Another example is Rolf Gjelsvik, an engineer who became ill due to radiation exposure at the office. He can no longer work in such an environment.

Despite these cases, many authorities and individuals are not willing to recognize adverse effects from electromagnetic radiation. Halmøy cited Lars Klæbo, who said there is no research to show adverse effects on human health, and Merete Hannevik, who said there is no reason to fear adverse effects of electromagnetic radiation.

But many governments and European organizations recommend caution. A precautionary principle has been adopted by several instances. It states that if an action or policy has suspected risk of causing harm to the public or to the environment, in the absence of a scientific consensus that harm would not ensue, the burden of proof falls on those who would advocate taking the action.

- The EEA strongly advises the precautionary principle based on the BioInitiative Report
- Belgium has reduced acceptance values
- Paris closed 225 wireless access points in libraries
- Salzburg has acceptance values of 1/1,000,000 of those in Norway
- Germany strongly advises that radiation levels be kept as low as possible, and 3G systems have been prohibited in several cities

- France advises against use of cell phones by pregnant women and children
- The EU Parliament decided in 2008 that the threshold values of EMR were obsolete and should be reevaluated, and in April, 2009, it decided on a radical precautionary principle

Symptoms of health problems related to electromagnetic exposure include problems with concentration, stress, memory problems, sleeplessness, general fatigue and exhaustion. Diffuse symptoms appear over time and can lead to various forms of cancer, an increased risk of Alzheimer's disease, asthma and allergy. Research has also shown DNA damage, skin rashes, leakage in the blood-brain barrier, and adverse effects on insects, birds and plants. More information on this research may be found in the BioInitiative Report, available at [www.bioinitiative.org](http://www.bioinitiative.org). See also [www.stralevern.no](http://www.stralevern.no) or [www.felo.no](http://www.felo.no) for further information.

## PART 6: METHODOLOGY AND PLANNED ACTION

### GENDER AND FAMILY POLICY IN LITHUANIA

*Giedre Purvaneckiene, Associate Professor, Educationalist, Vilnius University, Lithuania*

#### Achievements of Lithuanian gender equality

- Lithuania is known as a country making huge progress in gender equality issues:
- In 1998, the Law on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men was adopted.
- the Office of Equal Opportunities Ombudsman was established in 1999.
- The first Governmental Programme on the Advancement of Women was adopted in 1996, and since then similar programs followed one after another. Recent programs were substantially financed from the state budget.
- Since 1994, Gender equality machinery was gradually expanded (with up-and-downs).
- In 2007, the Rank of Gender-related development index (GDI), was 38th (out of 167 countries), the Gender empowerment measure (GEM) – 25th (out of 93) (UNDP, 2007).
- EU Gender Equality Institute.

#### Family policy

Family policy during the past years was shifting to the policy of socialdemocratic welfare state model:

Oriented towards dual-earners family

Universal benefits

Long child-care leaves with high percentage of salary compensation

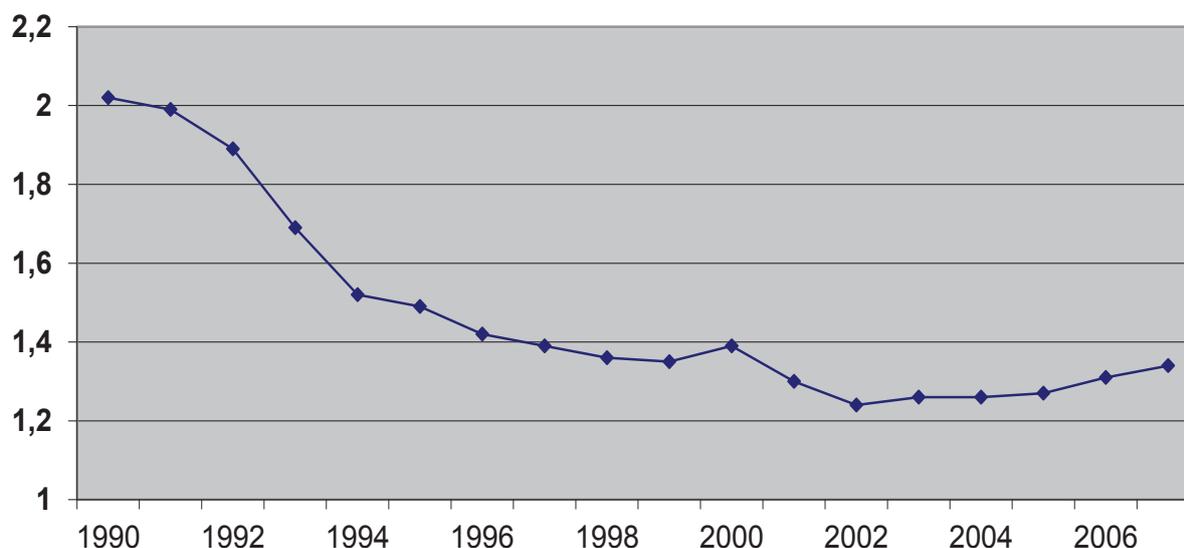
Equal rights of both parents to child-care leaves,

Father's leave, etc.,

Family support schemes were being improved following Nordic examples.

