INTRODUCTION
GENDERING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

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KEYWORDS

ABSTRACT

THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF CONJUNCTIONS BEARS THE TITLE FEMINISM, GENDER, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND EVERYDAY RESISTANCE. THIS INTRODUCTION WILL ANALYSE CHOSEN RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE FOUR PHENOMENA, AMONGST OTHERS BY SHOWING HOW FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS HAVE MADE A SUBSTANTIAL IMPACT ON DIFFERENT SOCIETIES AND CULTURES ALL OVER THE WORLD AND HAVE INSPIRED THE PROTEST REPERTOIRES AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS OF BOTH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND MORE INFORMAL FORMS OF EVERYDAY RESISTANCE. THE INTRODUCTION INTRODUCES, EXPLORES AND LINKS THE INTERSECTIONAL TURN IN FEMINISM, DIFFERENT THEORIES OF EVERYDAY RESISTANCE AND THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN POLITICS AND RESISTANCE. AFTER MAPPING OUT THIS MORE GENERAL THEORETICAL LANDSCAPE OF GENDERED ACTIVISM, THE INTRODUCTION INTRODUCES AND REFLECTS ON A NUMBER OF THE RECURRING THEMES IN THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS SPECIAL ISSUE. THESE THEMES ARE 'MEDIATISED ACTIVISM', 'MOBILISATION OF AFFECT', 'ONLINE MISOGYNY AND REACTIONARY MOVEMENTS OF THE FAR RIGHT', 'THE BODY AS A POLITICAL SITE' AND 'CITIZENSHIP AND THE RIGHTS TO HAVE RIGHTS'. BY SHOWING HOW FEMINISM AND FEMINIST THEORY HAVE DEVELOPED OVER TIME THROUGH DIFFERENT MOVEMENTS, ACTORS AND DIFFERENT FORMS OF ACTIVISM WORKING TO PROMOTE MORE EQUAL POLITICAL, CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL GENDERS, THE INTRODUCTION ALSO RAISES MORE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THEORY AND ACTIVISM. AMONGST OTHERS IT SHOWS THAT THE WAY WE DEFINE AND UNDERSTAND POLITICS AND WHAT WE RECOGNISE AND ACKNOWLEDGES AS POLITICS IS IN ITSELF A POLITICAL ACT AND AN IMPORTANT PART OF THE POLITICS OF KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION.

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The many feminisms

Feminism and feminist theory have continuously been reformulated, internally criticised and refashioned by activists, practitioners, thinkers and processes of social and political transformation. Feminism itself is not – despite how it is often presented in both external and internal critique – a stable, transhistorical political phenomenon. It must be explored and understood in its different specific historical and geographical contexts. Feminist activists have historically campaigned women's legal rights such as voting rights, property rights, reproductive rights and workplace rights on the background that these rights were only accessible to (some) men. Since the early 1800s, women have been organising in social movements as women to fight different forms of structural inequality and domination. These different women's movements have had a substantial impact on society and continue to inspire the mobilisation and protest strategies of different genders and marginalised groups. Through time feminism has influenced and inspired fights for the rights of different sexualities and genders. Women's movements and feminism have for example inspired both men's movements, lesbian activism, queer liberation movements and LGBT+ movements, both in terms of the use of activist repertoires and in terms of the questioning of the cultural construction of gender and gender expectations. However, there has also been a history of conflicts between different groups and movements of feminists and between different sexual orientations and minorities. Different groups have intensely protested specific forms of sexism while at the same time ignoring or reproducing other forms of sexism (Serano, 2013). There are numerous forms of sexism, and some women's movements have for instance contributed to an upholding of heterosexism, whilst fighting other forms of patriarchal sexism. There are mutual forms of sexism that often intersect with one another and with other forms of constitutive oppressive ideologies and structures such as racism, colonialism, capitalism, consumerism, ageism etc. For example, the sexism women of colour are experiencing will often be racialised and the racism she faces will be sexualised.

The term 'women' has to a growing extent become a troubled denominator. As Mohanty has argued the relationship between 'Women' as a cultural and ideological construction and 'women' as real material subjects with individual and collective histories is one of the fundamental questions of feminism (Mohanty, 2003). All lives have different privileges and different experiences. Not least since the late 1970s feminist theories have developed in a way that critique former versions of feminism for being exclusive and/or mistaking the experiences of white middle class women for the experiences of women as such. Marginalised groups such as women of colour, lesbians, working class women, Muslim women, indigenous women, transgender people etc. have from different perspectives insisted on the necessity of recognising privileges and acknowledging differences amongst women, and for these differences to be taken into account whilst developing feminist theory and feminist politics.

The dominant fourth wave narrative of the history of feminist movements testifies to movements dominated by white middle class women from Western Europe and North America. However, women have fought against oppression all over the world and women from different ethnicities, and from different social, cultural, religious and political groups have proposed different feminism. Women from former European colonies and the so-called "Third World" have e.g. developed post-colonial feminism, and both post-colonial feminists like Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1955–) and Gayatri Chakravorthy Spivak (1942–) and black feminists like amongst many other bell hooks (1952–), Audre Lorde (1934–1992) and Angela Davis (1944–) have criticised earlier feminist positions for being ethnocentric and for its universalising and colonising tendencies, where specific forms of repression that one group experiences is being universalised. A number of publications have shown how ideas and process of gender and sexuality are imbedded in colonialism and its legacies (Chamber & Watkins, 2012; McClintock, 1995; Mohanty, 1984, 2003; Spivak, 1985; Young, 1995). Post-colonial feminism opposes what it sees as a tendency in hegemonic Euro-American feminism to imagine women from "the East" and "the South" as passive victims of primitive, religious and patriarchal structures. Post-colonist feminism often wants to replace 'a white saviour complex' with a feminism that emerges from regional knowledge and recognises differences and of connected systems of inequality. Post-colonial feminism also shows how ongoing Euro-American imperialism and global capitalism results in a global exploitation and inequality that has damaging consequences for women outside Europe and North America. Similar critiques have also been coming from American and European feminists. Autonomist Italian feminists such as Silvia Federici, Mariarosa Dalla Costa, Giovanna Franca Dalla Costa and Selma James have for instance in their Marxist analyses of social reproduction pointed to the ways the restructuring of the world economy has caused a global feminisation of poverty (Dalla Costa & Dalla Costa, 1995; Federici, 2012). Silvia Federici has argued that: "The global restructuring of reproductive work opens a crisis in feminist politics, as it introduces new divisions among women that undermine the possibility of international feminist solidarity and threaten to reduce feminism to a vehicle for

the rationalization of world economic order" (Federici, 2012, p. 66). As Mohanty has argued, we must envision change and social justice across the lines of demarcation and division (Mohanty, 2003).

Intersectionality has been a massively influential concept in the last decades of feminist theory and feminist movements as a tool to understand oppression and marginalisation and the way different forms of structural inequality intersects. As Audre Lorde has put it in *Sister Outsider*, "There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives" (Lorde, 2007, p. 138). Theories of intersectionality have also helped throw light on inherent structural racism in both earlier versions of feminism and other social movements. How to deal with and think about the differences, inequalities and asymmetric power relations between different women has been a recurring theme in the history of feminist movements and feminist theory. The concept of intersectionality was coined as a term by Kimberlé Crinshaw in 1989, and developed in relation to fights for social justice and recognition of multiple marginalised groups (Crenshaw, 1991; Evans & Lépinard, 2020).

