



**FEMINIST PEDAGOGY  
OF/BEYOND BORDERS  
4-6 SEPTEMBER 2023, ISTANBUL  
ATGENDER CONFERENCE 2023**

**ATGENDER**



Women and  
Family Studies  
Research Center

ARTWORK: EDA GECİKMEZ, BROKEN OPEN, 2020

# ATGENDER Spring Conference: Feminist Pedagogy of/beyond Borders, Kadir Has University, Istanbul 4-6 September 2023

## DAY 1 - Monday 04.09.2023

11.30-13.00	Registration and Welcoming Coffee/tea							
13.00 - 15.00	Welcoming ceremony - Opening of the Conference Atgender Chairs: Angeliki Sifaki, Åsa Ekvall							
	Welcoming words							
	Local organisers's words: İrem İnçeoğlu, Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu							
<b>Keynote 1: Alev Özkazanç "Anti-Gender Backlash and Feminist Politics in Turkey and Beyond" Chair: Demet Gülçiçek</b>								
15.00-15.30	Registration and Welcoming Coffee/tea							
15:30 - 17:30	<b>ROOMS</b>							
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 1 Fragments of a Classroom: Feminist Pedagogy, Gender, and Cinema</b>	<b>Strand 2 Manifestations of backlash in education and academia</b>	<b>Strand 3 Experiencing Online Harassment</b>	<b>Strand 4 Islamophobia and Processes of Racialisation</b>	<b>Strand 5 Shifting Narratives</b>	<b>Strand 9 Resistance in geopolitical order</b>	<b>Strand 10 Feminism and stereotypes</b>	
<b>Panel 1</b>	Chair: Tebessüm Yılmaz & Murat İri	Chair: Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu	Chair: Hande Eslen-Ziya	Chair: Angeliki Sifaki	Chair: Ezgi Hamzaçebi	Chair: Karolina Szpyrko	Chair: Åsa Ekvall	
	Berra Hayal Bakoğlu	Willemijn Krebbekx	Hande Eslen-Ziya	Nadia Jones-Gailani	Carolina Pisapia	Serena Fiorletta	Carys Hill	
	Zeynep Pardoğan	Kaleigh Bangor	Aysima Kiriş	Zeynep Demir	Deniz Gündoğan İbrişim	Usman Khan (online)	Sophie Alsbach	
	Öykü Teoman	Nina Fárová & Johanna Maria Pangritz	Rukaya Al Zayani	Desirè Gaudioso	Ezgi Hamzaçebi	Lucie Naudé	Muhamamd Ali Awan	
	Beyza Özdoğru	Isis Giraldo		Lizzie Hobbs	Yared Machel		Zixi Zuo	
				Mónica Torreiro-Casal			Ingrid Agud-Morell	
18:00 - 18:50	<b>Performance: Mahallemiz Esrafindan - Booking Required</b>							
19:00 - 20:30	Opening Cocktail							

## DAY 2 - Tuesday 05.09.2023

8:30 - 9:00	Registration and Welcoming Coffee/tea							
9:30 - 11:30	<b>ROOMS</b>							
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 2 Anti-gender campaigns in Bulgaria: Actors, discourses and resistance</b>	<b>Strand 3 Discrimination and anti-feminist movements</b>	<b>Strand 4 Pedagogies of Un/Learning</b>	<b>Strand 5 Naturing Politics</b>	<b>Strand 6 Que(e)rying feminism(s) and affective attachments</b>	<b>Strand 7 Decolonial feminisms and solidarities: Syria and Ukraine</b>	<b>Strand 10 Studying, learning, teaching</b>	
<b>Panel 2</b>	Chair: Mary Lou O'Neill	Chair: Begüm Selici	Chair: Phoebe Kisubi	Chair: Sibel Yardimci	Chair: Carys Hill	Chair: Tereza Hendl	Chair: Defne Karaosmanoğlu	
	Lyuba Spasova	Melike Bozdoğan	Fatma Sude Yaykiran, İlkan Can İpekçi & Giovanni Santoro	Dijan Özkurt	Sevcan Tiftik	Yasser Munif	Aslı Çelik	
	Aleksandra Traykova	Yiğit Bahadır Kaya	Ezgi Sarıtaş & Tuğba Taş	Jülide Sezer	Miriam Adelina Ocadiz Arriaga	Sophie Fullerton	Stefanie Mayer & Viktoria Eberhardt	
	Ralitsa Dimitrova	Manali Desai		Suna Kafadar	Srestha Chatterjee (online)	Sinem Bal	Arzu Saldıray & Cansu Haykir	
	Shaban Darakchi			Tuba Emiroğlu			Kayden Schumacher & Alun De Winter	
							Roshan Roymon	
11:30 - 11:45	Networking break Coffee/tea							

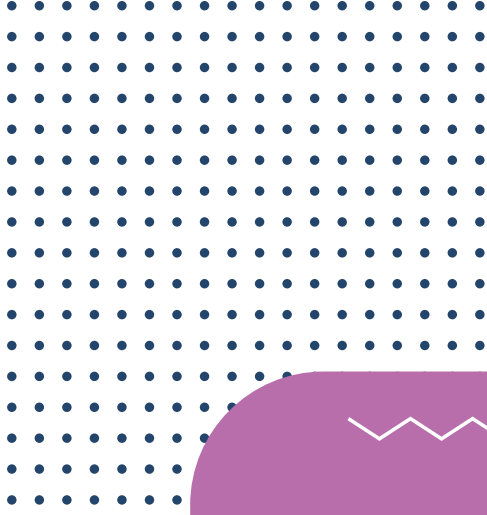
11:45 - 13:30

**(Online) Keynote 2: Madina Tlostanova "Feminist Border Pedagogies as Paths to Refuturing" Chair: Tereza Hendl**

13:30 - 14:30	Lunch							
14:00 - 14:30	<b>Mending Workshop</b>							
14:30-15:45	<b>ROOMS</b>							
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 1 Processes of feminist pedagogic approaches</b>	<b>Strand 2 Backlash and resistance in discourse, literature, social media</b>	<b>Strand 4 Experiences, Challenges, and Pedagogical Insights in Teaching Middle Eastern Gender and Sexuality Studies in Europe</b>	<b>Strand 5 Thinking with Methodologies</b>	<b>Strand 9 Activist visibility, performativity, and media</b>	<b>Strand 10 Gender at work</b>	<b>Early Career Researchers Workshop - Berkeke Waaldijk - Atgender feminist mentoring: Experiences and prospects</b>	
<b>Panel 3</b>	Chair: Özlem Özhabes	Chair: Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu	Chair: Nisrine Chaer	Chair: Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç	Chair: Karolina Szpyrko	Chair: Åsa Ekvall	Chairs: Charlene Calderaro & Demet Gülçiçek	
	Başak Erzi, Elif Solak, Emre Koyuncuoğlu	Nour Almazidi	Sabiha Allouche	Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç	Sama Khosravi Ooryad	Hanish Srinivasan		
	Esra Dicle & Emre Koyuncuoğlu	Ayten Sönmez	Fadi Saleh	Tanya Geggie	Olivia Burchietti	Ezgi Pehlivanli		
	Katarina Lončarević & Ana Kolarić	Haktan Ural & Hande Eslen-Ziya	Adriana Qubaiova	Julie Patarin-Jossec (online)	Sandra Amankaviciute	Defne Karaosmanoğlu		
						Niels Niessen		
15:45-16:00	Networking break Coffee/tea							

16:00-18:00	<b>ROOMS</b>						
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 2 Making sense of the current anti-gender backlash</b>	<b>Strand 3 Aesthetics, queer methodology and new digital possibilities</b>	<b>Strand 5 Situated Pedagogies</b>	<b>Strand 6 From discomfort to transgression: Knowing bodies, shared emotions, and class</b>	<b>Strand 9 Theory for social change</b>	<b>Strand 8 Gendered Trajectories of Nation-Building: War, Memory, and Widowhood</b>	<b>Roundtable: Doing justice and bridging divides: how to interconnect our struggles and movements</b>
<b>Panel 4</b>	Chair: Hande Eslen-Ziya	Chair: Yiğit Bahadır Kaya	Chair: Julide Sezer	Chair: Demet Gülçiçek	Chair: Sevcen Tiftik	Chair: Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu	Chair: Tereza Hendl
	Judith Goetz & Stefanie Mayer	Tanvi Kanchan	Ezgi Hamzaçebi	Dişad Karakurt	Mariaclaudia Cusumano & Alessia Falocco (online)	Cemre Kumla	
	Billy Holzberg	Sabiha Allouche	Nicole Haring	Catherine Dale	Tuna Ögüt	Bengi Bezirgan-Taniş	
	İlke İmer	Aylin Sunam Audry and Ash Özenc	Özlem Güçlü	Hande Çayır	Ece Canlı	Zeynep Kutluata	
			Sanne Koevoets & Neel van Roessel	Ingrid Agud-Morell, Montse Rifà-Valls, Berta Llos-Casadella, Constanza Chamorro	İlkay Özkürallı		
18:30 - 20:30	<b>Organised trips: Cins Adımlar (booking required) &amp; Visit to Frankestayn</b>						

<b>DAY 3 - Wednesday 06.09.2023</b>							
09:30-11:30	<b>ROOMS</b>						
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 2 Deconstructing backlash through feminist research, gender studies, femonationalism</b>	<b>Strand 4 Nationalism, Homonationalism, Femonationalism</b>	<b>Strand 5 Deterritorializing Politics</b>	<b>Strand 7 Decolonial feminisms and solidarities: Europe's East and Central Asia</b>	<b>Strand 8 Palestinian Epistemologies and Resistance: Translating Revolutionary Thought Across Borderlands Today</b>	<b>Strand 9 Organization and politics of care for social movements</b>	<b>Strand 6 Ways of relating: vulnerabilities, sharing and knowledge in collectives and publics</b>
<b>Panel 5</b>	Chair: Zeynep Kutluata	Chair: Angeliki Sifaki	Chair: Deniz Gündoğan İbrişim	Chairs: Tereza Hendl and Zhanar Sekarbayeva	Chair: Adriana Qubaiova	Chair: Karolina Szpyrko	Chair: Liz Ablett
	Betsy Milne & İdil Cambazoğlu	Alexandra Zavvou	Ashnur Bayal	Maria Ochir	Hanna Al-Taher and Noura Salahaldeen	Duygu Dokuz, Gülşah Seral, Hilal Gençay, Nigar Etizer Karacık, Zelal Ayman	Vanja Petrovic (online)
	Aslı Telsezen	Charlène Calderaro	Elif Hant	Tereza Hendl	Maya Zebdawi	Lucia Amaranta Thompson	Tamsyn Riddle
	Ethan Bonali & Francesca Fadda	Andromachi Koutsoulenti	Elisa Bosisio (online)	Oksana Potapova	Salma Shaka	Julie B. Jolo	Ivanka Custodio
		Victoria Kravtsova	Zsófia Szona Illés	Zhanar Sekarbayeva			
11:30 - 11:45	Networking break Coffee/tea						
11:45 - 13:30	<b>Keynote 3: Maria Tamboukou "The Joy of Being Together in Difference" Chair: İrem İnceoğlu</b>						
13:30 - 14:30	Lunch						
14:00 - 14:30	Mending Workshop						
14:30 - 16:30	<b>ROOMS</b>						
<b>Strand</b>	<b>Strand 3 Feminist Activism</b>	<b>Strand 5 The Politics of Aesthetics</b>	<b>Strand 7 Decolonial feminisms and solidarities: Europe's East and Central Asia</b>	<b>Strand 6 Thinking, feeling and knowing differently: Affect and injustice</b>	<b>Strand 8 Voices of Resistance and Resilience: Exploring Gendered Narratives in Conflict and Peace</b>	<b>Strand 9 Anti-gender campaigns and Feminism in Turkey</b>	<b>Strand 10 Everyday life</b>
<b>Panel 6</b>	Chair: İrem Inceoglu	Chair: Özlem Güçlü	Chair: Tereza Hendl	Chair: Sevcen Tiftik	Chair: Zeynep Kutluata	Chair: Tuna Ögüt	Chair: Sophie Alsbach
	Shao Shao (online) Guanqin He (online)	Deniz Atakan Gürbüz	Yuliya Yurchenko (online)	Yanis Iqbal (online)	Mariya Shcherbyna	Ayşe Akalın	Gerlinde Mauerer
	Silvia Semenzin	Luise Erbenraut	Aizada Arystanbek (online)	Derya Özkan & Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç	Aynura Akbas	Eva Bernard	Åsa Ekvall
	Mitra Shamsi	Yiwen Li	Jorune Linkeviciute (online)	Najda Abdül Kader		Begüm Selici	Michela Donatelli (online)
	Karolina Szpyrko			Azadeh Shamsi			Angella Nalwanga
17:00 - 19:00	<b>Atgender General Assembly - D Block Hall</b>						
19:30 - 21:30	<b>Closing Event - Networking Meeting - Sponsored by GenderEX</b>						



# Strand 1: Feminist Acting Pedagogies

*Coordinators: Özlem Hemiş, Özlem Özhabeş, Zeynep Günsür Yüceil*



## Teaching Feminist Theory and Criticism: Research and Activism in the Classroom

*Ana Kolarić, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade*

*Katarina Lončarević, Faculty of Political Science, University of Belgrade*

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The presentation aims to highlight the relationship between research and activism in the feminist classroom. Relying on the authors' experience in teaching feminist theory and criticism at all levels of academic studies (BA, MA and PhD) and dedication to practice of feminist pedagogy in the classroom, the presentation aims to show gains as well as challenges in teaching interdisciplinary courses in feminist theory at two faculties of the University of Belgrade (Faculty of Philology and Faculty of Political Science). Authors analyze syllabi, other course materials (both translated and those published in Serbian) such as periodicals, students' attitudes towards the courses at the beginning and at the end of semester, students' feedback and challenges of anti-gender discourses in academia in an effort to create feminist classroom. The necessary attention is paid to different ways feminist theory has been institutionalized at two faculties of the University of Belgrade and the collaboration between them.