(A coalition government led by the Social Democrats has run the country the past 7 years.)

#### Total fertility rate (TFR)



**Political context 2006-2008**

- Center-left minority Government headed by Prime Minister from Social democrat party.
- The majority right-wing opposition in Parliament
- Later on, due to shifts of few parliamentarians from opposition to position, position had one-vote preponderance.
- Women comprised 33 Parliament members out of 141, i.e. 23.4%.
- 15 women belonged to position coalition
- 18 - to opposition.
- 8 women could be regarded as left-wing (social democrat faction), 6 - purely right-wing (conservatives), 19 belonged to other factions, center-oriented or populist.
- Influence of the Catholic Church
- Upcoming elections

**Three legal acts**

- The Concept of Family Policy (was adopted by the Parliament on 3rd June, 2008)
- The Law on Basics of Family Support (approved after first reading in Parliament on 09/10/2007)
- The Law on Protection of Life in Prenatal Phase (approved after first reading in Parliament on 20/12/2007)

**The concept of Family Policy**

Conception of Lithuanian Family Policy (Approved by the Government on 08/03/1996)

Definitions of family:

Spouses and their children (adopted children), if any (2008)

Community of individuals, linked up together by kinship, interdependence, responsibility or care relations, legitimized by the law or socially accepted order (1996).

Reproductive rights.

**The Concept of Family Policy – final voting results**

Faction	No	For	Against	Abst.
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	38	8	4	12
Liberal and Centre Union	10			
New Union (Social Liberals)	9			5
Peasants and People's	14	11		
Homeland Union (conservatives)	26	22		
Labour Party	23	17		
Liberals Movement	9	1	2	1
Non-affiliated members	1	1		
Order and Justice (Liberal Democrats)	11	9		1
	140	69	6	24

**The Law on Basics of Family Support (project)**

- Presumes definition of the family according to the Concept
- Contradicts to all Human rights conventions;
- Highly discriminatory towards women, children, and men;
- Clearly prescribes woman the role of the homemaker, and the whole responsibility for the family;
- All support to children 15% higher, if they are raised “in a Family”
- Supportive towards the richest – compensations for services by decreasing income taxes;
- To split pensions (PAYG) into two parts, one of them directly proportional to children’s income
- To change Children Rights Ombudsman to Family Rights Ombudsman with the right to accept individual complaints towards other individuals who prevent to enshrine family values.

**The Law on Basics of Family Support – voting results (after first reading)**

Faction	No	For	Against	Abst.
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party	38	6	1	5
New Union (Social Liberals)	9	3	1	
Peasants and People’s	14	9		
Homeland Union	26	17		
Labour Party	23	12		
Liberals Movement	9	3		1
Order and Justice (Liberal democrats)	11	5		
	(140)	55	2	6



## QUESTIONS REGARDING FEMINIST METHODOLOGY AND FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS

*Nancy Barron, Ph.D., retired psychologist on health services in USA, Goldendale, Washington, USA*

I began with two questions:

1. How have feminists informed methodology and rules of evidence?
2. How can we make gendered findings more effective toward feminist goals?

Research and politics are two different systems. My premises are that, with regard to rules of evidence:

1. Findings are as good as their methodology (research),
2. Findings are as good as their actionability (politics)
3. Actionability depends on translation (our feminist consciousness)

Speaking from my experience, in the 1960s, I was working on a dissertation on the sex-typed deep structure of language. From my consciousness raising, I had a crisis of faith and nearly left the field of psychology because I knew the workings of research well, and the tremendous gap between the content findings and their patriarchal interpretation was such a disillusionment.

In the 1970s, I entered “program evaluation” because the Nixon administration stopped money in socio-linguistics and put it into evaluation of social programs. Program evaluation was a variety of action research, and the researchers such as Carol Weiss cared about “raising the level of the political debate” with the findings. I was most involved in the program auditing of the federal community mental health center (CMHC) program at the state level in cooperation with central and regional federal staff. Some of the premises of the CMHC program were that it should be focused on the local community, should base its services on assessment of population groups’ needs as well as client clinical needs, and that these resulting services should be accessible, affordable, and appropriate. I had many opportunities on a small scale to influence services to women and men from a feminist consciousness.

In the 1980s, I worked as an administrator-evaluator in emergency mental health services for a large urban county. Here I was able to be of some small feminist influence in such areas as police training including domestic violence. Also, as an individual citizen, I developed Ample Opportunity, a community-based group which advocated for the health and happiness of fat women. In this multi-faced community intervention against female oppression, I was able to foster feminist consciousness raising and solidarity, healthy lifestyle activities, and social action and to popularize and critique research findings on fatness, health, and social attitudes. I was able to teach university courses about this .

In the 1990s, I was involved in national multi-site evaluation research on systems of care for alcohol and drug abusers and in communicating findings to professionals and politicians. I also had a small psychotherapy practice of feminist therapy.