But reflections on the premise that categories like race, class, gender, religion, age etc. are mutually constitutive were already around. It is worth noting that the concept intersectionality has its root in activism, and we will continuously in this introduction look at the way activism influences and informs feminist theory

Feminist theories have continuously, and to a growing degree, addressed social, cultural and economic differences in gender constructions in order to be a truly inclusive movement. The questions of: "what/who is the woman" and "what is gender" will be answered differently in different times. Linda Nicholson has argued that even if we want to avoid essentialist notions of an agent called women, "a purely negative idea of women" is unable to support and be the founding ground for the political project called feminism (Nicholson, 1997, p. 4). Feminism and feminist social movements must often on the one hand speak on behalf of women as a social collective that feminism/the movement represents in order to be politically powerful, whilst on the other hand acknowledge the social constructedness of that term and acknowledge that women as a unified category at some level does not exist. Gayatri Spivak has suggested the term "strategic essentialism" (Spivak, 1988, 1996), whereby no essence is attributed to womanhood, but it is acknowledged that political action is rooted in a specific economic, political and social situation. Subjectivity is positioned in socially specific and shifting contexts and practical socio-economic realities that are the basis for political action. Whatever specific situated historic issue – whether it is for example gender based violence, working conditions for single parents, juridical rights for people with a specific sexual orientation or voting rights for women – people can benefit from organising to speak and act as a solidarity group. Despite the fact that the projects of conceptualising women as a group has been fundamentally questioned, history has shown that the women's movements have gained remarkable goals by standing together as a group called women fighting injustice related to gender based structural inequality. We make a distinction between women's movements as a constituency and an organisational strategy, and feminism and feminist theory. Similar to Ferree and Mueller, we understand women's movements as "mobilizations based on appeals to women as a constituency and thus as an organizational strategy" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Feminist struggles are manifold, stemming from diversely situated actors, but they draw on ideology, theory, strategies and protest repertoires from a line of feminist movements that have fought against repressive structures inherent to a line of patriarchal societies. 'Women's interest' is not a priori just there; it is constructed and discursively produced through political struggles that develop through time.

Feminism and gender theory are closely connected. Theories of gender have had a massive impact on the ongoing transformation of feminism. And feminism has contributed substantially to shifting theories of gender. Many feminists, not least since the 1970s, have distinguished between sex (being male or female depending on biological features like sex organs, chromosomes, hormones etc.) from gender (being a woman or a man depending on acquired social and cultural features like role, identity, behaviour, position). However the term sex and gender are being analysed and defined differently by different feminist thinkers. A very central motivation for feminist thinkers to make the distinction is to counter narratives of biological determination and essentialism. Values and social norms attributed to specific genders cannot be normatively explained as biological necessity. Simone de Beauvoir (1908–1986) in *The Second Sex* famously stated that "one is not born a woman, but rather, becomes a woman" (Beauvoir, 1973). Judith Butler (1956–), Eve Kosofsky Sedgewick (1969–2009) and Jack Halberstam (1961–) have further developed and radicalised theories of the distinction between sex and gender and explored how being a gender – man, woman or otherwise – is to be engaged in an ongoing dynamic interpretation and performance of what it is to be and have a body; thus contributing to the establishment of the field of queer studies. According to Butler, it is the very act of performing a gender that constitutes it as an object of belief; an object of belief that establishes an identification with "the normative phantasm of sex" (Butler, 1993).

As a number of articles in this special issue show, gender expectations do not only repress women. In the last decades there has been a striking growth in theories and debates on men as gendered beings; that is, on men's gendered practices and on the way cultural constructions of gender position, define, constrain and empower men (Connell, 2015; Fabian, 2019; Halberstam, 1998; Kimmel, 2013, 2018). This development has been strongly influenced by the theories and forms of activism developed by women's movements. Jack Halberstam has along with amongst others Raywen Connell (1944) explored how societies construct and promote specific limited conceptions of masculinity – formulated by Connell as *hegemonic masculinity* – and at the same time represses and subordinates other versions of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is according to Connell a practice that legitimises men's continuing dominant position over both women and other forms of gender identity that are perceived as feminine in the specific time, place and culture (Connell, 2015). This theory also explores the social sanctions that are being applied to men that do not live up to society's dominant norms of masculinity and heterosexuality.

In this introduction we seek to illustrate that theory, social movements and activism are mutually interdependent phenomena that influence each other. Feminist theory extends feminism into the theoretical and philosophical realm, and encompasses and influences a variety of disciplines such as gender studies, women's studies, men's studies, queertheory, anthropology, sociology, economics, literary criticism, law studies, art history, psychoanalysis, international studies, human geography etc.

Social movements and feminist theory and practice

When we explore how feminist theory has developed in close dialogue with different forms of activism and with a variety of social movements, it becomes clear that both social movements and theoretical conceptualisation emerge in particular times and places, reflecting the pressing issues and conflicts of their time. They are at the same time products of specific historical, political and social conditions and address more general structures and problems. Social movements are processes in an ongoing formation and they carve out spaces for being, reflection and change in society and history. As Eyerman and Jamison have shown, they are arenas for practicing new forms of social and cognitive action (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991, 1995). Through history a number of different social movements have fought to transform gendered power relations, change material inequalities stemming from gendered structures, challenge and reshape the politically and socially constructed categories of gender and contest conventional forms of (hetero)sexuality and gender expectations.

Along with liberalism, democratisation, socialism and nationalism, mobilisations around gender equality have been defining for modernity itself (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Social movements are makers of history in a number of ways and often play a vital role in the possibility of change. Via different forms of collective action and often through so-called prefigurative politics, social movements operate to challenge and change existing power structures, show that another world is possible and create alternative spaces for knowledge building. Not least since the late eighteenth century social movements have contributed fundamentally to changes in society. Many of the most profound changes in human history such as religious reformations and political revolutions have been influenced by social movements and must be understood also by explorations of the role of social movements (Fabian, Nørgaard & Risager, 2015). Social movements have fought against colonialism, racism, economic exploitation, gender oppression and violence. And have in a number of ways influenced and changed not only governments and economic systems but also the way we dress, live, organise family lives and what we eat and why. Social movements are knowledge producers and social forces that can create new spaces for the production of social relations and new forms of knowledge (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991). Social movements have long functioned as important vehicles for giving voice to and pressing collective groups' rights, claims and interests.

Change and continuity are fundamental concepts whenever we write a history of something. The logic of history writing tends to shape a history of progress, but the historical trajectory of many developments is better understood as a pendulum swing than as a one line of progressive development. When we look at the history of feminism and social movements, it becomes clear that this is also not a history of continuous progress. Some rights claimed and gained in one period can be under threat or lost in the next. In times of financial scarcity and/or war, anti-foreign sentiments, racism or misogyny often grow. International cooperation between activists and organisations fighting for women's rights had , for instance, been strong in the period between the 1890s and the 1930s. The two world wars and the following division of the world into two separate blocks

created a low in the 1950s in international cooperation. (Ferree & Mueller, 2004). Then international feminist cooperation started to grow again, but faced a new backlash after 9/11.

Social movement research has had a growing interest in the role of gender in social movements. Social movements are gendered in a number of ways, as are patterns of mobilisation, intermovement dynamics, tactics, and political, cultural and social possibilities (Einwohner et al., 2000; Taylor, 1999; Zemlinskaya, 2010). Gender hierarchies within social movements were for a long time largely ignored by social movement research. The shifting role of gender analysis in social movement theory began with the growth of studies of women and social movements. It is also worth noting that women's movements and feminism have influenced the demands, the theories and the tactics of other movements substantially. For instance, gender analysis and feminist tactics have been utilised by the environmental movement, and in international forums and NGOs working with questions of poverty, development, age, ableism and urbanisation.