The courses that are analyzed are focused on feminist knowledge production and reproduction, with special attention paid to women's and feminist periodicals as 1) an essential piece of evidence of the history of the women's rights movement as well as a testimony of strong national and transnational collaboration between women over the time; 2) a women's and feminist (counter)public sphere where women/feminists have produced, presented and criticized their ideas; 3) a storage of essays and literary works that have never been published elsewhere.

The presentation will emphasize the relationship between research and activism in the feminist classroom. This relationship comes out from the specific teaching material (sources and ideas) as well as from the specific teaching method. This teaching method aims to connect the classroom with everyday life, highlighting discrimination, inequality and injustice, both in the past and in present, and to invite students and young researchers to actively and responsibly use their knowledge for political and social change.

## “Like All Sinking Countries”: Masculine Domination

*Berra Hayal Bakođlu, M.A. Student, Women’s Studies Master’s Program, Istanbul University*

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Masculinity Studies has begun to emerge as an academic field in the 1970s and has brought a new perspective to gender studies. While researchers have primarily focused on hegemonic masculinity, masculinity crisis, domination, etc., Turkish-speaking literature is no exception. A noteworthy aspect of this body of literature is that they frequently focus on representations of masculinity. Notably, these studies concentrate on men’s domination over women and nature. They have overlooked the domination relations among men.

Drawing on Bourdieu’s conceptualization of masculine domination (2014), I will analyze *Gemide* (On Board, directed by Serdar Akar, 1998) in this paper. *Gemide* is a significant example of male-oriented / male-dominated films in the New Cinema of Turkey in the 1990s. By focusing on *Gemide*’s cinematic narratives and the use of space in the movie, I will focus on the relationship between state, family, and masculinity and its depiction. Thus, I will link the socio-political context of male-oriented films of the 1990s and the gender regime in Turkey.

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*Bourdieu, Pierre. Eril Tahakküm, çev. Bediz Yılmaz. İstanbul: Bağlam Yay, 2014.*

## **“Oh, Germany, Sometimes You Hurt Me!”: Gendered Perspectives on the Invisibility of Migrant Women from Turkey in Germany through *Liebe, DeutschMark und Tot***

*Beyza Özdoğru, MA Student, Women's Studies Master's Program, Istanbul University*

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We have all heard of the workers who migrated to Germany, known as the ‘dreamland,’ then. However, the question of the visibility of women immigrants remains. What do we know about the lives of those women who came to Germany as ‘guest workers’ or to join their family members?

*Liebe, DeutschMark und Tot* (Love, German Mark, and Death, directed by Cem Kaya, 2022) touches upon the lives of so-called guest workers from Turkey who migrated to Germany to join the labor forces. The documentary successfully shows the ‘guests’ transforming into unwanted immigrants since 1961. While the documentary focuses more on male immigrants' social and personal problems, the invisibility of female immigrants is particularly significant.

Considering that Kaya’s documentary fails to provide any information regarding the difficulties female immigrants from Turkey face, examining the different effects of this migration on men and women in the context of the public and private spheres from a gender perspective, I will draw attention to the visibility of men in the public sphere and the invisibility of women in the public sphere. While doing this, I will follow the archive footage from the documentary. Thus, I will provide a gendered account of the ‘guest workers’ that is frequently neglected.

## Women Empowering through PERFORMANCE

*Emre Koyuncuođlu, Director*

*Başak Erzi, Dramaturg & Coordinator*

*Elif Solak, Dramaturg & Playwright*

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In this paper, we like to share our experience in the program “Creating Awareness of Violence Against Women” we are running in Istanbul Municipality Theaters Contemporary Performing Arts Center (CGSM). CGSM has been organizing Empowerment Stories with Women Workshops since 2020. We bring together women who volunteer to share their experiences of gender-based physical, psychological, economical suppression and violence. With a series of workshops, we raise awareness of violence against women. The aim is to bring the lives and experiences of the participating women to the stage, to produce together through theater, to create an empowering performance and generate value from a traumatic experience, to create comfort in expressing the need of support and to multiply together by transforming these shares into an artistic product.

Our main purpose is to give space for those who want to speak out in the safe ground of the workshops and retell their own stories. By the use of different artistic tools.

In this paper we will also give voice to the workshop leaders and have their experience on how they proceed to create a safe and creative space. By using feministic dramaturgy, we try to avoid the experiences turning into victim stories on stage. On the contrary we pay attention to the transformation in the narratives to find their own path to express how these women become empowered to complement the story. Amongst the objectives of the performance is the exploration of a creative active dialogue between the performing women and the audience.

We will also be discussing the differentiation of the performance and of the texts that are created by two groups of women from different districts.

## Staging “A Historical Becoming”

*Emre Koyuncuoğlu, Director*

*Esra Dicle, ÇGSM*

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In this presentation paper, we will explain how we problematized the concept of documentary theatre or the theatre of the real by a feministic critical reading while using post humanist criticism through the play “Halide. Words of Flame” produced for the “Female Peace Palace” premiered in Munchner Kammerspiele.

Halide Edip Adivar is a well known novelist, the controversial freedom fighter and icon of the early women’s movement in Turkey, and also is the intellectual pacifist and friend of Gandhi. This woman fought for contradictory goals throughout her life. We will deal exclusively with the question of staging such a historical female characters contradictory attributes, titles, speeches, stands with one another, so that who only can be defined in a performative reality and in the realm of becoming.

Halide is a historical women figure who has an officially framed and defined status. But juxtaposing her different mind settings on stage, her performative character goes beyond common definitions. To do that, we weaved together a tapestry of literary and documentary sources. We wanted to bring this open contradictoriness and her natural way of evolving as a woman and as a political person to the stage. While proposing a woven esthetics of eastern story telling, puppeteer, various western acting technics that created a unique way of theatricality. In this presentation we want to discuss how all these different theatrical techniques melted into each other.

The play text will address the question of experimenting with a becoming and historical fact. Like Halide’s autobiographical novels, the play’s space is engaging forces of real and the fiction and existing in the in-betweens, so that the idea of a “documentary play” is becoming ironical and “official history” is becoming only a layer of many folders of reality, that can only define the whole.

## Shaping Political Discourse Through TV Series: Kızılıcak Şerbeti

Öykü Teoman, PhD Candidate, Radio, Cinema, and Television Program, Istanbul University

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The political landscape in Turkey has long been characterized by the tension between the center, representing the dominant culture and ideology, and the periphery, representing marginalized and subaltern groups. This conflict, which encompasses other dichotomies prevalent in Turkey, such as those based on religion, gender, and ethnicity, has shaped the discourse of identity politics in the country. Gender has been a central focus for discussing and extending this tension, and, as a result, women have been burdened with being at the forefront of this conflict.

Turkish TV series gained global popularity over the past decade and frequently used this conflict as a central theme. Yet a recent TV show, *Kızılıcak Şerbeti* (Cranberry Sorbet, directed by Ketche, 2022, aired on Show TV), holds a unique position from this perspective. Despite revolving around the same conflict, it emphasizes female companionship as a solution to this problem. The series brings together female characters from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and creates a space where they can learn from one another and provide mutual support rather than highlighting their contrasts as is usually done.

Unfortunately, this solution-oriented narrative was met with government censorship, justified by the explicit demonstration of violence against women. As a result, the censorship provoked a public backlash, and the series became a symbol of feminist resistance in contemporary public discourse.

This research aims to contribute to understanding how popular culture reflects and shapes political discourse, using a mixed-methods approach that includes textual analysis and audience research.

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Civelek, M. (2023). *Kızılıcak Şerbeti*. Show TV.

Mardin, Ş. (1973). Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics? *Daedalus*, 102(1), 169–190. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024114>

## To Not Get Lost On The Road: Being A 'Man'

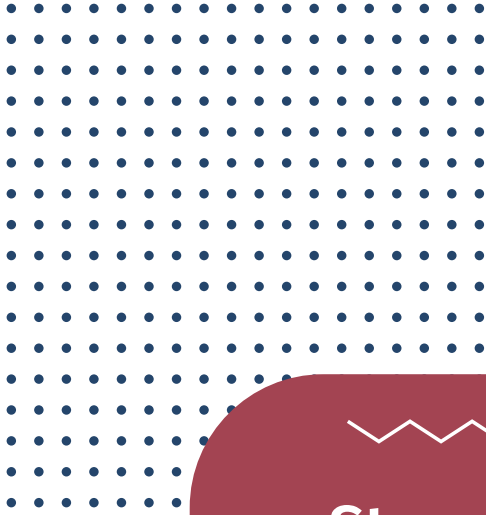
*Zeynep Pardoğan, MA Student, Women's Studies Master's Program, Istanbul University*

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Masculinity Studies have gained ground within Gender Studies since the 1970s, providing a new area for questioning established gender norms. Yet, there needs to be more research on constructing different forms of masculinities and their struggles. This paper will focus on *Sivas* (directed by Kaan Müjdeci, 2014). *Sivas* takes place in the small village of Yozgat in central Anatolia, Turkey, and depicts Aslan's struggles, a child trying to find his place in life.

I aim to explore how masculinity is constructed in the film and investigate the possibility of creating, living, and maintaining different forms of masculinity in the face of conflicting authorities. I will analyze the *Sivas* through social capital, power relations, and competition. By scrutinizing the relationship between various forms of masculinity, I will highlight how they interact with each other and how this impacts the construction of those different forms of masculinity.

The story of Aslan in *Sivas* provides a unique opportunity to examine how masculinity is constructed, challenged, and transformed in a rural context. The film offers a nuanced portrayal of the struggles faced by Aslan and other men in the village as they attempt to create alternative forms of masculinity beyond the dominant paradigm. Through the analysis of *Sivas*, I hope to shed light on the complex and varied nature of masculinities and



## Strand 2: Gender Backlash and Contestation of Gender and Sexual Equality in Europe and Beyond

*Coordinators: Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu and Maryna Shevtsova*



## Anti-Gender Campaigns and Violence Against Women in Bulgaria

*Aleksandra Traykova, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

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In 2018, Bulgaria declined to sign the Istanbul Convention amid an unprecedented instance of mass gay and trans panic that portrayed the convention's use of the term "gender" as unconstitutional and a gateway to embracing "gender ideology". Since then, the EU's poorest state has struggled to come up with adequate measures against domestic violence despite an increasing number of femicides. This paper highlights the links between "anti-gender" campaigns and gender-based violence, including the structural violence encountered by Bulgarian women who require institutional help in order to leave aggressive partners. It showcases the way figures of political authority in Bulgaria are willing to sacrifice the safety of female citizens in order to oppose the more general efforts to promote equality between all sexes, genders and sexual orientations. As a consequence, abused women's basic human needs are not met and their rights are continuously trampled, because instead of responding adequately to instances of violence, institutions keep reinforcing toxic social dynamics and contributing to a hostile social climate that opposes progressive ideas. In conclusion, "anti-gender" campaigns reproduce a perpetual vicious cycle of isolation, disempowerment, inequality and injustice by means of applying sexist notions that hinder Bulgarian women's struggle for survival and independence.