In light of my experience as a feminist social psychologist operating predominately in government, I believe that some of my research-based knowledge has been useful in advancing conceptualizations of women’s needs and development of appropriate services. On the other hand, I experienced continually the sexism within the systems and sought more effective ways of using research findings for feminist goals.

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Turning now to literature on methodology, I briefly commented on two articles. The first is by Eagly, Alice H. 1995. The science and politics of comparing women and men. *American Psychologist*, 50 (3), 145-158. She speaks of possible alpha bias – to exaggerate sex differences (essentialists) and beta bias – to minimize sex differences (interactionists-roles), and attempts to avoid them. She mentions, and counters, four areas of criticism often levelled at research on sex differences (mostly from quantitative research), namely that results are:

1. too small – *effect sizes* are mostly small to medium. This is similar to other esteemed areas of psychological research;
2. too unstable, contextual – again, this is similar to other psychological areas;
3. artifactual, context is not taken into account, e.g., at first, sex of the experimenter and of the subjects were confounded, but such effects can often be unconfounded;
4. inconsistent with stereotypes – however, popular beliefs measured were consistent with findings of women as communal, socially sensitive, friendly, concerned with others and men as agentive, dominant, controlling, independent.

She recommends that interpretations always consider interactions and such measures as proportion of variance accounted for. She explains that even small effects matter and that one should also consider the proportion of a given group which fall above the median or the percent of one group's members, randomly chosen, which have scores greater than the other group's members. (Some non-parametric tests are based on such questions.

She asks 'Must differences become deficiencies?' Gender stereotypes not seen as negative by many. Their uses can be positive; e.g. to analyze underlying processes and train differentially in gendered abilities.

Should we reduce sex role research because politically too hot? NO! Data still count as evidence for change. Eagly recommends enlisting psychologists to be involved in research oriented toward feminist goals who wish to serve human welfare as well as advance science.

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Be an edgewalker! Translate data into actionable statements! Use information well!

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Guidelines are emerging for qualitative and quantitative research and application

Cole, Elizabeth R. 2009. Intersectionality and research in psychology. *American Psychologist*, 64 (3), 170-180.

Feminist and other human rights proponents have made inroads on methodological validity for women.

INTERSECTIONALITY means to consider the meaning and consequence of *multiple* social categories (race (ethnicity), class, gender, sexuality) regarding identity, difference, and disadvantage. She proposes three questions of any research:

1. Who is included (& excluded) – no pseudo-generalizations are allowed, for instance, in research on only men, or only college sophomores
2. What role does inequality play – one good example of this is from Sojourner Truth: "Ain't I a woman?"
3. What similarities are there among disparate groups – for instance, the coalition of interest around family or marriage initiatives of unmarried heterosexuals, lesbian and gay couples, divorced persons, and female-headed households.

She maintains that intersectionality is neutral toward quantitative techniques of interactions and hierarchical analysis and asserts that intersectionality is relevant to each step of the research process: Her excellent Table 1 illustrates the three questions for generation of hypotheses, sampling, operationalization, analysis, and interpretation of findings.

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Recommendations: Back to rules of evidence, translating findings to action, whether you are a researcher or a research user:

- RETHINK categories with intersectional lens;
- Communicate, translate, interpret findings;
- Make sure the methodology lets you answer the above three questions;
- Consider race (ethnicity), class, gender, sexuality;
- Look “upstream” (social categories) as well as “downstream” (individual differences) for interpretation and causality;
- Consider the particularity of sample and of diversity within it;
- Press home findings and what they mean to politics;
- MAINTAIN FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS IN THESE PROCESSES.

### Conclusions

As we develop more relevant, more useful methods, more actionable findings emerge, usable to benefit women and men according to feminist activist goals.

My question for our discussion was how can we become more effective in promoting feminist goals through our research?

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In discussion, it emerged that, rather than develop a consensus for what feminist language to use for women studies, gender studies, etc., it is very useful to understand the varieties of definitions and uses of these terms. We can then use that understanding of the social context of the terms to assure the promotion of research and application from a feminist consciousness.



## FORWARD-LOOKING ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

*Paola Melchiori, Ph.D., Free Women's University, Italy and International Feminist University Network, Philosopher*

Positioning myself from International Feminist University IFUN, I work with small international groups on the analysis of experiences related to a certain theme inside the globalisation effects, researching on differences among experiences, in order to give a different perspective about what is happening in various areas of the world.

We have learned to do this international transcultural work mainly applying feminist methodology of consciousness-raising internationally, and not only to ourselves but also in regard to how differently more objective realities are experienced.

We do this in relation not only to what is happening economically, culturally or ideologically but also (and mostly) by trying to highlight the patriarchal aspects of these phenomena, also identifying how women are resisting change, or what they are doing as agents of change.