The places of protests and social movements are many. Traditionally, the street, the squares and plazas and other public or semi-public spaces have been classic places of protest and for people's ambition to take (back) power. Classic tactics of protest like demonstrating, marching, rioting, striking and barricading are often linked and associated to these types of geographies. Public space is a legal terminology that – at least in theory – refers to the condition that this space belongs to the state and therefore is – again at least in theory – accessible to all. Demonstrators might gather outside governmental buildings, at places that are linked to historical events, or at centres for commercial exchange. Barricading as a tactic of revolt was used amongst others in the Paris uprisings in 1588, 1648, 1789, 1830, 1848 and 1871. Barricades also played a role in the Belgian revolution of 1830 and since the middle of the 18th century, barricades have become the central symbol of revolution and a tactic that has spread worldwide. Protest activities in the streets where protesters bodies interact in and with places such as marching or barricading temporarily reconstruct the symbolic meaning of the places. However, the places of protests are, as the articles in this issue in different ways bring witness to, manifold. Places of protest can also be found in refugee camps and ghettos, in kitchens and on dancefloors, in public housing and in the dark corners of the internet, and in alternative activist media centres.

Everyday resistance and protest repertoires

In this special issue we are interested in different forms and arenas of activism and in the relationship between different forms of activism and the formation of social movements, and in how collective actors develop practices, ideas, activist repertoires and prefigurative politics in order to bring about political and social change. Not all resistance is turned into more structured political movements. Several of the cases analysed in the articles in this issue deal with forms of protest that are not closely related to formally-organised social movements. The history of how marginalised groups like women, immigrants, queer and trans persons have changed history is full of more invisible forms of resistance and activism. What kind of activities we recognise as activism – and which places we got to in order to find and acknowledge activism – is in itself an example of political struggle and of the politics of knowledge construction. As Johansson and Vinthagen stress in their brilliant new theoretical contribution to the theory of everyday resistance, "Every discourse on resistance runs the risk to marginalize, exclude and silence different articulations of resistance, especially where only some intentions are counted as legitimate" (Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020, p. 29).

Traditionally, as described above, we associate the protest repertoires of social movements with different forms of relative public phenomena like direct action, disruption and civil disobedience with more or less confrontational character such as strikes, occupations, sabotage, demonstrations, sit ins, rallies, political theatre and boycotts. However, since the 1980s, there has been a growing theoretical interest in everyday, spontaneous, informal and immanent forms of resistance. These forms of resistance have been named amongst others: hidden transcripts, infrapolitics and tactics of the weak. As James C. Scott has shown in his research on peasant resistance in Southeast Asia, seemingly spontaneous and informal acts of resistance can be part of collective patterns of acts of resistance (Scott, 1985, 1990). We understand everyday resistance in accordance with Johansson and Vinthagen (2020) as the area of resistance where people engage with power relations or the effects of power in their everyday life in ways that might have the potential to undermine or destabilise dominant power relations and as expressions of subaltern people's agency (Certeau, 1984; Johansson & Vinthagen, 2020; Scott, 1985, 1990). Research on resistance has developed in overlapping fields such as peasant, subaltern, feminist, queer, post-colonial and cultural studies.

The term 'the subaltern' has become central to theories of resistance. It now refers broadly to any person or group of persons that are subordinated because of structural phenomena like gender, race, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation. It was coined by the Italian Marxist philosopher and communist politician Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937) and has been developed not least in post-colonial studies and subaltern studies through the works of the South Asian Subaltern Studies Group. Gramsci used the term to refer to the excluded and displaced social groups that did not have access to society's fundamental socio-economic institutions. Besides being highly influenced by Gramsci, the Subaltern Studies Group (SSG) combined a vision of history from below known from historians such as Eric Hobsbawm (1917–2012) and E.P. Thompson (1924–1993) with post-colonial theory and intense dialogue with Marxism. Gramsci was born in Italy into a society that still was an overwhelmingly rural society, and his work appealed to Indian born Marxist historian Ranajit Guha (1923–) who – whilst writing about an overall rural India – was also interested in the idea that revolution did not necessarily come from an industrial proletariat alone, but that peasants could be political actors in their own right. Ranajit Guha has been very influential in the SSG and his *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (1999) and *History at the Limit of World-History* (2002) are both important post-colonial contributions that defend quotidian experiences of 'ordinary people'. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* studies the peasants' experience of dominance, subordination and resistance during the Indian colonial period, and emphasises the will to effect political change.

Today, there is no clearly identified "subject of emancipation" (Frère & Jacquemain, 2020). The historic workers' movement in both its Marxist and its social-democratic version drew on a teleological narrative of emancipation. The industrial worker seemed to be a historical agent, whose emancipation – at least at the level of political imagination – seemed to promise a golden future of a classless society for the whole of humanity. It is worth a thought why the emancipation of historical agents such as "the woman" or "the coloured" never seems to have carried the same promising symbolic value for the whole of humanity. Nevertheless, it is obvious that patriarchy, colonialism and nationalism are not automatically abandoned with the freeing of the white industrial male worker. Just as there is no clearly identified subject of emancipation, there is no clear method of emancipation. The theoretical focus on everyday resistance has also been motivated by the political intention of broadening what counts as political. By focusing on a broader spectrum of what counts as political acts, it becomes possible to include and take seriously a broader spectrum of actors in the realm of the political. Different structural societal environments obviously give different more or less disadvantaged groups different opportunities to act, organise and affect political systems.

Contemporary and historical examples of collective actions taken by women also reflect struggles over what counts as political. It was for instance a very strong agenda in the feminism of the 1960s and 1970s to politicise what is going on inside the home (Fabian, 2018; Federici, 2012) and as we shall later see to politicise the body. Political structures, organisations and opportunities as well as 'repertoires of contention' (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015) are gendered. As Ferree and Muller have shown, nation states have "constructed their politics on gendered lines" (Ferree & Mueller, 2004 p. 589). The mobilisation of men in workplaces, the organisation of parties based on unions and class relations, the gender division of labour, the tendency of women through history to mobilise around domestic based politics and grass-roots community organising – that are less likely to be considered 'properly political' – are all examples of the gendered character of political structures and opportunities. Gender segregation and gender division of labour create an alternative landscape of opportunity open to different genders (Ferree & Mueller, 2004, Stall & Stoecker, 1998). Historically, women have been the primary performers of domestic labour, care work and social reproduction, and have consciously used this association in their political tactics, by, for instance, making claims to the state for the possibilities and means to uphold and care for the reproductive sphere. Women have for instance often played a central role in activism around access to affordable housing, health and food (Fabian & Lund Hansen, 2020). In early October 1779, thousands of women marched towards the Palace of Versailles demanding accessible and affordable bread. This demonstration is often analysed as one of the defining moments of the French Revolution. In anti-colonial struggles, women's role as market sellers across the African continent has also been the ground on which they have organised around issues relating to food, food prices, monopoly of selling and tax issues. Women have furthermore – as we will describe more in the following sections, and as a number of contributions to this special issue demonstrate – played a significant role in anti-colonial resistance and independence movements (Chambers & Watkins, 2012)

Culture and cultural resistance in social movements and activism

Since the late 1980s, there has been a growing interest in the role of culture in social movements and activism, as well as in how both the production and consumption of culture is political (Fominaya, 2014; Melucci, 1995; Touraine, 1988; Williams, 2004). There is a vast amount of social movement literature discussing this so-called cultural turn in the study of social movements and collective action. This literature amongst others deals with topics and concepts like 'framing', the role of emotions, collective identity, cultural environments etc. An important – and highly debated – part of the cultural turn in social movement studies is the New Social Movement (NSM) theory. NSM theory has related the cultural component not least to the content of the movement ideology, the concerns motivating the activists, the arena in which collective action takes place and on cultural change as a consequence of the efforts and struggles of social movements. Furthermore, there has been a strong interest in how social movements and activists use cultural phenomena like symbols, language, stories, discourse, norms, beliefs etc. to, for example, articulate grievance, and to mobilise, motivate and produce and sustain solidarity.