## Deconstructing Anti-Gender Discourses through Feminist Epistemology and Intersectionality: The Role of Gender Studies Research Centers in Resistance and Inclusion

*Aslı Telseren, Doğuş University, Sociology Department; University of Paris, LCSP / CEDREF*

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The contemporary era is characterized by turbulence, marked by wars, neocolonialism, economic, social, and political crises, and the Covid-19 pandemic, all of which have contributed to transnational mobility. Moreover, the development of technology and its impact on the relationship between individuals and technology has introduced new layers to the concepts of accessibility, distance, and interaction. Within these experiences, borders and boundaries have gained diverse meanings that are associated with positive and negative connotations. Additionally, new forms of privilege, discrimination, and disadvantage have materialized. In this context, the past decade witnessed the mobilization of anti-gender movements against so-called "gender ideology" in Europe and beyond, alongside right-wing populist leaders and parties that hold political power as well as the resistance of feminists, LGBTI+ activists, and feminist and queer scholars against this gender backlash and conservative politics. Therefore, this paper will focus on the significance of gender studies research centers and departments regarding the resistance against the anti-gender movement. As a multidisciplinary field that scrutinizes the social, cultural, and historical constructions of gender and sexuality, gender studies play a critical role in creating resistance strategies against anti-gender movements and in challenging patriarchy. In this presentation, I aim to explore how feminist scholars can deconstruct the discourses produced by the anti-gender movement through feminist epistemology and the theory of intersectionality. Furthermore, I will discuss how gender studies departments and research centers can provide a learning environment that is inclusive of disadvantaged groups such as migrants, refugees, and queers.

## Anti Anti-Gender Generation in Contemporary Turkish Literature

*Ayten Sönmez, Sabancı University*

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Contemporary literature tends to include global and local issues on its agenda and to create a literary and political language within the framework of literature. In the Turkish context, the literature that was supposed to be depoliticised after the 1980 coup d'état produced examples of women's literature that created a feminist political language. Although it is difficult to identify specific literary generations such as the socialist-realist generation, the 1950s generation or the '68 generation in contemporary literature, it can be argued that women short story writers after 2000 have created a strong language and a deep line against anti-gender discourses and movements. Although their sources of inspiration may vary, what comes to the fore is that post-2000 short story writers are united in the idea of feminism that criticises "the family", which is the key concept of anti-gender discourses. In the works of post-2000 women short story writers, the family as an ideological apparatus functions as an instrument of social oppression and control, particularly in relation to gender identity and sexual orientation. This critique overlaps with feminist activist discourses against gender backlash. To illustrate this thesis, the works of contemporary women writers such as Mine Söğüt, Melisa Kesmez, Burçin Tetik, Pelin Buzluk and Pınar Öğünç will be discussed.

## 'Silenced and Ignored': Exploring the Affective and Embodied Realities of 'Risky' Feminist Research with Young Misogynist Boys

Betsy Milne, Centre for Multidisciplinary and Intercultural Inquiry (CMII), University College London

İdil Cambazoğlu, Institute of Education, University College London

Craig Haslop, University of Liverpool

Jessica Ringrose, Institute of Education, University College London

We conducted focus groups with 13-14-year-old boys in one middle-class London school to explore boys' perspectives on growing networked misogyny, involving online hostility and hatred towards women (Banet-Weiser&Miltner, 2016). Boys in one group expressed misogynistic views and support for Andrew Tate—a 'misogyny influencer' who has amassed millions of likes and views on TikTok. We did not predict how researching such turbulent gendered topics might also re-produce offline misogyny targeted at the woman researcher during interviews like silencing and ignoring (Abdelnour&Moghli, 2021). Our paper explores the affective gendered territories of doing risky feminist research (Mugge, 2013) with boys who look up to these misogynist influencers and their lifestyle.

Drawing on feminist methodologies (St.Pierre&Pillow, 2000), we reflect on how the interviewees' sexism shaped positionalities during the field (Gelir, 2021). Visibilizing the 'hidden histories' (O'Brien, 2019) of our research, we revisit longstanding academic discussions about the role of feminist researchers in male-dominated research fields (Ergun&Erdemir, 2010). We discuss the difficulties involved with researching boys' aggrieved and anti-feminist views (Kimmel, 2017) from the perspective of a woman researcher. We ask: what is at stake if the researcher feels 'closed-off' (Rice, 2010) and at what cost can feminist researchers re-claim their power? Through mapping out the competing responsibilities of engaging in 'activism' and 'research', we de/re-construct the meanings attributed to 'good/bad' feminist research, and the ethical dilemmas of remaining 'silent' and 'neutral' as the interviewer (Gailey&Proshka, 2011). We conclude with recommendations for researchers working in the intersection of gender/sex/uality and feminist pedagogy.

Abdelnour, S., & Abu Moghli, M. (2021). *Researching violent contexts: A call for political reflexivity*. *Organization*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/13505084211030646>

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## Anti-Gender Politics and the Affective Politics of the Great Replacement

*Billy Holzberg, Assistant Professor (Lecturer) of Social Justice, King's College London*

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In this talk, I argue that the mainstreaming of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory operates as a key force in the current backlash to gender, sexual, and racial equality. Starting with an analysis of how the conspirational ideology that the national population is replaced through engineered mass migration and falling birth rates is articulated in Germany, the talk traces its transnational articulation in white supremacist networks. I suggest that while the conspiracy directly embraces racist, antisemitic, Islamophobic, and anti-feminist ideologies, its affective grammars – the constructed fear of a declining populous and increased migration, the aggrieved entitlement over female sexuality, and alarmist calls for the protection of the white nuclear family – are by no means confined to neo-Nazi networks. Instead, they are part of increasingly mainstream anti-gender discourses that focus on cementing a naturalised sex/gender binary and positioning the white nuclear family as the foundation of the nation, animating social movements, political parties, and state policies across Europe and beyond. As such, the talk highlights the importance of an intersectional analysis of demographic anxieties and eugenic desires for understanding and contesting transnational anti-gender politics today.

## **Pedagogy of Oppressed Families in Italian Culture: Resistance to the "God, Fatherland, Family" Rhetoric Conveyed through Femonationalism within the Anti-Gender Far Right Political Project**

*Ethan Bonali, Independent Researcher*

*Francesca Fadda, Independent Researcher*

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When looking at different national cases of anti-gender mobilizations, common themes and preoccupations become obvious; it is also clear that the movements share intellectual sources and authorities in order to build a sense of common identity among “defenders of the traditional family and values.”

Italian Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni, through the slogan "I am Giorgia, I am a woman, I am a mother, I am Italian, I am christian" declares and embodies the synergy between the anti-gender movement, the far-right party and femonationalism.

Her birth rate policy, rooted in the fascist concept of family and childhood, by leveraging demographic anxiety and ethnographic decline creates new racial boundaries, blocking migratory flows to replace them with new Italic births, makes access to rights, including reproductive ones, inaccessible to non-heterocisnormal families and finally, recalling The Negro Family report, punishes families in which childhood do not correspond to white, heterosexual and cisgender one.

To a policy that makes the family the control cell of an oppressor state, the answer lies in a pedagogy of the oppressed family that restores the subject to history by documenting the history of communities that have been excluded from historical accounts and encouraging individuals to see themselves as historical actors, supports healing, reconciliation, and developmental teaching and learning affording the currency to validate and to exchange important experiences with the families, works as an artistic practice that can transform relationships and build new cultural perspectives, thereby opening new dialogues to engage positive home-school-community-university relationships.

## Can Moral Panic Legitimize E-Bile Rhetoric? The Case Against Turkish Singer Gülşen

*Haktan Ural, Ankara University*

*Hande Eslen-Ziya, University of Stavanger*

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In this presentation, by studying the case of Gülşen - a Turkish singer who has been attacked brutally online, we examine whether moral panics felt by the conservative circles in Turkey translate into e-bile and the ways that violent cyber-attacks reinforce polarized political environment in Turkey. The analyses of the tweets posted between 24-30 August 2022 including #Gülşen and other relevant hashtags (such as #ArrestGülşen or #FreeGülşen) reveals that the misogynist rhetoric of e-bile is not necessarily omnipresent but rather structured by the wider political and cultural climate. For that reason, the uses of vitriol and the exercise of e-bile can be quite imbalanced and unevenly distributed. In our case, for instance, e-bile is distinctively prevalent among the opponents of Gülşen who are mostly characterized by the religiously conservative norms and values. Given that, we suggest that the concurrence of criminalization by the state institutions (by means of detention and arrest of Gülşen) effectively validates the violent attacks of Gülşen's opponents while leading her supporters into intimidation and paralysis. From that vantage point, we show that the pervasiveness of e-bile is strongly concatenated to the political and cultural structures. In this sense, our study contributes to our understanding of e-bile, by suggesting that cultural intelligibility and political hegemony make room for and legitimize the graphic language of online communities. By the same token, the misogynist and homophobic invective turns into an instrument of symbolic violence being exercised by culturally and politically privileged segments of the society.

## Understanding Gender Backlash Through the Lens of Collaboration: What is at Stake for Gender Mainstreaming?

*İlke İmer, Sabancı University*

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Gender mainstreaming (GM) first appeared at the Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995 as “an organizational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of institution’s policy and activities, through building gender capacity and accountability” (United Nations, 1996). Many feminists around the world celebrated this conference as a success of transnational feminism. For some feminists, on the other hand, GM policies contribute to the neo-liberalization of feminism by incorporating feminist ideas and values into the neo-liberal rationality and thus instrumentalize feminist demands rather than actualizing them.

Instead of limiting the frame to existing ideological debates about GM and taking sides, this paper focuses on the praxis of GM in Turkey. Gender equality training programs as one of the prominent tools of GM create contact zones where different actors with different agendas come together. Considering that GM establishes itself through collaboration between the civil society, public and private sectors, it contains contestations, negotiations, and compromises.

This paper argues that the gender backlash in Turkey can be better understood when GM activities are analyzed through the lens of collaboration because, growing alliances between national and international, public, and private establishments for GM undermine the Turkish government’s sovereignty by challenging the ideologies that underpin the government as well as the idea of the nation-state. Deriving from the participant observation conducted between 2020- 2022 and in-depth interviews with experts in GM, this paper aims to transcend monolithic representations of GM by showing that it generates multiple, even contradictory, meanings and practices.

## Coloniality and Cruelty: The Attacks on Gender and Critical Race Theory in Decolonial Perspective

*Dr. Isis Giraldo, University of Lausanne*

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In this piece, I engage with the attacks on gender and Critical Race Theory (CRT) that have been taking place on both sides of the Atlantic for more than a decade —and which I consider as the most visible face of larger current global ideological struggles— to challenge the liberal framework from within which they are usually addressed. My argument is two-fold: first, I claim that although gender and CRT have been the entry points for the articulation of these attacks, what is at stake goes well beyond so as to encompass larger issues of justice. Second, that these attacks do not mobilise a flagrant ‘anti-intellectual’ sentiment but are built from within well-informed frameworks and/or orchestrated by highly-educated people. Further, rather than being ‘populist’, they emerge and encompass straightforward elitist defences of gendered, racial, sexual, and social hierarchies that are common in certain strands of Catholicism/Christianism but that are also shared at the secular end of the ideological spectrum. These attacks aim at making a strong case for oppression, injustice, and the exploitation of people and earth. They seek to counter the pedagogies of empathy, justice, and care that have been advanced by feminist, anti-racist, and anti-colonial activists and scholars for decades and thanks to which certain, though limited, gains have been made. As such, they entrench the ‘coloniality of power’ (Quijano 2000) and constitute ‘pedagogies of cruelty’ (Segato 2018; Giraldo 2021). I will close my talk by briefly presenting the implementation of an educative project I carried out at a high-school in French speaking Switzerland and which I devised with the explicit purpose of countering such pedagogies of cruelty.