First let me say why **this is a precious occasion** to meet:

The reasons are at least **three**:

a. Our opportunities to arrange global meetings with some “freedom of speech “ from institutions, tasks, disciplines or whatsoever is imposed on us have become rarer and rarer. What is rare is the “**globality of the frame**”, the non-specialization, and the possibility to meet deciding frameworks, themes, and ways of approaching them. The UN Conferences in the nineties, whether we liked them or not, were paradoxically very political, also in our favour, so to say. They were a unique opportunity to meet, confront diversities and build up international perspectives. The fact that we had to quickly take a stand, a position, obliged us to confront and make alliances on the main issues. We did not decide the issues but having a focus every time, we were obliged to update an analysis of the reality, and identify different positions. The **outputs for us**, which have nothing to do with the institutionally lobbied results, in the long run, were invaluable: the creation of networks and methods to really confront our diversities in a synergetic way, building up a political framework able to keep together diversities, and have commonly shared strategic actions when alliances were needed. This “internationality” operated also “nationally”, as it gave a lot of strength to local women and movements, which could think of themselves as part of a movement and not a bunch of crazy women lost in the middle of nowhere. The women's movement which originated from that built a model of being *local* and *global* and *international* at the same time, and this model came to fruition, even in the Social Forums. Now these occasions are rarer for us, nobody has UN resources; there are many international meetings but very specialized or disciplinarily framed or more professionalized. The Women's World's and AWID (Association for Women's Rights in Development) are among the few, but the political international and mostly **global** perspective is difficult to maintain. The meetings inside the Social Forums, for its characteristics, could be a sample of these spaces if we are able to overcome the thematic fragmentation in the way it is generally organized.

b. The second reason is that this space is also a **microcosm** of the difficulties we find elsewhere and everywhere, as women and feminists, as we work in the society and in the world. Perhaps we thought that because of **ideological reasons**, this was a more protected space. It is not. The ones of us who at the beginning thought this would have been a space where we could more easily discuss and analyse gender biases, masculinity, make alliances with conscious men about our issues, had to realize that this is not the case. (Leftist) patriarchy is there too, and one thing is **to agree that women are the victims** in our society, to identify another **vulnerable group**; another is to recognize practices, proposals, give them agency, space, value. The ones of us who started the “Women's Dialogues” after the first Social Forums were soon sick and tired of reducing our agency to struggle for a seat or an intervention in a round table instead of focusing on an interacting perspective.

c. Finally, we are in a particularly **conjuncture**. Despite the incredible amount of work going on everywhere, in an incredible variety of forms, despite the fact that women are mostly leading the social movements everywhere or are an essential bone, a pillar of them, theirs is still perceived as “**social work**”, “**domestic work in society**” instead of in a family. **In public spaces**, although a wall has been broken and female bodies are circulating as possessed by thinking persons, women get still in power through enlightened men, (as we could perhaps at least consider in the case of Zapatero, or through husbands and fathers, Clinton, Kirshner, etc.) And the right wing was smarter than the left to understand the potential of women imaginary in politics. So the spaces we have gained in the public landscape is now taken for and from the women from the right. Moreover it seems that in the social or public imagination, we are caught between the religious mixture of symbolic exaltation and total sacrifice. This is a subtle form of **neopatriarchy**, mainly active under the already achieved universalism of rights, under the saying that “feminism is over” and does not need to be there because “equality is there”. **In the first version**, the one from the right, our gained freedom is used to take away freedom of women to come, **in the second it becomes unnecessary and invisible**. So we are caught between religious, raging fundamentalisms and modern glass ceilings of many kinds, be it at work or in politics, not to talk about the **raging misogyny** where the “private” feeling of **dependence and need ends in violence**. We face in some way, again and again, the tricky nature of patriarchy: it being a structure of self-defence against any self-perception of weakness or difficulty by the means of “reversing the picture”, making the fiction the reality. It is our intellectual duty to put reality back in its foundation, reversing the picture, even before alternative practices can be thought up and reinvented.

Just to briefly recall: as in the beginning where the origins from the mother have been recreated in favour of an omnipotent father having all the mother attributes. So patriarchy has to continuously maintain and recreate itself against any material evidence. So all the material work of women, the gift economy that maintains human beings alive, not to speak of the subsistence economy which keeps societies alive, have to be cancelled and recreated in favour of a market economy.

And this happens more or less in different ways in any field. A system of denegation has naturalised itself through a process of denegation and reincorporation, material and symbolical. And the more fragile and difficult this system becomes to sustain, against evidence that comes from the reality, the more violence is necessary to keep it going. This is the real meaning of the resurgent and more evident and stronger wave of violence against women.

I think it is clear to everybody that the joint attack from fundamentalisms and the invisibility in the left movements just show the desperate need and use of women as one of the last resources, in their social /domestic/ emotional work. **The solidarity between fundamentalism and modern neoliberalism is built again on witch-hunts**. A good patriarchal **glue** holds strongly together the most ancestral fundamentalism with **the neoliberal** (rogue) economics where every need becomes the occasion for a possible business, where a process of democratisation in Eastern Europe results in the opening of sex markets for women and increased violence, because of their loss of any contractual power in the family after women’s jobs have disappeared. The results are the same: poverty, slavery, and violence.