Culture – as a number of the articles in this issue in different ways demonstrate – plays a crucial role in challenging and resisting repression, exploitation, stigmatisation, intolerance and injustice. Culture plays a role in transformations of society and individuals in a variety of ways. When we explore the use of culture in relation to activism and social movements, it is worth noting that cultural resistance can be both "culture consciously created for political resistance" (Fominaya, 2014, p. 82) and culture/cultural products/cultural production used to challenge, combat, mock or reverse dominant power. Stephen Duncombe defines cultural resistance as: "culture that is used, consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political, economic and/or social structure" (Duncombe, 2002, p. 5). Women's movements and queer movements have for centuries used culture and lifestyle choices such as clothing as a political tool. The Victorian dress reform movement, also called the Bloomers named after the American women's rights activist Amelia Bloomer (1818–1894), used demands for new clothing style to fight the ways fashion and norms demanded that women were weighed down by several layers of ornamental clothing so heavy that it prevented them from moving freely and impeded even the most mundane everyday actions such as walking up or down stairs or along the street. The women – largely middle class women more or less active in the periods struggle for suffrage and education - started wearing a combination of trousers and a skirt that liberated their bodies and movements, and coopted potent male symbols like ties, hats (bowler hats, top hats for riding, jockey hats and hunting caps etc.) and suit jackets (Crane, 2000). American women active in the temperance and abolitionism also demanded sensible clothing. The fight for and against the corset is another example from this period, as is the way the invention of the bicycle that caused both demands for clothing that could enhance the bicycle experience and moral condemnation of female biking. A number of social revolutions have been reflected in different struggles over clothing. Not least because a woman's outward appearance has been interpreted as a sign of her feminism, social standing and morality. As the French realist novelist Honoré de Balzac formulated it in 1839 in *A daughter of Eve*: "A woman's dress is a permanent revelation of her most secret thoughts, a language, and a symbol" (Balzac, 2018.) The dress reformers believed that a change in fashion could change the very status of women in society and create more mobility and independence. Also men's clothing has been stylised to make them appear culturally acceptable as masculine and signal their social status. Historically, the dominant trend in men's clothing has been the appearance of a white man with power and influence.

Gay, queer, lesbian and transgender movements have also fought a lot of fight through culture. A lot of these cultural symbols have gradually moved from being secret signs only known to partly hidden repressed communities to being celebrated and often commercialised effects in mainstream culture. Pop culture such as for instance television shows with multidimensional LGBT characters has however also helped pave the way for changing the views of the majority and nations' politics in relation to gay rights such as same-sex marriage and acceptance of gay couples as parents. Even though one could of course also take a more critical look at for instance the way the TV-show "Modern Family" depicts gay couples in an assimilated, desexualised and depoliticised way as two rich white men who never touch each other.

Already Karl Marx (1818 - 1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820 – 1895) argued, that culture is a reflection of the economic and material conditions of society. Where do ideas, consciousness and culture come from they asked in *The German Ideology*, written between September 1845 and the summer of 1846, but according to themselves "left to the gnawing criticism of the mice."

According to Marx and Engels, those who have the power to rule society also have the power to shape our consciousness. "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of a society is at the same time also its ruling intellectual force" (Marx & Engels, 2004, p. 64).

It is already described above how Gramsci pointed to the ways culture plays a fundamental role in upholding society's status quo. Gramsci explored and described in his *Prison Notebooks,* written in prison from 1926 until his death in 1937, how the state and the ruling capitalist class – the bourgeoisie – use culture, cultural institutions and ideology to uphold and maintain power and consent. According to Gramsci's theory, the bourgeoisie upholds a hegemonic culture that propagates its own values as common sense. According to Gramsci the repressed people falsely identify their own good with the good of the ruling class, and against their own interests, support the maintenance of a status quo. In order to change society, Marxism itself and its 'organic intellectuals' according to Gramsci must exert a moral and intellectual leadership, and also meet the spiritual needs of the suppressed subaltern and excluded social groups. Any revolution must also have the production of a counterculture as part of their project (Gramsci, 2002).

But not only is culture political, all politics is cultural. Politics is transmitted, challenged, debated through culture. The political aspects of culture can be more or less implicit or explicit, and not least as Stuart Hall has shown the political messages of cultural products can be adapted, contested or resisted by the users/consumers of the cultural products (Fominaya, 2014; Hall, 2005). Social movements as well as more informal forms of activism are often engaged in the creation of alternative cultural products such as zines, activist theatre, poetry, songs, flags, literature, jokes, banners, clothes, puppets, masks, memes etc. and in practicing new countercultural codes, practices and lifestyles (vegetarianism, free love, squatting, mixed race marriages etc.). However, it is still an important open and debatable question of how we understand and conceptualise the cultural aspects of both organised and more informal forms of resistance, activism and collective action. In this special issue of *Conjunctions* there are a number of recurring themes that also relate to the ways culture is invested in different forms of resistance, activism and counter activism. We will introduce and reflect on some of these themes below.

Social movements and mediatised activism

Christina Flesher Fominaya has argued that one of the key ways that social movements engage in cultural resistance is through the production and dissemination of different forms of media (Fominaya, 2014, p. 115). Free radio programmes, books, zines, flyers, posters, newspapers, films, theatre and cartoons are just some of the many products social movements and activists use in order to create alternative public spheres. Social movements often engage in the production of alternative media as a form of knowledge production, resistance and mobilisation. Through these platforms both organised activists and 'ordinary citizens' not linked to any official movement can raise their voices and witness, relate and respond to both similar and other expressions of oppression and violence (Fabian and Rovan 2016). It has been widely recognised that movements such as the Orange Revolution in Ukraine (2004), the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon (2005), the Arab Spring (early 2010s), the housing movement Platforma por una Vivienda Digna (Platform for the right to Housing) (2003 -) , 13M Movement (2004) and 15M Movement (2011) in Spain and Occupy Wall Street (2011) were largely organised through digital technologies. However, as we shall later explore, the same can be said about the growing white nationalist and misogynist online networks and movements such as the alt-right movement as well as about the new era of authoritarian governments and autocratic personalist 'strongmen rulers'.

New digital technologies have created new spatial logics, new opportunities for transnational networking and new forms of cyberactivism. Digital networks have facilitated new forms of participatory activist practices and mobilisations, and social media and the mediatisation of activism have transformed activism in ways that produce new opportunities as well as new constraints (Poell & van Dijck, 2015; Fabian & Reestorff, 2015; Fominaya, 2014;). The introduction of social media into mainstream media use and the opportunities offered by new digital technologies to mobilise, organise and produce counter-narratives has widely been described as a redistributor of agency and power (Fominaya, 2014). But it has also been met with scepticism, judged more affective than effective and pejoratively named clicktivism or slacktivism (Roberts, 2014).