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## Global Articulations of Anti-Feminism

*Judith Goetz, University of Innsbruck*

*Stefanie Mayer, Institute of Conflict Research*

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Anti-feminist ideology in its current re-iteration as anti-gender and anti-LGBTIQ+-discourse has become a global phenomenon. Even though these discourses were invented and first developed in Catholic, Evangelical and political right-wing circles in Europe and the US (and therefore intrinsically linked to white racism and eurocentrism as well as antisemitism), they spread across the globe and became part of rightwing, nationalist and nativist projects in different contexts. Ironically these are often clad in anti-colonial or anti-Western rhetoric, which conceals their transnational heritage and serves the othering of feminists and LGBTIQ+-activists.

Based on an anthology on 'Global Perspectives on Anti-Feminism' (EUP, September 2023) edited by the presenters, the contribution discusses these transnational phenomena based on empirical contributions providing examples from five continents. Comparing different national cases from post-colonial as well as Western countries allows us to analyse common patterns – e.g. constructions of enemies to “the people” or the rhetoric devices rendering (queer) feminism an “import” foreign to the national culture – as well as the different framings used due to historic and (geo-)political differences. Our analysis shows that one of the reasons for anti-feminism’s global success as a tool of right-wing politics is its double role in constructing (national) differences on the one hand, while on the other hand providing common enemies ('gender ideology', 'the homo-/trans-lobby' etc.) and a common goal on a global scale. We show that analysing antifeminism as an intersectional ideology of inequality provides a fruitful line of inquiry for further research into its global articulations.

## Gender Backlash in the US: Reconsidering Critical Feminist Pedagogy in German Studies

*Dr. Kaleigh Bangor, The University of Oklahoma*

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According to Trans Legislation Tracker, “2023 marks the fourth consecutive record-breaking year for total number of anti-trans bills considered in the U.S.”<sup>1</sup> In Oklahoma, the state in which I currently teach, 39 anti-trans bills have been put forth this year alone.<sup>2</sup> While these bills mainly attack trans healthcare, education is the second most popular target. Some educators are even receiving death threats from a person with the alias “Kill All Marxist Teachers,”<sup>3</sup> which is always alarming, but even more so in 2023, the year in which the US is on track to set the record for mass killings.<sup>4</sup> In the face of this gender backlash, trans people and their allies of all ages are fighting back.<sup>5</sup> The central question of my talk will thus revolve around how feminist pedagogy can help in these turbulent times. As a lecturer of German Studies at the University of Oklahoma, I have had numerous discussions with our many LGBTQIA+ students about what can be done about this situation. These conversations led me to teach a course on LGBTQIA+ issues in a German context and to lead a faculty workshop on how to incorporate non-binary pronouns in various modern languages. However, these were pedagogical aims that I had already planned out. So, where do we go from here? To conclude this paper, I will re-consider how even critical feminist pedagogical aims must grapple with the changing context of discriminations and disadvantages in an even more triggering atmosphere.

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1 <https://translegislation.com/learn>

2 <https://translegislation.com/bills/2023/OK>

3 <https://www.vice.com/en/article/n7z8eg/anti-trans-rights-matt-walsh-execution-teachers-doctors>

4 <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/may/09/us-on-track-set-record-mass-killings-2023>

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<https://www.nbcnews.com/nbc-out/out-politics-and-policy/peaceful-protest-trans-mob-oklahoma-demonstration-riles-right-rcna69779>

## Anti-Gender Campaigns in Bulgaria: Major Actors and Challenges in Academia

*Lyuba Spasova; Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

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From 2018 onwards, following the moral panics created by opponents of the Istanbul Convention and the National Child Strategy (2019-2030) in Bulgaria, the meaning of the term "gender" has been distorted, and gender studies, gender politics, and advocacy have been under a strategic and well-organized anti-gender attacks. This paper examines the development of the anti-gender campaigns, the main actors involved, and some of the effects of the campaigns evident in the current connotations and usage of the term "gender." Special attention is paid to the challenges faced in academia, particularly the clash between numerical equality and actual gender inequality in the context of active anti-gender campaigns. According to data from several studies, promoting gender equality in Bulgaria is generally lagging behind in comparison to other EU countries in almost all spheres except science and education. However, a number of challenges and weaknesses remain that deserve attention. Contrary to popular belief, this is especially true for the humanities and social sciences, as evidenced by the challenges identified during the elaboration of the current GEPs of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

## Feminization as Backlash-Politics - Devaluation of Femininity in Education in Czechia and Germany

*Nina Fárová, University of Hradec Králové*

*Johanna Maria Pangritz, University of Hradec Králové*

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In these days, anti-gender movements are present across the world and different parts of society. Even though education claims to contribute to social participation and democratization of society, we have to realize that education is also a field of backlash politics. All over Europe, there has been discussions on the 'boys crises' which is linked to the demand for more male professionals in the education system. In this context, the so-called 'feminization' of education is discussed as the problem. In this paper, we want to explore why feminization in primary education is framed as a "problem" and why there is a tendency to "solve" this problem with adding more men. We want to argue that creating feminization of primary education as a problem is part of the conservative anti-gender propaganda that aims on re-masculinization of the education, which can be associated the devaluation of female teachers and highlighting that boys are the so-called new disadvantaged. Our research is based on the Czech and German context. Even though we know from (feminist) research in the UK that the negotiation of feminization can be understood as backlash politics, there are almost no reflections of this insight in Germany and the Czech Republic. Rather, the debates in both countries continue and continue to problematize the alleged 'feminization' in the context of education. We conclude that adding more men to primary education itself would not benefit the gender equality policies in education and that we need to search for broader and more reflected diversity.

## Anti-Gender, Anti-Feminist and Anti-Queer Politics in the Gulf

*Nour Almazidi, London School of Academics*

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Transnational anti-gender politics, including attacks on feminism, sexual rights and gender studies, are intimately intertwined with nationalisms, religion, traditional family values, and an attachment to naturalised heteronormative binary sex/gender systems. It is precisely these challenges to “the heteronormative modern family, claims for same-sex marriage, reproductive rights, sex education, trans\* recognition or equal pay” that unite what is framed as ‘gender ideology’ (Hemmings, 2021). Anti-gender discourses are then positioned as a defence of naturalised and complementary sexual difference as that which is foundational to nationalist imaginaries. This paper critically investigates anti-gender, anti-feminist, and anti-queer politics and discourses in the Gulf region. I focus on specific case studies of anti-feminist lectures, attacks on gender studies and the Fetrah campaign and explore their epistemic and material implications. Through an analysis that is attuned to the historical and material realities of the region, I track the political and conceptual language used in anti-feminist, anti-gender studies, and anti-queer campaigns to elucidate the authoritarian terrain and surveillance against which feminist and queer activists and scholars struggle. By showing how anti-gender actors in the Gulf region rely on the framing of gender (al-gendara) and feminism (al-nasawiyya) as an external threat, the paper highlights the importance of challenging the conceptual language of contemporary theorizations for studying how anti-gender, anti-feminist and anti-queer politics operate transnationally.

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## Anti-Gender Campaigns and LGBTQI+ Minorities in Bulgaria: Attacks and Resistance

*Ralitsa Dimitrova, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

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One of the main targets of the anti-gender campaigns are the LGBTQI+ minorities. There is a growing body of scholarship from the last few years demonstrating that the anti-gender actors are importing transnational anti-LGBTQI+ rhetoric and adapting it into the specific national contexts. Some authors have identified these campaigns as anti-LGBTQI+ movements and campaigns. Since the initial emergence of the anti-gender campaigns in Bulgaria the sexual minorities have been strategically attacked by (1) evangelical organizations affiliated to certain religious and political entities in the USA, (2) nationalist populist actors and (3) public figures and outlets with strong links to Russian foreign politics and propaganda. Aiming to systematize and investigate the strategies and the discourses of the anti-gender campaigns aimed at LGBTQI+ people in Bulgaria, this presentation summarizes 12 case studies of public campaigns targeting sexual minorities between 2018 and 2023. The main goals of this study are: (1) to outline the main discourses and patterns of rhetoric used against LGBTQI+ people in a comparative, transnational perspective; (2) to identify the main actors and the dynamic between them analyzing the mobilization capacities and cooperation between these actors and (3) to analyze the main strategies for resistance by different LGBTQI+ organization and collectives.

## **“We Don’t Need More Gender Equality, We Have the Best One”: Why Do Some Women Support the Anti-Gender Campaigns in Bulgaria?**

*Shaban Darakchi, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences*

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The rising of the #metoo# movements made the reconsideration of women’s rights and gender-based violence an essential topic on a global level. In Bulgaria, the anti-gender debates have mobilized a new wave of the feminist movement, which resulted in the organization of many public actions and discussions. On the other hand, in opposition to these movements, many women happened to support the more patriarchal ideas about women and men and even opposed women’s rights movements. This trend is discussed by many as a reaction against the social inequalities, especially in Eastern Europe (Graff, 2022). In Bulgaria, those women who defend the patriarchal vision of women usually expressed the common belief that socialism in the country had made women’s rights possible before many other countries did so, despite the “overburden” of the socialist women and the lack of female political representation. Inspired by Schippers’s (2007) concept of “hegemonic femininity” and “pariah femininity” and based on the evaluation of social media comments between 2018 and 2022, this analysis has identified four explicit types of beliefs about the topic of women’s rights and gender-based violence among women who have expressed opposition to the concept of gender equality. The results from this study demonstrates that the female participation in the anti-gender movement is multifactorial, involving social inequalities and certain cultural beliefs.

## Spring Fever in the Netherlands: Traveling Backlash to Sex Education

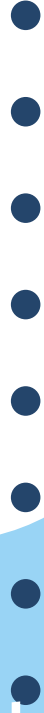
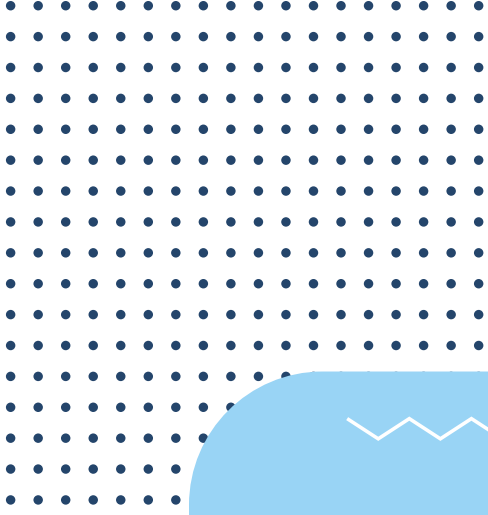
*Willemijn Krebbeke, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam*

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In 2017, the WHO wrote that “there is a little opposition to sexuality education” in the Netherlands. Yet, in spring 2023, controversy accompanied the yearly ‘spring fever’ week of sexual and relational education in primary schools. It led to parliamentary questions, national headlines, and death threats to employees of the center for sexuality education that developed the program. While the grave exaggerations and fake news that surrounded the case are easily debunked, this uproar also reflects important trends in the globalizing anti-gender backlash.

This paper situates this controversy in the recent history of sex education in the Netherlands. It shows that for a long time, sex education was not a hot topic for parliamentary politics but was delegated to knowledge centers and experts. Opposition came only from a small religious minority. In the last two decades, a liberal approach to sex education became attached to Dutch national identity. The Dutch tended to see sex education as something ‘typically Dutch’ that could be mobilized in sexual nationalist discourses.

Yet, in the spring fever controversy, it became clear that there is a break with these two ways of dealing with sex education (relegating to politics or mobilizing it in sexual nationalist discourses). Instead, the analysis of the spring fever controversy shows that anti-gender and anti-elite sentiments have taken a strong hold, and, following international developments, a backlash to sex education that especially targets gender and sexual minorities is growing, also in a country once proud of its early and comprehensive sex education.