Patriarchy is not rigid. It is very flexible and changeable, ready to change everything in order to be sure that nothing really changes, and market economy is ready to do the same. They make and have good alliances. Today they are both in difficulty, for internal reasons and for women awakening. To keep the oppressed in their position, the traditional systems are always ok: an alternance of suppression and cooptation. The best is where the same victims carry on a project of total self-denial or when the spaces of resistance and cooptation are being self-eliminated because of internal divisions.

This paradoxical situation is well exemplified in the “US elections theatre” where the “woman card” is played so cleverly by the right, at the same time when feminist perspectives on power and public spaces are difficult to be identified. Whatever we can say about Hillary and the others women Presidents or women candidates personalities, is that they make visible the difficulty of a position. Whatever we think about this “theatre of democracy” in these public spaces, and call for the substantial democracy of

the social arena, we cannot just ignore them. They are revelatory of issues at stakes, of empty spaces to be filled, of paths not practicable so easily, which a populist right will easily fill. If the public space has opened up, for us, slightly, who is more taking advantage of it and is also smartly able to use it well for their own purposes, as the Palin phenomenon shows, is the fundamentalist militarist right, able to use the model of total classic femininity plus the mother imaginary played against women, in order to feed the most militarised and armed project possible.

Palin embodies an interesting androgynous model: Palin the hunter, the sportswoman, also lover of hockey - *and* the mother - the hyper fundamentalist denying abortion in any circumstance, coming to the forum with the child with Down Syndrome, Palin the religious woman, the neo-liberal against environmentalists and for oil drilling Alaska. Palin who can open a speech saying that “make up” is the difference between a loving mother and a pit bull...Palin who sends checks from oil earnings around in her State, playing totally her possibilities *thanks to* a women’s liberation movement whose gains she is preparing to erase. It is the good use of sexualised imagination in populism. Only a mother, hidden in her domestic work, can evoke with some credibility the poorest, the hard workers “down there” in marginal Alaska, the people who do “hidden work for the rest of the nation”, the “forgotten”. Very dangerous.

In the case of South Africa the mechanism of “divide and conquer” works. In a country where women wrote one of the most advanced Constitutions, they find themselves today having a leftist *and* populist candidate, the only possible one, who is also a rapist, able to say, in a country devastated by HIV, that he does not use contraceptives “because a shower is enough”. It is ending up in the worst division among women on the left, and in a wave of raging misogyny, which affects the desperate campaign against HIV, also spreading the old stereotypes of witches as holders of the disease and at the same time the danger of feminists as the new witches. Women put against each other, in the middle of a national emergency.

In both cases women and feminists are in trouble, even women who really want to make and show a difference have difficulties to express this difference in terms of contents and practices. It is a problem of **position**, not only of personal capabilities, of a special conjuncture. And part of this is the **responsibility of a left** that not only has lost any vision or horizon for itself after the communist collapse, but which has been totally unable to see the potentiality of the women’s movement proposals and analysis, even if it has caught many of its practices. Women’s perspectives are in many cases the **revelatory** of the interface where the daily life, the concreteness of individuals gets in contact with the public space. That old slogan about private and political was a theoretical and political project, which is systematically being ignored and is today as important as it was yesterday, perhaps in another sense. . It has happened in Italy with the last elections, where the populist projects won so immensely because they were able to catch and represent imagined and true human needs: for security, for a decent, respected life. When denied, these needs, like a river, take the channel that is open and possible. The left systematically ignores all that in favour of abstractions, ideology, and perhaps because of the difficulty to rebuild a global horizon inside globalisation. We are in an era of biopolitics, where people ask the state for protection, and women are specialists on those issues!

**It is time to make a balance of that**, see what we have to treasure from our past movement, what has to change, what is already changed, what is our task today In this perspective the so-called trans-generational dialogue has never been so important as now. For example I don’t know well beyond hints what is happening in **Spain** and Norway or **Sweden** and it would be important for that reason to know that...from this perspective, in spaces where women seem to have to struggle less to be accepted in public arenas.

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 So we have **this occasion here**, in the Social Forum, in this space, where can we stand to take forward what we have just started, how to identify as in all movements **what has to be protected/** preserved/ abandoned and instead reopened? What has so radically changed to ask for a change of our perspectives, or our practices?

I don’t think we have other possibilities but to “stay attached” to our **practices**, our **methodologies**, **our epistemology**, **the knowledge we have questioned and recreated**, **what our experiences tell us**, and keep us from hearing and seeing them.

Let me highlight just some perspectives and practices, which are **already there, happening**, in the shadow, as such things normally do, because a lot of work is being done already. But where is it going? How to make it more effective and at least visible in this context? Visible in the sense of interacting as an analytical perspective, with real strength. A real strength of a movement against oppression is the capability to **redefine the issues, to change the priorities and ways of organizing**, which is what we did in the seventies. If we tackle patriarchy as an essential component of the “essential spirit of capitalism”, issues are already re-defined. Our methodology was to start from experiences, to refuse disciplinarily disciplined and fragmented knowledge, it was to refuse dualisms: between public and private, between daily and big issues... It was to be able to make sense of differences and give them a meaning, to use international perspectives as a knowledge tool, essential to understand also local issues. In brief to legitimise other linkages between the experience and its theorization, the body and the mind, linkages more able to really describe what is happening in the reality of the individual and of the society. With that we were able to build up a global movement to go back and forth from local to global, from the very specific to the very general, and to refuse fragmentation, to be at the same time very specific and very holistic, in another way, to pull the hidden thread that links apparently very different and distant phenomena, like militarism and private violence, like state policies and migrant women traffic, between the interplay of masculinities and international politics.