Poell and van Dijck (2015) claim that activism has become a socio-technological phenomenon, emphasising that digital media not only enable user activity, but very much steer this activity amongst others through technological features such as

'retweeting', 'liking', 'following' and 'friending'. The technological affordances of social media platforms not only *facilitate* sociality and interaction, but co-produce it (Dijck, 2013, p. 6). The same logic applies for activism practices employing digital media. Poell and van Dijck underline two developments of activism which are foregrounded by the application of digital media: *acceleration* and *personalisation*. Social media platforms such as Twitter allow activists to communicate and document the real time unfolding of protest events, exchange information at a much greater speed, and can thus support activist practices (Poell & van Dijck, 2015, p. 529). The second process, personalisation, expresses that "social platforms *steer* users towards personalised connections" (Poell & van Dijck, 2015, p. 533). In this issue of *Conjunctions*, the dominance of personalisation on social media platforms is mainly displayed in Fritsch et al.'s article '*Strategic Cyberbullying and the Reorganisation of Political Culture: Interfacial refrains, intensities, and *RealDonaldTrump*'. The authors of the article describe Trump as a mobiliser of affect enabled by the affordances (Bucher & Helmond, 2018) of Twitter, especially by Trump's personal profile. The personal profile emphasises the fact that within social media's attention economy, one Twitter-user can have enormous reach. But potentially at the same time reduce the collective nature of movements to the image of an individual voice or narrative.

The intersection between digital media and feminist activism has been studied amongst others by Aristea Fotopoulou (2017), who concludes that a primary tension in feminist activism in the digital age is the tension between "empowerment and vulnerability". This tension is manifested in part through Dina Amlund's contribution in this issue on the cultural history of fat bodies in which she occasionally includes reflections on her own life as a fat activist. While Amlund does not touch upon this, the Danish activist organisation Fed Front (Fat Front) of which Dina Amlund herself is a member utilises visual social media platforms (Instagram) for displaying the fat body thus insisting on its visibility and presence in a public albeit virtual domain. Digital media platforms provide the fat body with a digital space to claim that can be seen as an extension of a physical space, but with its own sociality and own social mechanisms.

A number of the articles in this issue show how feminist activists and feminist movements as well as anti-feminist movements employ social media platforms in their activist practices. Rognlien and Kier-Byfield in their contribution to this issue '*Every Activism and Resistance by Minority Women in Denmark*' explore how the Danish group Kvinder i Dialog (Women in Dialogue) uses online activism to challenge and change the continued objectification and discursive marginalisation of Muslim women. Online activism is used here to fight stigmatisation, negotiate presumable stable categories and address ambiguous positions of bicultural identity. Rognlien and Kier-Byfield are analysing how stereotypes of minority women, and in particular Muslim women, are being used to push certain groups to the margins of Danish society, both discursively and geographically. Focusing on two case studies working in the social periphery, Andromeda, 8220 and Kvinder i Dialog, the article illuminates how the same stereotypes are used in the production of counter-narratives that resist stigma and divisive policies.

Maia Kahlke Lorentzen and Kevin Shakir, activists and members of the Danish organisation Cybernauts, show in their article '*The Anti-Feminism of Digitally Influenced Far-Right Attackers*' how digitally inspired far-right perpetrators use online forums, gaming platforms, image boards like 8chan, 4chan, and encrypted chat groups on apps like telegram to distribute manifestos, share live-streaming of attacks, and mobilise, inspire and chat with followers. Anonymous users share memes like manipulated photographs and clips on multiple threads in these platforms. Lorentzen and Shakir's article demonstrates how the memeification of digitally influenced far-right terrorists is used to create an ecosystem of propaganda material. We will in a later section get back to their analysis of how far-right misogynist movements and actors employ the internet and the networked digital public (boyd, 2010).

Mobilisation of affect

In recent years there has been a continuous growing volume of academic work in the field of cultural analysis on affect and affective processes; this has often been labelled 'the affective turn' (Ahmed, 2004; Clough, 2008; Clough & Halley, 2007; Gregg & Seigworth, 2010). Also in literature on activism there has been a growing interest in how social movements, independent activists and media participants use affects and emotions to resist, subvert and create socially and politically transformative actions. This literature raises new questions in the study of social movements such as how affect and feelings are turned into actual refusal and generative action, and how to understand the ethics of solidarity in transformative politics (Bromberg, 2015; Knudsen & Stage, 2014; Zarzycka & Olivieri, 2017).

The notion of affect – especially as it is employed in Deleuzian feminist theory – provides a way of thinking subjectivity that traces subjectivity in movement, beyond and beside itself, through constant processes of subjectification and resistance (Bromberg, 2015; Sedgwick & Frank, 2003). Affect theory set out not least to explore affects (and emotions); to take them seriously instead of merely regarding them as unwanted noise. Two dominating traditions have emerged. One, inspired by post-structuralist thinking, aims to uncover how affect organises individual contexts, social contexts as well as political projects. Inspired by psychologist Silvan Tomkins, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (2003) famously argues that *shame* is both personal and individual while simultaneously a product of the social. According to Sara Ahmed (1969 -) – another important contributor to this tradition – "emotions are not 'after-thoughts' but shape how bodies are moved by the world they inhabit" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 237). Ahmed has also influenced the notion that affect is sticky in the sense that certain affects stick to certain bodies, e.g. fear sticks – as already described by Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) – to the black male body. An example of how past histories stick to the present in the form of racial stereotypes (Ahmed, 2004; Bromberg, 2015). The other tradition has amongst others been developed by the Canadian philosopher Brian Massumi (1956 –) inspired by Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Gilles Deleuze (1925–1995) and Félix Guattari (1930–1992). Massumi distinguishes between affect and feelings/emotions and defines affect as "the capacity to affect and be affected". Affect is contagious as Teresa Brennan (1952–2003) states it in the tradition of Gilles Deleuze and Brian Massumi in *The Transmission of Affect* (2004). On one hand there is the pre-discursive affect or sensation, and on the other the cultural interpretation. Brennan defines feelings as "sensations that have found a match in words" (Brennan, 2004, p. 140). This distinction allows for a study of affect beyond discourse and language, and not least it locates affect in encounters with the world instead of in an enclosed interior of a psychological subject.

When contemplating the contributions in this special issue of *Conjunctions*, it is apparent that several contributions are directly or indirectly studying the mobilisation of affect. Affect and the mobilisation of affect is a driving force in Svatoňová's study of *Angry Mothers*, the conservative Czech organisation arguing for the re-establishment of the traditional gender roles through the use of highly similar bullying strategies as the US President, Amlund's deconstruction of the affects linked to the fat body, and Brunner's contribution on sensuous media activism. They all bear witness to the fact that mobilisation of affect is a fundamental part of a lot of activism.

In their contribution '*Strategic Cyberbullying and the Reorganisation of Political Culture: Interfacial refrains, intensities, and *RealDonaldTrump*', authors Jonas Fritsch, Jette Kofoed and Camilla Møhring Reestorff explore the President of the United States Donald Trump's activity on Twitter as a type of cyberbullying. While cyberbullying is most commonly used to describe behaviour amongst children and youth, in this article the term is applied to the behaviour of Donald Trump. The article makes use of a New York Times article listing "people, places and things" Donald Trump has insulted from June 2015 and onwards. By mapping the insults, the article shows how the repeated insults aimed at political opponents, mainstream media and others become refrains in a new affective politics: a "reorganisation of political culture that creates and or displaces intensities and affective connections between individuals and the Trumpian we-ness." The article concludes that Trump's tweets transform the established ways of politics. The repetitive name-calling serves as affective refrains and as political tools of inclusion and exclusion.