## Strand 3: Digital Media / Digital Spaces

*Coordinators: İrem İnceođlu, Defne Karaosmanođlu,  
Arianna Mainardi, Sveva Magaraggia,  
Hande Eslen-Ziya*



## The Role of Cultural Geography, Gender, and Sexual Orientation in Young Adults' Self-Presentation on Mobile Dating Apps in Turkey

*Aylin Sunam Audry, Kadir Has University*

*Özen Baş, Kadir Has University*

*Gözde Çöbek, Kadir Has University*

*İrem İnceoğlu, Kadir Has University*

*Yiğit Bahadır Kaya, Kadir Has University*

*Aslı Özenç, Kadir Has University*

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Dating apps have become increasingly popular among young people in Turkey. Self-presentation practices in dating apps are heavily studied in this area of research. However, the existing literature focuses on users' self-presentation practices of popular applications in the Anglo-American context. This study contributes to the body of research by investigating self-presentation practices across five applications and in an understudied cultural context, Turkey, where there is a strong social stigma regarding online dating that affects dating app users unequally. Specifically we conducted a quantitative content analysis on 1976 dating app profiles uncovering the self-presentation practices of Turkish users aged 18-29 years in 5 different dating apps in different geographical regions of Turkey (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Antalya, Çanakkale, Diyarbakır) tapping onto metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions. We investigated the role of cultural geography, gender, and sexual orientation in young adults' self-presentations in Turkey. First, our results show that users living in non-metropolitan areas are more likely to avoid displaying their faces than metropolitan dweller counterparts. This can be interpreted as a tactic to circumvent stigma and neighborhood pressure in non-metropolitan Turkey. Second, we find that profiles of women seeking women are more likely to disclose their faces than men seeking men, despite our expectation that they would avoid face disclosure for fear of being identified by others. This finding is inconsistent with the literature on gender differences in self-presentation suggesting women are more likely to display facial images on their profiles than men, who mostly display body images. gender has a stronger impact on visual self-presentation than sexual orientation. This finding demonstrates that: (1) gender codes might be more influential in self-presentation than sexual orientation codes and (2) how these codes are reproduced through visual self-presentation.

## Mediated Gender (In)visibility: Identifying Young Women's Experiences of Online Sexual Harassment in Turkey

*Aysima Kiriş, MSc Gender and Women's Studies, METU*

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Although several studies have focused on cyberbullying, online hate speech and cybercrime, no research prior to this study has examined sexual harassment in the context of power relations, misogyny and gender invisibility in the digital space. Research suggests that young women are more likely to experience online harassment based on their gender, mostly on Instagram and Twitter, in Turkey (TBID, 2021).

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore how young women make sense of and respond to their own sexual harassment experiences on social media in Turkey, and to identify the various forms of online sexual harassment that arise in this context. Using mixed method study approach with Online Sexual Harassment (OSH) scale followed by in-depth interviews with a sample of young women aged 18-29 elaborating their own experiences; this study aims to find a) whether there is a correlation between OSH experiences and demographic variables, such as age, sexual orientation, education level and social media use, and b) which of the three domains of the OSH scale (unwanted sexual attention, gender harassment, image-based sexual abuse) are correlated with online sexual harassment experiences. The results will be discussed in terms of building resistance networks, legal arrangements and further research recommendations.

## Intellectual Property Rights of Activism: Paradoxes of Feminist Activist Labour

*Karolina Szpyrko, University of Sussex*

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The conflation of feminist activism with an idea of symbolic or proprietary ownership has for long caused problems within academic scholarship. Already in 1997 Charlotte Brunsdon (1997, p. 101), while discussing 1990s experience of womanhood, asked ‘why should 1970s feminism have a copyright on feminism?’ suggesting an existing power imbalance between strands of ‘feminism’ and various approaches and definitions of it.

In this presentation I explore the topic of intellectual property rights in relation to feminisms and activism by reviewing a number of contemporary examples of trade marking of activist slogans and logos. This trend has become widespread across many social movements in the last decade and raises the question of the relevance of offline activist labour for visual brand making.

Drawing on extensive research conducted since 2016 within the contemporary feminist movement in Poland, consisting of 30 interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, this study focuses on the personal and embodied costs faced by activists. Central to my analysis is the assessment of the value inherent in activist labour, along with the formulation of strategies aimed at wresting it from the clutches of capital. My overriding argument is that the neoliberal system in decline renders activist work labourless to capitalise on the visibility it produces and breaths values of self-made entrepreneurship into otherwise collective practice. Against this backdrop, I undertake the task of delineating the junctures and intersections between online and offline manifestations of feminist activist labour.

## Disrupting Traditional Women Narratives on Netflix

*Manali Sunil Desai, Institute of Advanced Studies in English, Pune*

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Women and men's relationships with the big and small screens have been the subject of analysis and commentary. Considerations include how women and men are portrayed onscreen, how audience members interact with screened content, and the gendered forms of participation that shape the content production process. The goal of this paper is to highlight an imbalance that contributes to societal biases regarding gender, perpetuating stereotypes. The landscape, however, is not devoid of conceptual and material sites of conflict, and digital innovations are further agitating things by disrupting old patterns of production, distribution, and consumption of over-the-top content. The result, I argue, is a disruption of traditional boundaries heralded, most prominently but not solely, by a streaming service with a global footprint: Netflix, and it is through this channel of representation that diverse women narratives are understood and studied.

## Online Hate Speech and Anti-Feminist Discourse in The Case of the Istanbul Convention

*Melike Bozdoğan, Research Assistant, Başkent University, Department of Sociology*

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The increasing use of social media, while providing new tools for gender advocacy, also leads to the spread of anti-gender discourses and hate speech. Social media is becoming an area where anti-gender and anti-feminist discourses circulate. The Istanbul Convention (IC), one of the critical conventions on gender-based violence, was contested significantly in Turkey through online campaigning. Despite Turkey's withdrawal from the IC, opposition to the Convention is still a campaign issue due to its impact on domestic legal regulations. This study, which will analyze the discourses against the IC on Twitter in Turkey, argues that the anti-Convention groups' misogynistic and anti-feminist discourses are examples of online hate speech. As the analyzed Tweets illustrate, opposition to the IC represents an attack on women's rights and gender equality claims. These discriminative discourses stigmatize feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists and normalize gender discrimination. This study will examine the tweets sent under the hashtag #Istanbulsözlesmesinehayir (#no to the Istanbul Convention) by the anti-Convention groups. The analysis of tweets will shed light on the communicative strategies of the anti-Convention groups via Twitter and their influence on the political agenda and policy making in the case of the Istanbul Convention debates in Turkey.

## Iranian Feminist Digital Activism: Politics of Visibility and Discursive Struggles

*Mitra Shamsi, Center for Advanced Internet Study (CAIS), Ruhr-Universität Bochum*

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My research looks at the mediation of Iranian women's activism and debates around gender issues on social media platforms as this is shaped by local and global power relations. Centring its analysis on the generation of narratives and images on Instagram and Twitter, the research interrogates the production and circulation of feminist discourses by Iranian feminists and women's rights campaigners. In studying media practices and strategies for the self-mediation of activists, a digital ethnographic approach is applied. The main research question is: how are Iranian women's issues and demands mainly framed in the self-mediated content of feminist activists on social media, and with which discursive frameworks and media strategies are different issues performed online? The subsidiary research question is: how are these narratives shaped and constrained on the one hand, by affordances and mediation opportunity structure of digital media (Cammaerts 2018; 2015; 2013; 2012) and on the other hand, by the political opportunity structure of the country (Tilly and Tarrow 2015; Giugni 2009), and the local and global power relations? I frame part of the activist's digital campaigns as forms of popular feminism (Banet-Weiser, et al. 2020, Banet-Weiser 2018, 2018B, 2017), which centre on the mediation of individual woman empowerment and self-branding, particularly by Iranian feminists in the diaspora, as a way of understanding their connection with transnational and western feminisms in combination with their characteristics as nationally-focused causes.

## **“If It Was My Account with My Name, I Would be Scared For My Life Because I Don't Know What They Are Capable of”: Queer Online Sex Work in Turkey**

*Rukaya Al Zayani, Örebro University*

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This article explores how violence travels between the online and the offline worlds within the context of queer online sex work in Turkey. The study considers the lived experiences of the queer online sex workers and how violence affects them. This article adopts spatiotemporal and sensorial modality as a theoretical framework to investigate the different modalities of violence/violations that travels spatially between the offline and online context. The findings are based on four narrative interviews conducted with queer online sex workers in Turkey. The findings illustrate that violence travels spatially between time and space and it reflects offline offences, such as the traditional aspects of gender-based violence, patriarchal violence, and sexual violence that is accelerated by hegemonic notions of masculinity.

## Dragging the State: Belly Dancing as Queer Willful (Counter-) Aesthetics

*Dr. Sabiha Allouche, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter*

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My paper explores Arab queer migrants' revival of belly dancing as a medium for reclaiming home and making home in their navigation of state and societal homophobia both at home and abroad. Although belly dancing continues to lend itself to Orientalist (read stereotypes) tropes in both western and non-western cultural productions, in addition to establishing itself as a global hobby thanks to schools propelled by certified professionals and enabled by a hyper-connected world, it has re-emerged as the quintessential mode of expression in queer Arab diasporic spaces, both in Europe and the US. I analyse selected content from publicly circulated footage on social media and music videos. I draw on Judith Butler's work on 'performativity', and ties in Sara Ahmed's concept of 'willful subjects' with Madina Tlostanova's 'decolonial aesthesis' to conceive belly-dancing as 'wilful dragging', whereby the boundaries between the 'national', the 'vulgar', and the 'playful' are blurred, re-homed, and re-purposed beyond the grips of the neoliberal state's cis and hetero gaze.

## Ghostly Worldmaking: How Chinese Digital Feminists Navigate Enforced Disappearance Against Digital Patriarchal Authoritarianism

Shao Shao, *Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis, University of Amsterdam*

Guanqin He, *Department of Media and Culture Studies, Utrecht University*

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On March 2021, the 10-year-old Weibo account of a Chinese feminist, Xiao Meili, was “bombed out” (literally zhahao in Chinese that means enforced banned) by the platform for speaking out against passive smoking and gender violence in public spaces. For supporting her, considerable feminists also lost their accounts. This large-scale suspension by Weibo, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter, reflects a recent surge in state surveillance on feminist issues online, where digital feminists are often unexpectedly restricted without knowing which content violated regulations (Zhang, 2022).

This article examines the phenomenon of Chinese digital feminists’ accounts being bombed out on Weibo. We conceptualize the bombed feminists as cyber “living ghosts” (Peeren, 2014: 4), aiming to investigate how these censored feminists navigate their enforced disappearance and how they haunt against a digital patriarchal authoritarian regime. Through in-depth interviewing and qualitative thematic analysis, our findings suggest three distinct survival tactics of them, that is: (a) Manipulating the (in)visible boundary; (b) Undoing as a resistance; and (c) Navigating hybrid spaces. The spectralization of feminists enables an alternative worldmaking practice that is dematerialized, destabilized, and decentralized.

This empirical study contributes to the growing Chinese literature on censored digital feminism by exploring the experiences of suspended feminists. It expands upon event-based activism research and highlights the political potential of spectral subjectivities within a non-Anglo-American context. By uncovering diverse haunting practices, it reveals new feminist sense-making strategies in authoritarian regimes. Our findings align with the call for feminist worldmaking praxis, emphasizing the importance of creating alternatives to self-governance and self-navigation (Rico Self and Ashley R. Hall, 2021).

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## **“Swipe up to Smash the Patriarchy”: Instagram Feminist Activism and the Necessity of Branding the Self**

*Dr. Silvia Semenzin, Universidad Complutense de Madrid*

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This article provides an overview of the current status of digital feminism in Western societies after the pandemic. With particular attention to its expression in the Italian realm, and by merging auto ethnographical notes with existing theoretical contributions, I argue that the emerging figure of the activist-influencer is increasingly embodying the prominent form of digital feminism. Activist influencers become the expression of the entanglement between neoliberal feminism and platform affordances that encourage self-branding and consumer activities. In so doing, digital feminism reinforces a culture of competition, individual empowerment and depoliticisation, which could be detrimental to feminist solidarity and the urgency of creating shared political agendas to implement feminist policies and push for structural socio-political changes.

## Towards a Decolonial Queer/Trans Methodology

*Tanvi Kanchan, SOAS, University of London*

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My paper, 'Towards a decolonial queer/trans methodology', presents methodological reflections from my ongoing PhD research. My PhD research examines queer/trans women and non-binary folks' digital cultures in India through a qualitative, mixed-methods approach of digital ethnography and interviews, situating this in the simultaneously enabling and restricting space of social media, from a decolonial perspective. Unpacking the imperial, colonial and extractive logics of 'research' is crucial for decolonial approaches (Tuhiwai Smith, 2012). The very act of 'researching' begs the question of who gets to participate in creating knowledge, and what forms of knowledge are seen as legitimate. Institutional logics in academic spaces often reify how 'certain people [are transformed into] suppliers of experiences, and others into exporters of theories to be applied and reaffirmed' (Pereira 2019, p.403).