Where others see nationalism, racism, exclusion, capitalism, we have been able to see patriarchy. **Nobody else can do that in our place.** It is not in men's interest no matter how well oriented. Remember in the attack against Iraq, remember the Wolfowitz doctrine all based on the contraposition between Venus (Europe) and Mars (the USA)? It was totally played on the sexualised imaginary of the feminine Europe against the brave male US able to really *make a decision in danger*, and *go ahead and not hesitate*, (or stop to think?); these imaginaries are totally used in the anti immigration policies, or in the exaltation of nationalistic issues to increase localism and racism. These imaginations were played in the case of the Afghanistan invasion, meant to “free the women there”. And what happened afterwards? To see patriarchy it is enough to shed light on “**what happens or happened afterwards**”, what happened to women in Afghanistan afterwards, what happened to Albanian women after democracy, it is enough to make visible the *day after*. In this perspective the same definition of war and peace changes: what happens in the families after men come back from war, in Iraq, all of ex-Yugoslavia, where is peace? Where is war? What happened after ...the Berlin wall collapsed, **what happened to women? What about the wave of forced prostitution that brought women to slavery coming to West Europe to be trafficked or take care of our old people and save the possibility for us to live as free women? This means we have to refuse a vulnerable group approach, which seems so difficult even in this space, it means for example not only to show solidarity or compassion towards women as victims of violence, but to be able to show the political meaning of violence against women, of trafficking in the general and social economy. Economy of goods, economy of emotions, economy of men's survival.** Definitions like peace/war, security, and justice are different when we look in this perspective, from where the women are, which function they fulfil, and how would they define the issue, from the position they find themselves in. The same is true for virtually every issue. **Other definitions have to come to the forefront: for example the present definition of security implies the total denial of the basic situation of a human being, which IS vulnerability**, which means interdependence and dependence from each other and the “comparative advantage” of collaboration instead of war...

Some issues have already been redefined many years ago, and also some tools resulted from this, some good laws, but the strength to have those laws came from having a high perspective and goals.

From those perspectives very **practical decisions come out**. What to give priority to, how to highlight these perspectives, in which areas mostly, and what that could mean for state policies, for priorities in resource allocations between military races and social issues. And so on...

“As long as we have a vulnerable group approach we will have vulnerable groups competing with each other for the few resources thrown their way rather than change our economic priorities to change the size of resources we have.”, my South African friend Pregs Govender writes.

## What does this mean here, in this context? In our day?

From my point of view this means:

a. Stay close to our methodology of experience: holistic, not fragmented, multilayered, but very specific also in another way, to be able to collect real experiences, meaning also: redefining what is really **concrete**.

b. Do not accept the **confusion between patriarchy and capitalism**:

Where the others see capitalism, nationalism, racism, be able to show the patriarchal layer, which is older. It will not go away with progress, the fact that capitalism invades all aspects of the pre-modern world.

c. **Do not accept the bigger picture approach**: the bigger picture is patriarchy

d. Do not accept **the alternative** between separatism and working together with men.

It is now a sign of the times that women work normally in a mixed arena, it is a sign of ease and influence and respect. However the movement still lives on the leftovers of the radical insights of the seventies, made possible by **a reversing of perspective, made** possible by women redefining **the issues** and **their issues in their own way**, which would never have been possible in a mixed space, because very materialistically, men do not have the same **interests** in this respect, or the deep need to dismantle patriarchy while for women it is a condition for survival. **Empathy is not experience** and we also don't have to become empathetic toward ourselves: our strength came from **experience** of those things, from sharing, not from compassion or self-empathy.

e. We have to keep the **conditions and the spaces** in order to reverse perspectives, and redefine the issues, the priorities and the ways of organizing.

## Conclusion

All this **is for me the condition for a redefinition of politics**: reversing, rethinking the main concepts on which it is based, the main issues implied in it.



## PART 7: PARTICIPANTS AND PROGRAM

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# PROGRAM FOR THE SECOND NORDIC FEMINIST UNIVERSITY SUMMER SCHOOL, 2009