Christoph Brunner's article for this issue engages with and explores the activities of the alternative international media centre FC/MC which was established and operated during the 2017 G20-summit in Hamburg. The article draws on the conception of affect in social media studies and on the notions of field and information from the works of the French philosopher Gilbert Simondon (1924 – 1989). While many studies of social media and their relation to political movements stress the different discursive, affective and technological dimensions as interlaced in the fabrication of mobilisation, they – according to Brunner – pay less attention to the aesthetic aspects of an overall politics of perception. Through a field-based conception of affect and perception, the question of "making-sense" takes on a pervasive yet according to the author potentially more inclusive and activating dimension of future forms of media-infused modes of resistance. The article stresses the affective politics of activating the sensuous as part and parcel of contemporary forms of a politics of aesthetics in media activism. Brunner states in his contribution that aesthetics relates immediately to ethics in affective politics. Affect is understood here as the relational ground from which social formations arise with and through specific techno-material, and bodily and perceptual operations. Affective politics is understood as politics of perception that creates a sense of collectivity beyond the individual.

Also the Greek born digital communication researcher Zizi Papacharissi (2014, 2015), who explores the intersection of digital media, affect and activism, aims to do away with the old understanding of affect as being in opposition to rational and

political thought. Digital media platforms and technologies can according to Papacharissi facilitate feelings and encourage-ment to participate, change some of the practices of public participation and potentially stimulate a shift of the site of civic engagement to the private realm. However, as Svenja Bromberg has argued, we also need critical analysis of how affect is 'put to work' in society. As Bromberg formulates it: "how is affect made productive, and for whom?' (Bromberg, 2015, p. 99).

Online misogyny in reactionary movements of the far right

Social movements are not always fighting for democracy and social progress; they can also be reactionary or even destructive, often motivated by an urge to protect society or a specific group of people from a perceived threat. Even though we often associate social movements with organisations around claims for change, some movements want to resist change and mobilise around fights to defend existing institutional political, religious or cultural authority. Many countries throughout the world have seen a growth in radical right-wing political entities that openly fight for the idea that society should be ethnically as well as ideologically cleansed. A growing number of the world's democracies have governments either led or supported by right-wing populist parties. Right-wing populism has similar yet different features in different countries. Often, they are presented by an aggressive authoritarian leader with an anti-elitist agenda. Ethnocentric, anti-establishment, authoritarian groups helped bring Donald Trump to power. Brazil's president the former army captain Jair Bolsonaro, Vladimir Putin and Trump all wrap their populist agendas in a strong celebration of masculinity, and also Israel and India have right wing populist governments. Most countries in Europe – not least in Eastern Europe – have experienced a remarkable rise in far-right movements and a growing xenophobia not least towards immigrants and asylum seekers, with Hungary's Viktor Orban as one of the more extreme cases.

The rise of social media in the noughties gave – as described above – rise to a positive narrative about digital media and its so-called democratic potential. The fact that so many were given a platform from which they could speak was emphasised as a defining moment of this shift. However, as a number of articles in this issue show, right-wing populism and anti-democratic movements have made excessive use of online media platforms. As cultural critic Angela Nagle (2017) points out, the internet has also given a platform to "pseudonymous swastika-posting anime lovers, ironic South Park conservatives, anti-feminist pranksters, nerdish harassers and meme-making trolls whose dark humor and love of transgression for its own sake made it hard to know what political views were genuinely held and what were merely, as they used to say, for the lulz" (Nagle, 2017, p. 7). Practices ranging from extremist and far-right leaning communities on platforms such as 4Chan and 8Chan to the more mundane practice of digital blackfacing (Yoon, 2016) and the use of reaction gifs and memes in online communication are all part of online participatory cultures (Jenkins, 1992) also serving populist, racist and misogynist agendas. Thus, the internet has become a site for an online culture war (Nagle, 2017) enabling an alt-right internet savvy community.

In this issue of *Conjunctions*, we have included 3 contributions reflecting the turn towards misogyny and the alt/far-right. Lorentzen and Shakir show in their article that anti-feminism plays a fundamental role in many far-right social movements. Fritsch et al. diagnose US President Donald Trump's controversial Twitter practice as bullying, but it is in fact also a display of the US President breaking with the media conventions of his office while promoting the populist rhetoric of the far-right. This practice seems to serve as a legitimisation for many of the far-right movements. This anti-establishment approach to digital media is also echoed in Svatoňová's article on the Czech movement *Angry Mothers*. In her article '*Where have all the normal men and women gone? The Representation of Masculinity and Femininity in the Anti-feminist Discourses of the Women's Far Right Organization Angry Mothers'*, Svatoňová explores the patriarchal discourses of women engaged in activism in far-right organisations. Far-right social movements, whose popularity is on the rise in Europe, are often described as male-dominated organisations. Consequently, masculinity in the context of far-right organisations and the manosphere has received scholarly attention. Most studies focus on male organisations and male leaders (Kimmel, 2013, 2018; Miller-Idriss, 2018). Svatoňová however explores the patriarchal discourses of women engaged in activism in far-right organisations, and focuses on the construction of gender in the online communication of the Czech female organisation *Angry Mothers*. The study explores how women can co-construct the manosphere in a fundamentally misogynist online space. The article explores how the organisation *Angry Mothers* uses visual language to construct gender in their online communication and analyses the types of masculinity/femininity that are portrayed as superior or subordinate. The article shows that the activists' views presented in their political communication aim to preserve a masculinist, patriarchal structural order in society, despite their self-identification as protectors

of women's rights. However, according to Svatoňová, through their discursive practices the activists simultaneously portray women as powerful actors in their traditional gender roles.

While Svatoňová's article focuses on a mainstream conservative misogynist movement on Facebook, Lorentzen and Shakir's article '*The Anti-Feminism of Digitally Influenced Far-Right Attacker's*' visits much darker parts of the internet. However, both movements arise from similar ideologies. The authors account for the fact that in recent years, far-right terrorist attackers have been inspired by extremist content such as hateful anti-Muslim, anti-feminist and anti-Semitic views on the internet, found on digital platforms such as 4chan and 8chan. The article also shows how far-right online activism utilises imaginaries of feminism and gender, and explores some of the far-right's central conspiracy myths such as white genocide. Non-white women are described as over-fertile breeding stock, and white women are blamed for having lack of solidarity and sense of duty; they have been seduced by selfish feminists to lose their true calling to uphold the nation and its values by devoting themselves to the nuclear family. The battle against feminism is thus a battle over control of reproduction. The radical anti-Muslim, anti-feminist and anti-Semitic movements are enabled by an increasingly far-right friendly mainstream (Nagle, 2017) and the networked public of the internet. The analysed movements encourage violence against sexual, religious and gendered minorities and they demonstrate as such the darker side of the so-called democratic platforms utilised by the misogynist reactionary movements of the right.

The body as a politically contested site

The history of feminist struggles is rich with examples of the body as a contested political site –emotionally, juridically, socially and economically. As already touched upon, the body has long been seen as a site of conflict from the first feminist mass meetings at the beginning of the twentieth century over the second wave feminism claim that the private is political to today's celebration of a multitude of different bodies, that goes hand in hand with a continuous social control of the body. Material-bodily phenomena like fashion, beauty contests, corsets, rape, femicide, reproductive rights, paid maternity leave, the right to wear and to not wear a veil, orgasm, hairy legs and fictive burning of bras have continuously been part of feminist struggles and feminist thinking. Bodies, sensations, beauty and sexualities are not just there; they are produced and performed.