How, then, do we grapple with what it means to decolonise research praxis and indeed, decolonise research itself? Methodologically, my research is interested in asking what a decolonial framework that does not function on paradigms of objectivity or impartiality, but builds its research participants into the research framework, can look like. It explores how participants can become equal partners in building community forms of knowledge, by contributing to research design, reflecting on the utility of research, building directions of inquiry together, and understanding and inputting into research decisions. Using insights gleaned from interviews and conversations with research participants during my doctoral fieldwork, my presentation will imagine what a decolonial research framework in this context can look like.

## An Exploration of the Incel Movement in Turkey: Gender, Religion, and Masculinities

Yiğit Bahadır Kaya, PhD Student, Gender Studies at Kadir Has University

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This pioneering introductory inquiry tries to explore the characteristics of the incel movement in Turkey, with a special focus to explore the culturally inherent elements. Coined in the early 90s (Beauchamp, 2019) and attracting media attention after acts of violence in the 2010s, the incel movement is a misogynistic, anti-feminist, and digitally organized hate group with its own language and manifesto. Mostly discussed in criminology, psychology, and feminist literature in “global Western” contexts, the existing literature fails to grasp the cultural and sociological differences in other contexts. This study argues that the incel movement should be regarded as an online subculture (Clarke et al., 1991) with inherent social, political, and economic motives; and that their masculinities, which stem from incel’s gendered and patriarchal perspectives, should be located within a “hegemonic masculinity” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) they aspire to be. The paper uses qualitative data derived from the YouTube page of a famous incel group in Turkey and scrutinizes both video content and the comments with a thematic analysis (Clarke & Virginia, 2006) to establish the main themes of discussion in deliberating characteristics of Turkish incels as well as deciding on their subjectivities, changing power positions, and resistance tactics. The preliminary analysis of the data showcases 5 main themes which will be intersectionally elaborated: misogyny, victimization, solidarity, nostalgia, and Islam. The paper offers important contributions to understanding the roots of the movement, their subjectivities, and their political and cultural perspectives, which carry risks of violence, as well as offering possible solutions for future problems.

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*The rise of incels: How a support group for the dateless became a violent internet subculture  
What incels believe — and the dangers they pose.*

*The rise of incels: How a support group for the dateless became a violent internet subculture  
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## Strand 4: Pedagogies of Exclusion: Islamophobia, Racism and Processes of Racialisation in Europe

*Coordinators: Angeliki Sifaki, Mwenza Blell, Charlène Calderaro and Phoebe Kisubi Mbasalaki Hande Eslen-Ziya*



## Working within Institutional Racism and Homophobia in Europe: Lessons and Strategies

*Dr. Adriana Qubaiova, Visiting Professor, Gender Studies Department, Central European University*

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As an answer to the panel's leading question, in this talk, I offer several insights based on my experience in teaching courses on "Critical Approaches to Conceptualizing non-normative Gendered Sexualities in West Asia and North Africa", and "Gender and War" in several academic institutions in Austria and Hungary.

I first review the case of Palestinian scholar Walaa AlQaisiyya's cancelation by the Austrian Academy of Applied Arts as a contextual example of institutional racialized homophobia targeting queer Palestinian scholars specifically. I further place this case within a context of an alarming trend of systematic silencing of Arab gender and sexuality studies in Europe that forms a central obstacle to our research and teaching. Based on my experience as an Arab scholar, I demonstrate how this tenuous trend impacts my classroom and my research.

Second, I argue for the centrality of considering "war" as a key vector in the field of West Asian gender and sexuality studies (GSS). Following feminist conceptions of war that view it on a continuum of violence, I posit that our field must centralize questions of occupation, imperialism, destruction, and refugeeness in our study of gender and sexuality in West Asia, especially today. European GSS purposefully and systematically evade the intersection of war and imperialism with gender and sexuality, which renders West Asian GSS as secondary at best, continuing its sidelining in European academia.

I finish with concrete suggestions on how to decentralize European and Western GSS in our syllabi by reviewing the efficacy of joint co-construction of the reading list and classroom space with students as a feminist practice, as well as strategies for critical intervention in rigid institutionalization.

Bio: Dr. Adriana Qubaiova is a scholar of gender and sexuality in West Asia (Middle East). She holds a PhD in Comparative Gender Studies from the Central European University where she is currently a Visiting Professor. Placing herself between the fields of Gender and Sexuality Studies, Middle Eastern Studies, and Queer Anthropology, she has been building a new conceptual framework for the study of "the sexual" in the region based on ethnographic research in Lebanon. She has worked on research strategies in contexts of war, is the leading author of the Gender Dictionary: Traveling Concepts and Local Usage in Lebanon, and is currently writing her first book, tentatively titled "Hedging Sexualities in Beirut".

## **“The Masks Have Fallen”: Refractions of ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ in the Years Following the Refugee “Crisis” in Greece**

*Alexandra Zavvou, Department of Sociology, University of Crete*

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In the summer of 2015, the small fishing village of Skala Sykamias on the island of Lesbos became the epicentre of the refugee “crisis” that shook Europe. The arrival of thousands of refugees from the Middle East, along with large numbers of activists, humanitarian workers and volunteers from all over the world, drew global attention to the village. In the ensuing months, local and transnational solidarity initiatives gained significant momentum and catapulted the local community into the global humanitarian scene, according to the village emblematic status and national pride.

New positionalities and repertoires of action emerged, but also severe antagonisms, marked by symbolic, affective and material violences. Local politics and identities were rendered more contentious and ambiguous, overdetermined by the imperative of humanitarianism that overtook the village.

In the years following the crisis, the gradual retrenchment of the solidarity movement and the rise of xenophobic, anti-refugee politics at national and local level, culminating in the destruction of refugee protection and the sanctioning of illegal “push-backs” as a legitimate state practice, led to revaluations of the village’s refugee experience, imbued with ambivalence.

Drawing on fieldwork conducted in the village in 2020, I consider the affective politics and boundary work involved in the settling of scores following the refugee “interval” and the reaffirmation of cultural intimacy vis-a-vis outsiders. Renegotiations of ‘self’ and ‘other’ are diffracted through the ambiguous figure of the refugee and the moral currency of humanitarianism, while the notion of “masks that fall” serves as a key trope for reclaiming moral and epistemic authority.

## From Gay to LGBTQ+ Liberal Gay Discourses and the Exclusion of Muslim Subjectivities

*Andromachi Koutsoulenti, RMA Gender Studies, Utrecht University*

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Drawing from the work of Jasbir Puar, I will explore the possibilities of “transnationalizing homonationalism” (Stelder, 2022) in the Greek context, which differs considerably from that of the US, where Puar mainly focuses on. My aim is to question if we could analyze homonationalism in the Greek context by examining the liberal gay and lesbian discourses, the shift of the Greek alt-right (new Far-right) in relation to LGBTQ+ topics and the concurrent exclusion of Muslim subjectivities.

At this moment, which differs significantly from the one that Puar analyzed in her first work on homonationalism, and while LGBTQ+, and especially trans, rights are being undermined in US and the UK, among other places, I argue that the concept of homonationalism is still relevant, especially in the current Greek context, and contributes to the analysis of those rising liberal discourses “that produce narratives of progress and grant certain populations access to citizenship at the expenses of others” (Puar, 2011). It is also important to underline that homonationalism operates at different levels in Greece. On the one hand, there is a growing interest in queerness and a tendency to instrumentalize LGBTQ+, discourses by the alt-right; on the other hand, an anti-gender discourse expressed by the same alt-right is evident, usually accompanied by Islamophobic tendencies.

Having this in mind, I aim to further analyze the ways in which the alt-right appropriates an LGBTQ+ friendly profile while at the same time expressing a strongly Islamophobic discourse, which can be demonstrated practically in the construction of the fence in Evros as one example, among many. Finally, in order to support my proposition, I desire to mention the fact that gay tourism is beginning to become more visible in the Greek context, as has been observed in Israel at a faster and more intense pace, with Lesbos being considered a place that attracts queer and lesbian visitors, while marked by the mistreatment and death of Muslim bodies.

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## Femonationalism in Practice: When Far-Right Women Appropriate Feminism in France

*Charlène Calderaro, University of Lausanne*

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How do female far-right activists appropriate feminism on the ground? While femonationalism has often been analysed through the lens of party politics and discourses, this paper proposes to shift the focus from political elites to grassroots activists. It draws on a French case of a mobilisation of far-right female activists organised as a women-only collective and who identify as 'identitarian feminists'. Despite this uncommon label, the collective centrally display anti-feminist discourses in their mobilisation. The main question guiding this paper is the following: How do these grassroots activists articulate anti-feminist frames while also appropriating selective aspects of feminism? To answer this question, the paper relies on threefold empirical data: a long-term digital observation of the collective, a critical analysis of documents produced by or about the collective, and semi structured interviews with some of its central members (n=10). The paper centrally argues that these female activists' discourses diverge from traditional forms of anti-feminism and instead situates it as a femonationalist appropriation of feminism. It identifies three main interconnected frames used by the collective: an opposition to intersectional feminism, the use of postfeminist frames, and a frame that racialises sexism, materialised in their fight against street harassment.

## Pedagogies of Exclusion: Islamophobia, Racism and Processes of Racialisation in Europe

*Desirè Gaudio, PhD Candidate in Political Science and Sociology, Scuola Normale Superiore*

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This paper, starting from a critique of the migration-security (Freedman, 2012; Marchand, 2008) nexus, aims to investigate through an intersectional perspective the issue of violence and (in)security to which refugee women are exposed within the borders of Europe. Despite being among the subjectivities more exposed to negative effects resulting from the close interrelation between migration, violence and insecurity, research addressing the violence and security experienced by refugee women is scarce. Moreover, to date, there is absence of research combining the theme of security from a critical and human point of view with that of women's migrations adopting an intersectional analytical perspective. This means considering the simultaneous action of multiple identity traits, categories, structures of domination and power relations in shaping the experiences of violence and (in)security in the immigration context and, in particular, within the borders of Europe.

The discussion draws on and integrates the contribution of Feminist International Relations and Feminist Geography on violence with those of Critical Security Studies and Feminist Human Security on security. The paper will present the relevance of investigating through intersectionality the violence(s) experienced by refugee women and their perception of (in)security, especially focusing on how both evolve across the different phases of the refugee journey from the moment of displacement and within the material and symbolic borders of Europe.

## Exploring Gender and Sexuality in Mazhar Osman's *Tabâbet-i Ruhîye*: An Intersectional Analysis of Psychiatric Pedagogy

*Ezgi Sarıtaş, Ankara University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration*

*Tuğba Taş, Ankara University, Radio, Television and Film Department*

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Mazhar Osman, who has been called the founding father of modern Turkish psychiatry, was also a central figure in the education of Ottoman and Turkish neuropsychiatrists, both at the Faculty of Medicine and among practitioners at the Bakırköy Psychiatric Hospital. His three-volume book *Tabâbet-i Ruhîye* (Psychiatric Medicine), which was published in three editions, was a central book in medical psychiatric education, especially with its later two editions published during the early Republican period. In this presentation, we will read this book from a critical intersectional perspective. We will focus on two themes where gender and sexuality play the most important role in the book: hysteria and "sexual pathologies". The image of the hysterical woman constructed within medical discourse is not only a reflection of medical and scientific knowledge, but also a fundamental component of the cultural environment in which concepts of femininity and madness are created. While translating Western conceptions of sexual pathology, Mazhar Osman also embraces, negotiates, and negates Orientalist discourses of sexual alterity. In doing so, he also articulates a national sexual and gender normal that would become a keystone of psychiatric education.

## Challenging the Appropriation and Institutionalized (White) Un-Touchability of Queer, Feminist, Anti-Racist Concepts within German Academia and Civil Society

*Dr. Fadi Saleh, Queer Intersectional Political Education at the Federal Agency for Civic Education in Gera, Germany*

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“Intersectionality”, “Diversity”, and “Homonationalism”, to name a few, have all arrived as concepts in German academia’s gender and women’s studies departments and less so within other social science departments. In activist and NGO contexts, these concepts have also found a strong footing and many institutions work with and structure their politics around centering intersectional experiences and perspectives, ensuring diversity and representation, and critiquing homonationalist discourses. While these developments are more than welcome, and there is a long way to go for them to become truly mainstream, one observes a certain level of appropriation and institutionalization of these concepts by white German academia and civil society that often depoliticizes and utilizes them in ways that erase their histories, detaches them from their origins, and sanitizes them from the contradictions, critiques, and long histories of (constructive) debates that have been part and parcel of these concepts and the ways they have been deployed.