 <p><b>Invitation to the Second Nordic Feminist University Summer School</b> From August 10 -13, 2009</p> <p>Location: Rosenlund Park, 2340 Løten (Previously the site of the Women's University in Norway) (For travel and accommodation information see the bottom of this sheet)</p> <p><b>Program:</b> <b>Sunday evening, August 9<sup>th</sup></b> Arrival, Registration, Getting Acquainted</p>	<p><b>Tuesday, August 11<sup>th</sup></b> 09:00 "Has gender research contributed to women's liberation?" Kaarina Kailo, Paola Melchiori and Giedre Purvaneckiene 12:00 -13:30 Lunch 14:30 continued: - Panel discussion – "How can Women's Studies deliver premises for feminist initiatives" 18.00 Dinner Cultural events and individual networking</p> <p><b>Wednesday, August 12<sup>th</sup></b> 9:00 "Women's conditions as refugees and immigrants from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> worlds:" Introduction - Session leader Suzanne Lie 9:15 "Women in critical life situations: Conditions of women in Iraq and Iran" Azada Ibrahim Said Ali (Rahmati ) (questions and discussion)</p> <p>11.00 "Third World immigrant women's experiences of discrimination in Scandinavia" 12:00 -13:30 Lunch 14:00-15.30 Panel discussion – "Third World immigrant women's experiences of discrimination in Scandinavia" - continued 15.30-17.30 Panel discussion – "Western women's experiences of discrimination in Scandinavia" 18:00 Dinner Cultural events and individual networking</p>	<p><b>Historical introduction:</b> The first Feminist University Summer School "Dancing on Roses" took place at Nordens Folkhögskola, Kungälv, Sweden, August 12 -17, 2006. The seminar was a joint venture of the Feminist Universities in Norway, Italy and IFUN (International Feminist University). The seminar stressed the feminist view on patriarchy, militarism, fundamentalism and the destruction of the environment. A free report from this conference can be ordered from Bibbi Steinertz, Bredagatan 6 11521 Stockholm, tel. +46 86679727, e-mail: <a href="mailto:kff@telia.com">kff@telia.com</a> This report is a good background for the Second Feminist University Summer School.</p> <p><b>Application for participation</b></p> <p>Invitations to the Summer School will be sent to women in Scandinavia and Aland, Island, the Faeroes, Greenland, Lapland, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. Participants pay for accommodation, 2,000 Norwegian kroner . Travelling expenses are paid by the participants. The last day for entry is July 15, 2009. For application, travel information and payment for the summer school conference, contact a) e-mail: <a href="mailto:asberit1@online.no">asberit1@online.no</a> Tel. until July 1 : +47 66846165 In July : +47 75055308 or write to Berit Ås Jørnstadveien 30 : b) You can also ask for information at <a href="mailto:kff@telia.com">kff@telia.com</a>, or call Bibbi Steinertz, tel. +46 86679727 Bredagatan 6 11521 Stockholm. Upon receiving your application travel information (map and train /bus schedules) and how to pay for accommodation will be sent to you.</p> <p><b>With sisterly greetings,</b> <b>Berit Ås and Suzanne Lie</b></p> <p><b>*Changes in the program might take place.</b></p>
<p><b>Monday, August 10<sup>th</sup></b> 09:00 "Welcome speech" by Berit Ås 9:30 – 10:30 "On Patriarchy" Gudrun Schyman 10:30 Comments from the Panel on the consequences of patriarchy e.g. wage differences, violence against women, unpaid work, differences in political leadership, restrictions on women's freedom of movement, feminization of poverty - Session leader Berit Ås 12:00-14:00 Lunch 14:30 "Women in Crisis in war and its aftermath: The Case of Estonia" Ilvi Joe-Cannon 15:00 continued - Comments from the Panel on the consequences of war, militarism, destruction of the environment, etc. – Session leader Suzanne Lie 18:00 Dinner Cultural events and individual networking</p>	<p><b>Thursday, August 13<sup>th</sup>:</b> 9:00 "How to stage a national health campaign against mobile telephones focusing on health risks" Sissel Halmuy Discussion "Plan of action - How to do it?" Promoter Berit Ås 12:00 -13:30 Lunch 14:00 – 17:00 "Summing up : Updating patriarchy" Paola Melchiori (Written proposals are welcomed). Departure</p> <p>Board and working group for the Second Feminist Summer School Berit Ås, Prof. Emerita, social scientist (Norway) Suzanne Lie, Prof. Emerita, educational sociologist (Norway) Kaari Kailo, Prof. Women's Studies (Finland) Ewa Back, Styreleder: Kvinno Universitetet Sundsvall/Timrå (Sweden) Paola Melchiori, PhD Philosophy and Anthropology The seminar will be conducted in English only.</p>	

## PARTICIPANTS AT KUNGÄLV, SWEDEN, IN AUGUST 2006

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The two conferences: Feminist Summer Schools I and II have been of the greatest importance for the establishment of the Nordic Women's University the 11th of January

2011. The new University will serve all the 12 regions from which participants were invited for the summer schools. Denmark, Estonia, Finland, the Faeroes, Greenland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden, Sápmi (Sameland) and the Åland Islands.

## **AGREEMENT OF INTENTION TO ESTABLISH A NORDIC FEMINIST UNIVERSITY**

Approved at Løten, Norway, August 13, 2009

Participants at the Second Feminist University Summer School, August 10-13, 2009, which took place at the site of the former Norwegian Women's University at Løten, agree on the following:

We intend to establish the Nordic Feminist University in the near future (Nordisk kvinneuniversitet), based generally on the BYLAWS of the former Norwegian Women's University bylaws (approved in 1989) and the International Feminist University Network's bylaws (approved in 2002 at Treviso, Italy), starting the activities in Finland, Norway and Sweden through regular, annual Feminist Summer Schools.