Feminist activists in the late 1960s and 1970s articulated and explored in different ways how the body is a historical construction, a medium for social control and a "colonized' territory. In the women's liberations movements of the 1960s and the 1970s, liberation of the female body was a major defining issue. Feminists wanted to take the body back, reformulate how it should be understood from the point of view of an embodied experience and place it at the centre of political action. The feminist writers and activists in this period were not least driven by the activist motivation of exposing oppression, but through their activism they contributed with valuable insight that has now been integrated into theory. As Susan Bordo has argued, these writers developed 'embodied theory' (Bordo, 1993). Feminist thinkers like Rosi Braidotti (1954 -), Judith Butler, Donna Haraway (1944 -) and Lillian Munk Rösing (1967 -) have followed up on this tradition and explored the embodied situated character of knowledge. A recent example of 'embodied theory' is the field of fat studies.

Within a cultural studies and feminist media studies framework, Angela McRobbie (2004, 2009) and Rosalind Gill (2007) follow Bordo and have critically engaged with popular culture and the representation of gender by analysing film, TV, and women's magazines 'in the aftermath of' feminism. McRobbie and Gill emphasise the new sensibilities of what Gill calls post-feminist media culture (Gill, 2007) in the interwovenness of feminist and anti-feminist discourses. For example, we see more female leads in films, but they are primarily still being judged on their display of femininity. Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984) has contributed with valuable insight into how power shapes being, thinking and action and is internalised through self-surveillance, and corrections and conforming to norms and into how modern power produces and normalises bodies to serve existing relations of dominance and subordination (Foucault, 1980, 1995). Rosalind Gill is inspired by this line of thought when she argues that in postfeminist media culture, women's bodies are perceived as a source of manipulative power (over men), but at the same time the body is understood as unruly and must be constantly surveilled, disciplined and optimised through different forms of consumption. Leading back to Foucault, the beauty industry does not only colonise the body, but the subject as well. The beauty industry has expanded into a wellness industry and has imposed mental wellbeing as yet another demand on

women (Elias et al., 2017). Thus, the gendered body is a continued site of consumption and surveillance. Feminist analysis has furthermore explored the affective, sexual and domestic work done by the bodies of servants and domestic workers (Chambers & Watkins, 2012; Hochschild, 1983).

Several contributions to this issue of *Conjunctions* directly or indirectly engage with the body as a politically contested site. Dina Amlund looks at the history of the fat body through a critical lens and maps out structures that dehumanise fat bodies. Amlund studies classical painting and critically reflects on the term 'Rubenesque'– a term most often applied to the description of fat women. The term derives from the Flemish Baroque painter Paul Peter Rubens due to the general conception of his portrayal of supposedly fat women. Amlund argues that the so-called fat women in Ruben's paintings are in fact not fat at all. The article maps out fatphobia as ever present though the history of Western culture and it examines a report from the WHO concerning the health hazard and social inequities caused by fatphobia. The article – written with strong activist wit and passionate engagement – brings together Shakespeare's fatjokes, the ever presence of shapewear, the portraits of Jesus as thin and white and examples from the author's own life as a fatactivist to show us 5,000 years of cultivated fatmisia. Amlund shows how fatphobia is a structure in society that affects the lives of fat people in ways that are damaging to health and which cause major inequities.

Svatoňová's contribution on the Czech organisation *Angry Mothers* also engages with the body. Through analysis of visual material, Svatoňová shows how meme-like depictions of the body support the group's mission of re-establishing tradition-al gender roles. The visuals are used to portray either positive or negative representations of gender. And Kier-Byfield and Rognlien's article explores the highly politicised veiled body of the 'Muslim Women' (Cooke, 2007) and analyses how Muslim women with and without niqab organise to reclaim agency over the representability of themselves and their bodies.

In the article '*Between Borders and Bombs - the Existence and Resistance of the Sahrawi Territory through the Bodies of Sahrawi Women*', the Mexican feminist geographer Valeria Ysunza analyses gendered forms of resistance in the Saharawi (indigenous people from Western Sahara) territory. The article analyses how Saharawi women participate in the construction of and struggle for their territory, not least when they work as deminers in the area next to the illegal wall built by Morocco. The land of the Saharawi was not recognised after the invasion by Morocco in 1975. Saharawi women and men have since, in this underreported struggle, continued their mainly non-violent activism both in the occupied territories, where they endure repeated severe abuse by Moroccan authorities, and in refugee camps in Algeria. The article demonstrates how analyses of territorial fight require gender analysis. The article furthermore explores the importance of 'artivism' and theatre as a political act and as a methodology of action-participation in the Artifariti Festival.

Valeria Ysunza's article draws on theoretical work from Latin American postcolonial feminism and feminist geography, amongst others by GeoBrujas – a community of women geographers formed in Mexico in 2014. The group wants to question and transform what they see as "the patriarchal geographical activity". Cartographic and geographic perspectives on bod-ies and territories is according to GeoBrujas a tool loaded with ideology, and has to be deconstructed, decentralised, and socialised on a collective and community level. In the same tradition, inspired by the work of the Argentinian anthropologist Rita Segado and the Italian feminist Silvia Federici, the Chilean feminist collective La Tesis created the performance piece "Un violador en tu camino" ("A rapist in your path") in 2019, which is a song performed with a choreographed dance. The song was first performed on 20 November 2019 by a small group of people in front of a police station in the port city of Valparaíso in Chile. A few days later it was repeated in Santiago, the capital of Chile, and from there it spread to cities in Latin America, the U.S. and Europe. Videos of the first performances went viral, and women repeated the performance in Mexico, Columbia, France, Spain, Turkey and England often with the chanting women blindfolded as in the original performance. The lyrics in the song describe how the state upholds systematic oppression of women and violations of women's rights. "This oppressive state is a macho rapist" the song goes. State institutions such as the judiciary system and the police uphold the systematic violation of women's rights. "Patriarchy is a judge who punishes us for being born and our punishment is the violence that you don't see". The song speaks of rape and femicide, and when performed collectively it is also a collectively performed and embodied protest towards victim blaming and silencing: "And it's not my fault, not where I was, not how I dress" the chant goes. The title "A rapist in your path" is a satirical appropriation of an old slogan used by the Chilean police "a friend in your path". The song was originally performed after a number of complaints of police abuse.

The viral spread of this activism song is part of a wave of recent protests and pancontinental mobilisation, where women

across Latin America have organised to fight against amongst others restrictive abortion rights[1] and staggering rates of femicide. On 3 June 2015 women in Argentina organised the first Ni Una Menos protest. The march organisers called upon an end to what they termed "machista violence". This protest spread globally and became a symbol of a revitalised women's movement in Latin America. The demonstrating women were fighting the killing of women and domestic violence.[2] The Ni Una Menos protest did not grow out of nothing. The National Women's Meeting has been held in Argentina each October since 1986. On 19 October 2016 women across Argentina protested against gender related violence. The day named Miercoles Negro (Spanish for black Wednesday) was triggered by the violent rape and murder of 16 year old Lucia Perez. It is this important flourishing tradition of Latin American feminist analysis and critique that Ysunza draws on in her analysis of the situation of the Saharawi women in the Algerian dessert.

Patriarchal repression has through history justified itself by connecting the woman more closely to the body in opposition to the mind. Feminism has exhibited a broad variety of ways to conceptualise, politicise and retheorise the body outside patriarchy. Ways that we have just been able to hint to here. The body is a recurring theme in both feminist theory and epistemology and a very real intimate territory of political struggles. In the section above on online ultra-rightwing activism, we saw extreme examples of how misogynists have always found self-justification for women's submissive secondary role in confining them within bodies that are represented on the one hand as unruly, frail, seducing and unreliable and on the other hand as playing a specific role in reproduction that creates a golden cage for them where they are described as specifically vulnerable and in need of protection (Grosz, 1994, p. 13).