Based on a decade-long experience of teaching, training on, and engaging with these concepts at different German universities, civil society organizations, and governmental institutions, I argue that, perhaps counterintuitively, it is our task as (queer-feminist BIPOC) lecturers, activists, and trainers in Europe to maintain and keep alive the tensions and discuss the limitations, ongoing critiques, challenges, and the intellectual and activist debates around these concepts beyond their enshrinement as untouchable and universal concepts that must necessarily always apply everywhere the same ways. The kind of enshrinement I am critiquing here, to reiterate, is a byproduct of white academic and civil society efforts to institutionalize and thereby to appropriate and depoliticize these concepts through different strategies that directly affect and shape the ways people pick up and speak about these concepts. In this talk, I offer insights into these processes of appropriation and build on my teaching/training/activist experiences to provide “counterintuitive pedagogies” that aim, against all odds, to resist their mainstreaming and institutionalization and emphasize their generative potential against the staleness of their deployment within white German academia and civil society spaces.

## **(Un)learning through Black Queer Pedagogies: Re-examining Risk Factors in Intimate Partner Abuse Among African-American Lesbians During COVID-19**

*İlkan Can İpekçi, PhD Candidate, Gender Studies, Sabancı University*

*Giovanni Santoro, PhD Candidate, Cultural Anthropology and Ethnography, University of Turin*

*Sude Yaykiran, Senior Undergrad. Student in Psychology, and Psychological Counseling and Assistance, Yeditepe University*

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With an inquisitive attunement to the possibilities of imagining more inclusive classrooms and transdisciplinary processes of knowledge-production, this paper seeks to explore the intersectional experiences of intimate partner abuse (IPA) among African-American lesbians, with a focus on the risk factors that were amplified during the COVID-19 pandemic – a time period that both disrupted the public-private spheres division and led to further silencing and invisibility of African-American lesbians. Situating the lived experiences of IPA among African-American lesbians at the converging junctures of feminist, queer and critical race theories, the paper turns to black queer studies to demonstrate the exigency for multidimensional and multifaceted approaches that can illuminate the complexities of this disadvantaged group marked by multiple levels of subordination. Utilizing this subject matter as an exemplary case for intersectional feminist and queer imaginaries, the authors aim to demonstrate the possible contributions of the intersectional stance of black queer studies to the feminist and queer scholarship in Turkey. Recognizing African-American lesbians' hardships of maintaining multiple group-belongings and affinities, the case of IPA is presented as a recommended, appropriate topic of discussion in feminist and queer classrooms, where identitarian dilemmas of multiple social differentiations may be pertinent. As a result, authors invite scholars to search for critical pedagogies that encourage resistance against the universalizing cultural fictions of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality in dominant discourses of (il)liberal governance. In doing so, the authors hope to contribute to the development of critical pedagogies that embrace multilexicality in feminist and queer intimacies in Turkey's context.

## Race, Coloniality & Migrant Masculinities within the UK Detention Estate

*Lizzie Hobbs, London School of Economics and Political Science*

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This paper explores the interconnections between discourses on migrant masculinities, coloniality and racialisation in the context of the UK detention estate. I work as a caseworker within the migrant right's sector in London and this forms the location from which I ground my research. I consider how bordering and the carceral state intertwine through a nexus of racialised policing and immigration enforcement to enact processes of illegalisation on migratised bodies. Within this I explore the construction of the 'Foreign National Offender' (FNO) – or criminalised non-citizen – in the political imaginary and how this construction is imbricated with processes of racialisation and histories/presents of coloniality. I argue that the construction of the masculinised 'FNO' as a phantasmic figure of fear is a central mechanism through which the securitisation of bordering is legitimised.

I explore different modes or locations where carcerality and borders intertwine; such as through the construction of the 'FNO', the criminalisation of immigration 'offences', quasi-detention spaces and the continuum between prison and detention whereby people can be held under immigration powers indefinitely within the UK prison estate. Finally, I consider the specific and differential discourses on racialisation used within the 'FNO' label and the malleable ways in which the category becomes attached to specific bodies in line with the increasing criminalisation of asylum seeking. Through tracing the affective, discursive and material imbrications of bordering with carcerality, I argue that border resistance has to centre broader abolitionist visions within.

## Immigrant Lived Experiences of Racist Nativism and Counter-Narratives Under the Trump Administration

*Dr. Mónica Torreiro-Casal, University of California in Davis*

*Dr. Linn Normand, University of Stavanger*

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While scholarship exists on analyzing the rise of anti-immigration fuelled hate-narratives, less scholarly attention has been paid to how immigrants experience and respond to this anti-immigrant climate. This article places immigrant lived experiences of racist nativism at the center of its analysis and highlights the counter-narratives of minority immigrant communities in America under the Trump administration. The narratives were collected in an anonymous survey from more than three-hundred immigrants, predominantly immigrants of color. Drawing on the conceptual framework of racist nativism and counter-narratives, the study examines not just the lived experiences of increasingly explicit anti-immigration rhetoric and behaviors, but also the counter-narratives of how immigrant communities understand and navigate these. Its novelty lies in voicing the strength, resistance and resilience among immigrants despite their dehumanizing circumstances. The paper thereby contributes by drawing on the voices and stories from the immigrants themselves to provide a deeper and more nuanced understanding of their lived experiences of racist nativism, asking also: How can narratives of lived experiences of racist nativism during the Trump administration in the United States inform our understanding of lived experiences of European migrants in light of the growing anti-immigration sentiments in Europe today? How are lived experiences of anti-immigration and racism in the United States comparatively to lived experience of anti-immigration and racism in Europe today?

## Anti-Migration Discourses in Hungary: How the Muslim "Other" is Constituted

*Nadia Jones-Gailani, Central European University*

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Anti-migration narratives that “other” Muslims in Hungary continue to be at the forefront of the FIDESZ national government’s domestic agenda to reconstitute a climate of fear of those who would “invade” Europe. With the majority of the country’s media controlled by the government, it is possible to effectively reiterate the “migrant threat” that Hungary faces even when the numbers reflect a very different reality. Over the past seven years, the government has repeatedly reiterated the historical Christian identity of the country. Viktor Orban, Hungary’s Prime Minister, is vocal in national and international channels about the rejection of the possibility of Muslims and Christians being integrated into Hungarian society.

In this paper, I will draw examples from the anti-migration campaign and state of securitization in Hungary to demonstrate how the constructed image of the “migrant other” has first been extended to include all Muslims before being applied to other enemies of the Hungarian illiberal state. The focus of the state’s campaign has been towards internal actors within the Civil Society network, the independent media, the independent judiciary system, academic and cultural institutions, and the Hungarian political opposition parties. Organizations that previously worked in concert with civil society organizations in Hungary such as the Open Society Foundation and Central European University – both funded by Hungarian-American billionaire and philanthropist George Soros - have been forced to relocate. Vulnerable groups have increasingly become targets of the hate-mongering and dehumanizing attitude of the government party, including the homeless, Hungary’s Roma population, and repeatedly, members of LGBTQI groups. Such attacks create further tension and are eroding solidarity amongst the opposition in Hungarian society. The focus of the paper will be on the period of the pandemic as a case study of how the state can use the seemingly complementary “state of emergency” both in terms of the “migrant crisis” and later the global epidemic as an effective cross-bracing exclusion strategy premised upon its desire to maintain both the white and Christian fiction of Hungarian past and present. The findings from this paper have previously been published as a policy report included in the collaborative European Islamophobia Report (2021).

## Beyond International Human Rights: 'Islamic Feminism' as Alternative Legal Praxis

*Nora Jaber, University of Exeter*

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This paper examines Islamic Feminism (IF) as a rights discourse and practice formulated beyond the framework of International Human Rights Law (IHRL). IF is a gendered epistemology and rights framework that grounds demands for gender and social justice in Islamic sources rather than secular legal instruments. It originated in Egypt in the 19th century and took on a transnational character, spreading across the region in the 20th century in response to the rise of political Islam, which had cemented into law a patriarchal gender order (Mir-Hosseini, 2006). IF was also a rejection of liberal human rights that were viewed as colonial and foreign to the region. In exploring IF as an example of alternative (non-Western, non-liberal) rights praxis, the paper exposes conceptual and epistemic challenges to IHRL. It also demonstrates the significance of non/counter-hegemonic rights practices to the development of human rights scholarship and praxis by accounting for real examples of feminist resistance from the Global South.

In particular, the article focuses on IF as it is engaged by Saudi women's rights activists in their petitions for the reform, authored in Arabic since the 1990s. The analysis of Saudi women's petitions, as a site of rights claim-making, allows for a meaningful engagement with alternative rights discourses and normative frameworks, in terms of how they challenge (or reproduce) epistemic hierarchies and offer different (or overlapping) emancipatory possibilities to those envisioned within what Ratna Kapur calls the 'liberal fishbowl' (Kapur, 2020).

Drawing on the example of Saudi women's activism and building on critical approaches to human rights scholarship, such as Third world Approaches to International Law (TWAAIL) and post/decolonial feminist critiques, the paper challenges the notion that IHRL is the only/main framework for emancipation, where the notion of freedom is constructed through a liberal lens and highlights the limits of this discourse in non-Western contexts. In fact, a large part of the 'success' of IHRL has come from its hegemonic impulse which works to silence and conceal other rights discourses and conceptions of justice that do not share its normative commitment to liberalism. Even when other languages of rights are encountered and discussed in human rights scholarship, they have often been analysed as mere translations of IHRL (Engle-Merry, 2006)), thereby perpetuating the epistemic binary, Madhok notes, between the authorial north and the merely translating Global South (Madhok, 2021).

Therefore, by analysing the petitions as a site of knowledge production about human rights, the paper interrogates the ways in which the epistemic core of rights claims from the 'margins' differ from those produced in and through IHRL, and thus, may produce alternative visions of rights and justice.

## Un-Learning the “Muslim Woman” in UK Higher Education Classroom with a “Pedagogy of Opacity”

*Dr. Sabiha Allouche, Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter*

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In this work, I take cues from postcolonial scholar Edouard Glissant’s (1990) seminal work, *Poetics of Relations*, notably his notions of *détour*, *retour*, and *érrance*, to posit a “pedagogy of opacity” when un/learning Othered bodies, in this instance, the fictive category of the “Muslim woman”. Un-learning upholds opacity as part and parcel of knowing given its ability to preserve a multitude of epistemic coordinates that exceeds narrow Euro-centric frameworks, notably the indigeneity of specific and localized knowledges. It also compels us to recognize the limitations imposed by systemic instances on transparency.

I draw on my decade-long experience in teaching gender and sexuality studies in relation to the Middle East in UK Higher Education institutions. We see how a pedagogy of opacity forces home, self, and early mis/information about the other to realign and confront each other. This triadic realignment showcases the workings of home (the UK) – not of a geographically distant Islamic culture – in the manufacturing of the Muslim woman Other.

## White Russian Fragility, White Russian Innocence

*Victoria Kravtsova, PhD Candidate, HU Berlin, Institute of Asian and African Studies*

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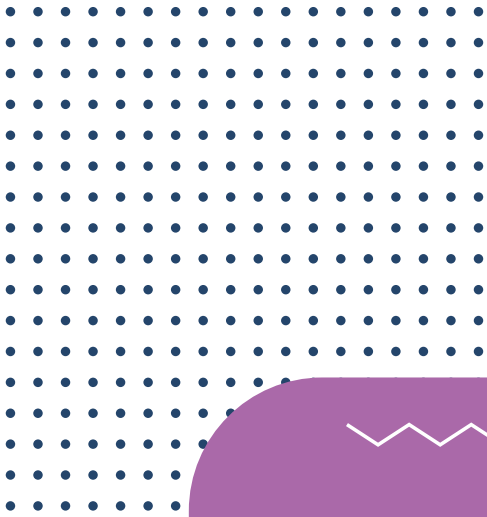
The concept of 'white fragility' has emerged in the literature about whiteness in the US to describe the emotional states white people experience when they are confronted with their complicity in racism, imperialism and colonialism. I argue that the same applies to ethnic russians both in russia and abroad who at the same time make claims to whiteness and "Europeanness" and refuse to accept their racism and implication in colonialism and imperialism. After the full-scale invasion of russia into Ukraine these terms began to appear in the language of russian liberals, on liberal platforms, in the statements of politicians and public intellectuals who never used this language before. However, they usually pronounce them to problematize these concepts, reject them or behave in a defensive way. White russians still mostly deny the fact that russian empire and USSR were colonial entities. Their statements and actions preserve the logic of a centralized colonial state. The discourse about "good russians" that has appeared after the start of the full-scale war in Ukraine in 2022 also exemplifies the denial of one's responsibility described as "imperial innocence". The discourse of "good russians" was rapidly adopted in the west, which might be a proof of how westerners themselves are prone to the same white innocence and strive to connect with white russians on that basis. In the paper I will focus on the ways whiteness is constructed in contemporary russia and then discuss how russian "fragility" and "innocence" have been expressed since the russian invasion of Ukraine.