Maria Antonić, Kvinnouniversitetet Sundsvall, Sweden; Socialdemokratiska Kvinnor i Sundsvall

Maj-Lis Persson, Kvinnouniversitetet Sundsvall, Sweden; TCO Västernorrland; Lokalt Resurscentrum for Kvinnor, LRC, Sundsvall

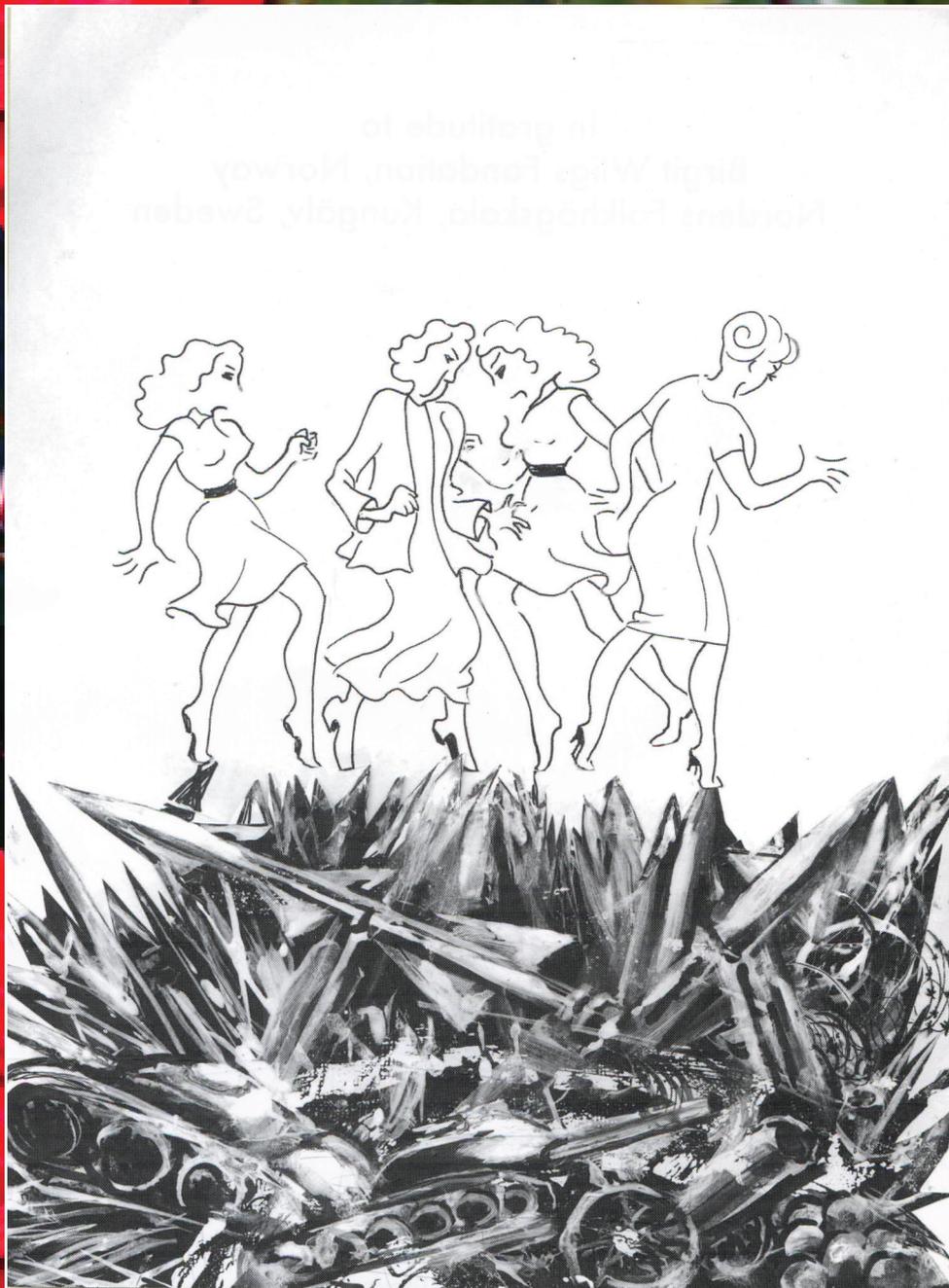
Berit Ås, professor emerita, former member of the Norwegian Parliament, founder of the Norwegian Women's University (1983), first woman leader of a Norwegian political party, first of Demokratiske sosialister - AIK in 1973, then of its successor the Socialist Left Party in 1975

Kaarina Kailo, former principal and associate professor of Simone de Beauvoir Institute, Concordia University, Montreal Canada

Leena Eräsaari, professor, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

# DANCING ON ROSES II

**A Feminist View of Patriarchal Militarism,  
Immigrants, Fundamentalism and Health Hazards**



Report of an International Seminar at the Women's  
University at Løten, Norway  
August 2009