Citizenship, ethnicity and gender

Last but not least, the final theme in this special issue of *Conjunctions* is the contested nature of citizenship and what Hannah Arendt has termed 'the right to have rights' (Arendt, 1951). The history of the women's movement is closely interconnected with the struggle for the affirmation of formal universal principles and the immanent critique of these. Political feminism arose and developed not least through the struggles over recognition of citizenship and the human, socio-political and economic rights that come with it. The suffragettes pointed to the inherent hypocrisy of a system that talked about universal rights but omitted greater parts of the population.

Citizenship is the status of a person who is recognised as a legal member of a society. A citizen has certain rights and duties and has the possibility of defending their rights in front of governmental authority and is entitled to the protection of the state. As such, citizenship is the most privileged form of nationality. Citizenship was never simply a matter of living in a specific location and automatically gaining rights. In ancient Greece citizenship was applied to property owners and males only. The modern conception of citizenship developed during the French and American revolutions and was connected to the struggle over rights to certain liberties. The English term *citizen* originally referred to membership of a borough, whereas the word *subject* was used to refer to the individual's subordination to the state or monarch.

N.M.F. de Souza describes how the modern state's structures were always connected to a central organisation of patriarchy and a specific creation of a public sphere. In this sphere, according to de Souza, the female and feminised bodies like queer, black, marginalised and colonised bodies are inferior and under tutelage and not fully entitled to public speech and participation (Souza, 2019). Through history, social movements have fought to include and get citizenship rights for these different marginalised populations – women, people of colour, sexual minorities, poor people etc.

Just like there has been as described above a global wave of right-wing populism and Islamophobic and racist politics of exclusion, there has also been a new flourishing of activism over citizenship. Parallel to the mainstreaming of national populism, civic activism and solidarity movements have flourished. Lately there has been a struggle to get citizenship 'beyond borders' to undocumented activists (Siim, Saarinen & Krasteva, 2019) and to fight against the stigmatisation and othering of immigrant populations.

Islamophobia is not a new thing. It has "been occupying the Euro-American imaginary for decades" (Beshara, 2018). The demonisation of Muslims in recent history is closely related to the displacement of the 'enemy' from the Cold War and the Red Scare – Communism – with the War on Terror and the Green Scare – Islamism (Beshara, 2018). This is an imaginary

that involves a gendered islamophobia. The 'Muslim woman' is represented as a 'veiled other' that must be liberated and 'the Muslim man' as a 'terrorist other' that 'must be terminated' (Beshara, 2018).

Political violence is based on epistemic violence (Spivak, 1988). The rise of right-wing Islamophobic populist parties and their gradual integration into representative politics and governments has in many countries amongst others the Nordic counties led to a turn towards limiting welfare to people with citizenship, and thereby made the relations between residency, citizenship and need for 'the right to have rights' (Arendt, 1951) an urgent issue (Siim, Saarinen & Krasteva, 2019). Formal citizenship is not a precondition for having a voice. Refugee activist and 'paperless people' with precarious or uncertain status and no formal representation have organised against deportations and chauvinist laws. Vulnerable and stigmatised populations have engaged in both everyday resistance and more formal social movements in order to fight stigmatisation, silencing and marginalisation. And new pro-solidarity and pro-diversity movements have developed to fight politics of othering, stigmatisation and exclusion (Fabian & Lund Hansen, 2020; Siim, Saarinen & Krasteva, 2019). Pro-migrants, pro-Roma, pro-LGBT activists have developed new politics of inclusiveness and solidarity.

Nyegaard's contribution to this special issue shows how there is a historical tradition for making an alignment between citizenship and heterosexuality. On 25 November 2019, Danish historian Niels Nyegaard received the national KRAKA Award for an outstanding and innovative contribution to gender research in Denmark for his PhD dissertation '*Perverse Criminals and Good Citizens: Homosexuality, Heteronormativity and Citizenship in Copenhagen's Public Sphere, 1906-11*'. Nyegaard defended his dissertation at Aarhus University in the fall of 2018. The dissertation conducted a genealogical study of modern Danish citizenship's heteronormative foundations in early-twentieth-century Denmark. We are happy that we in this issue have the opportunity to publish an English version of his acceptance speech, in which Nyegaard outlines the major conclusions from his dissertation. He further presents its Foucauldian and queer theoretical axioms and its genealogical contributions to contemporary discussions about sexual citizenship, heteronormativity, homonormativity and homonationalism.

Niels Nyegaard explores the historical tradition for making an alignment between citizenship and heterosexuality. He shows how the turn of the 20th century was a very formative period for both Danish citizenship and the modern homo/hetero binary. Nyegaard explores how urban newspapers and pamphlets from the period discussed the emerging male homosexual figure in relation to a number of broader citizenship debates, for instance regarding the right to vote, and how these discussions contributed to the historical hetero-sexualisation of Danish citizenship (Nyegaard, 2018, 9ff). During this period, Danish citizenship became aligned with heterosexuality through the symbolic othering of the latter's constitutive other, the emerging homosexual figure. The symbolic alignment between citizenship and heterosexuality came into existence by way of the voices' constant attempts at othering the emerging male homosexual figure as a non-citizen.

Nico Carpentier's response to Peter Dahlgren is the final contribution in this special issue. The contribution is outside of the theme. The context for Carpentier's response is the recent publication of his book *The discursive-material knot: Cyprus in conflict and community media participation* (2019) and Peter Dahlgren's review hereof. The DMK book engages with "the knot" or the entanglement of matter and discourse, new materialism and discourse theory. Carpentier engages with questions posed by Dahlgreen in the previous issue of *Conjunctions*.

In this introduction, we have pointed to different ways feminism still plays an important role in struggles for economic, political and social justice. As we have seen, the history of feminism is dynamic and full of rich exchanges between theory and activism. Feminism has through history seen both growth and maturation of ideas, theories and movements as well as backlashes and new challenges. We write this introduction in the context of a globally growing problem of misogyny, racist populism, ethnic nationalisms and capitalist consumerism contributing to an urgent global climate crisis. But also in the context of new forms of transnational movements fighting against racism, sexism and destruction of the earth's natural balances and fighting for solidarity, equality, climate justice and social justice.

As argued in this introduction the ways we define and explore resistance and social movements are in themselves political and part of the politics of knowledge production. The articles in this issue in different ways show that politics is also a bodily affectual phenomenon (Knudsen & Stage, 2014) and that culture plays a crucial role in both the upholding of power and the structures of inequality, and in challenging and resisting repression, exploitation, stigmatisation and injustice. As illustrated in this introduction, feminism is a phenomenon that shows how theory, social movements and activism are mutually interdependent phenomena that influence each other. Activists have contributed to theory and theory building in ways that should be written

into the way we analyse and write the history of ideas. This special issue of *Conjunctions* deliberately reflects these close intersections between theory and activism in feminism by including contributions from activists, traditional academic scholars and activist scholars. As editors we would like to thank all contributors for sharing their work and wish everyone an inspirational and enlightening read.

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Endnotes

1 An important symbol in the current mobilisation in Latin America is a green scarf that symbolises the fight for legal abortion. There are widely different abortion rights across the region. In Uruguay, Cuba and Mexico, abortion is legal. In Argentina abortion is only legal in cases of rape or risk to the mother's life. In much of Central America, it is totally banned.

2 In Argentina a woman is killed from domestic violence on average every 30 hours. In Brazil, Honduras and El Salvador, a very high number of women are also killed every year. Rita Segado has named this femigenocide.