## Muslim Migrant Women in Germany

*Zeynep Demir, Institute for Interdisciplinary Research on Conflict and Violence (IKG)  
Bielefeld University; Faculty of Educational Science, Bielefeld University, Germany*

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Recent studies show an increase in racial discrimination in Germany. This also raises the question of gendered racial microaggressions, as Muslim migrant women are exposed to multiple discrimination, especially those women who are visibly marked as foreign - by hijab, name, ethnicity or even skin color as well as residence status. The multiple forms of discrimination can be found again in different areas of life: in education, the labor sector, social media, politics, health care, housing search, as well as fundamentally in social participation. In this context, the presentation will therefore discuss the current situation of Muslim migrant women using the construct of gendered racial microaggressions, address the interplay of various risks of discrimination among immigrant women and the associated challenges to social participation, using the example of educational and employment opportunities in Germany.



## Strand 5: Bodies and Boundaries in More-Than-Human Worlds

*Coordinators: Beatriz Revelles Benavente, Ezgi Burgan Kiyak, Jülide Sezer and Sibel Yardımcı*



## **“All Deaths Are Grievable, But Some Are More Grievable Than the Others” Death and Mourning Hierarchy Among Non/Human Animals**

*Aslinur Bayal, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University / Doğuş University*

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My essay inverts Orwell's title to explore the possibilities to grieve beyond human animals and to come to terms with non/human animals' shared vulnerability and unalienable right to mourn for both in the respect of two unprecedented images; one is the drowned Syrian boy-Aylan Kurdi and the other one is a gray whale washed on a shore whose body with full of plastic. Drawing on Butler's notion of the differential allocation of grievability, I question the human capability to grieve for the loss of non-human animals. Butler argues what she calls Jewish ethics of non-violence in the context of Israeli violence against Palestinians and American military action in the Middle East and I aim at elaborating this discussion further on the loss of non-human animals. She stresses moral responsibility for the life of the other deriving from the other's face yet "not exclusively a human face" which conveys the commandment of "Thou shall not kill". I claim non-human animals can also be included in the sphere of ethical responsibility as the face is not necessarily a human face. As the land continues to be an increasingly tough place to coexist, e.g., the sea as a mass grave of refugees, and the ocean of non-human animals due to the destruction inflicted on non/human animals by the capital and humans, I trace the possibilities of coexisting in a society constructed with an ethic of care instead of the ethic of blood as Harraway suggests and make use of some of her theories to discuss the possibilities of knitting a relationship with the oddkins in a new epoch, the Chthulucene where refugees from environmental disaster will come together.

## The Dance of the Wordless Learning: Shifting Material-Semiotic Worldling to Body's Peripheries through Bleeding and Tentacles

*Carolina Pisapia, University of Bologna*

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In *Autobiographie d'un peuple*, Despret imagines a chthulucenic community where children are risen symbiotically with octopuses. They learn to hear, think and communicate from their extremities, decentring the view of a mind-driven body to the intelligence of tentacles. Carter's *Wolf-Alice* (*The Bloody Chamber*) is a young being grown up with wolves who is not totally a wolf nor a human; she makes up her own worldling by creating personal coordinates of time and space through the discovery of her own bleeding and image in the mirror: a world that lives on its internal, self-organised rules. On the contrary, in Pugno's *Sirene*, Mia – a living being born from the non-consensual union of a mermaid (considered as a non human animal) and a human – undergoes the effort of her father and rapist to teach her the human language, but the result of it is just that her non human nature escapes in the depth of the ocean, leaving a patriarchal and environmental dystopia (all that lasts of humanity) to inexorably fade into extinction. The speculative moral of those SF fables may be: when the present conditions of a damaged world do not work anymore, a shift to the humusities may give a chance to create new material-semiotic meanings for a posthuman worldling to be in chthulucenic times. Here, knowledge is produced from the inner dance of being of any different subject who autonomously chooses what is the (de)centre of their own production of knowledge, construction of identity and space/time coordinates.

## Invisible to the Eye: Şerife, Rahime, Nezihe

*Deniz Atakan Gürbüz, Sabancı University*

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This article, which focuses on the idea of the ghost among us, aims to open a space for the stories of those who feel "other" in non-alien societies. While trying to read the alienation in familiar places through the hauntology concept by Avery Gordon (2008), it will reveal the existence of three women from different generations, classes, and races who are being erased by Turkey's official ideology. This article will float around specifically on İpek Duben's series of paintings called "Şerife" (1980-2), Nil Yalter's installation titled "Rahime, Kurdish Woman from Turkey" (1972-9) and Ahu Antmen's piece "With Love to Nezihe: Encountering the Women's Ideal of Republican Turkey in Old Photographs Torn from Album" (2019) makes room for the stories of female ghosts that haunt the history of Turkey. While shaping this article around the theme of spiritual ghost sisters, through three women, each work from different angles, ghosts, and fades; I will interpret Duben, Yalter, and Antmen's attempt to break the linear temporality and bring to light what is suppressed by ghosts as 'ghostly touches.' In the end, I hope to highlight the (in)visible future of ghosts with Dina Georgis (2014); concept of a better story on the potential of other feminist possibilities through art in the ghostly lives of Şerife, Rahime, and Nezihe.

## Oceanic Becomings, Oceanic Archives

*Deniz Gündoğan İbrişim, Kadir Has University*

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Lisa Lowe (2015) brought attention to the “intimacies of four continents” as colonization and resistance. The focus of her book is, “the often obscure connections between the emergence of European liberalism, settler colonialism in the Americas, the transatlantic slave trade, and the East Indies and China trades in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century” (2015:2). I argue here that Lowe’s argument forces us to question the very livingness of the ocean and its significant role in disrupting Anglo-white dominance and species supremacy that continues to be crucial to the pursuits of European empires and their aftermath. In the light of Lowe’s work, this paper aims to explore and reflect on how thinking with oceans demands different imaginaries of thought and praxis that understands the ocean in relation to colonial conquest, violence, resistance, resilience, and subversion. In so doing, this paper approaches contemporary South African poet Koleka Putuma and argues that Putuma’s eco-poetics ask us to imagine oceans, lakes, and rivers as porous witness figures in rejecting a long history of separating culture from nature, arts from sciences, body from soul vis-à-vis colonial violence across Eurocentric geographical and temporal divides. Ultimately, this paper advocates for an oceanic archive that encourages new frameworks and methodologies for understanding capitalist, imperialist, colonial, racial, environmental violence.

## Thinking-with Non-Humans: The Agency of Fabric , Stones and Plants Gözde İlkin's Works

*Dijan Özkurt, Research Assistant, Karamanoglu Mehmetbey University  
Ph.D. Candidate Sociology Department, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

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Non-human agency and our relationship with non-humans have been discussed intensely for over two decades. Animal studies, new materialism, post-humanism, and actor network theory have broadly elaborated the discussions in terms of ethics and politics and contributed to the “non-human turn” (Grusin, 2015). Alongside the theoretical insights, approaches to non-human agencies have been observed in contemporary art particularly with regards to aesthetical, political, and problematization of representation of non-human. In contemporary art, discussions on the use of plants and animals in artspace and ethics continue to expand into discussions on the agency and materiality of non-humans, with a particular emphasis on the materiality of beings in the gallery space. Gözde İlkin, who is a contemporary artist from Turkey, works with fabrics, plants and stones. The artist uses various plants and seeds as a technique of painting the fabric and in fact, plants are not directly represented in her works. In the artist's works, fabric appears as an agent that can be considered together with family history, personal history and social history, while the use of seeds in fabric painting can also be considered as a reference to an ancient painting technique. In addition to this, human and non-human agents are represented in relation to each other in the works the artist works on fabric. In this respect, in this presentation, I will talk about the agency of stone, fabric and plant in relation to memory, which the artist highlights while thinking about our relationship with non-humans in the exhibition titled *Entrusted Ground* (2023).

## Meeting in the Chthulucene: An Attempt to Staying with Trouble with Bacteria, Fungi, Microscopic Photographs & Other Invisibles

*Elif Hant, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

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The Chthulucene, as defined by Donna Haraway in her book "Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene," is described as a "time-place of living and dying together in a damaged world" that offers a possibility of a "strong response" in contrast to the Anthropocene and Capitalocene [2016]. The Chthulucene calls for taking the present seriously and requires new ways of thinking beyond the focus on humans or capital. In the envisioned encounter in the text, the meeting in the Chthulucene aims to explore the possibilities of cohabiting with the visible and invisible by creating "tentacular thinking" spaces between humans and non-humans. As tentacular thinking, as proposed by Haraway, necessitates not only a mental process but also sensory and emotional engagement, rethinks the body becomes inevitable. From here, I find it relevant to the idea of conceiving nature as the visible/invisible, a body that will be debated in terms of subjectivity, through the possibilities that Elizabeth Grosz's exploration of a new corporeality in feminism offers in reconstructing subjectivity. In this sense, how can we transcend the boundaries of domination imposed upon nature and bodies we designate as natural? How can tentacular thinking practice assist us? Inspired by Donna Haraway, this text is an attempt in staying in trouble with bacteria, fungi, microscopic photographs, and other invisibles. The forms of tentacular thinking accompanying this experiment will be fermentation, decay, and embrace. Reading these distinct acts together provides a fertile ground for opening up the relationality between humans and non-human entities while also facilitating the exploration of questions regarding vitality at different scales and relationships with other beings.

## **Marxist Feminism in Front of Melting Glaciers. How Reflections on Unrecognized and Unwaged Forms of Labor Incentive Multispecies Alliances in Times of Socio- Environmental Crisis.**

*Elisa Bosisio, PhD Candidate, University of Roma Tre*

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With this paper I wish to make two trends in feminism often received as irreconcilable collide: the new materialist and Marxist feminisms. If the former is concerned with bringing matter itself back to the center of interest beyond the encumbrance of the sapiens species; the latter focuses on power relations that codify differential forms of exploitation within the confines of humanity alone. In the time of the socioenvironmental crisis, I consider an alliance between these approaches crucial to shape some concrete more-than-human politics. The question from which my reflection begins is as follows: how to cope with the crisis of ecologies from a feminist perspective? I will start from Marxist feminist literature from the 70s devoted to recognizing invisibilized and unrecognized forms of labor, such as reproductive labor (Dalla Costa, Federici, James). I will complicate the overview with the reflections of black Marxist feminists engaged, in the 1980s, in noting how reproductive labor was always an environmental labor that co-implicates in reflections the conditions of the non-humans with which our bodies are in contact: black ghettos in the U.S. located near polluting industries, landfills or incinerators made and make the reproductive labor of black women much more articulate by virtue of the porosity that binds us to the influential spatialities we inhabit (Brown, Prescott). Hence, I want to try my hand at recognizing the invisibilized labor not only of women and racialized subjectivities but also of the non-humans, systematically put to work to regenerate the living conditions of the hegemonic species, namely the sapiens species. Through Alyssa Battistoni's concept of hybrid labor, I want to address the question of whether glaciers (but also bees, and forests) work: whether they are considerable workers and integrable into a feminist Marxist discourse beyond the human. And if they do regenerative work, how to rethink the working class? And how to compensate them for their work?

## Fragile Life, Fertile Death

*Ezgi Hamzaçebi, Lecturer at Özyeğin University, PhD Student of Turkish Language and Literature at Bogazici University*

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In this presentation, I'll talk about how a contemporary exhibition and a literary text that share a similar structure of feeling find their voice and take their shape against the language of war and hunting.

Eda Gecikmez's work titled *Kuş Görülmez Fakat Sesi Ağaçtadır* (the bird is unseen, yet its voice is in the tree) that took place in Goethe-Institut Ankara from June 16th to September 18th, 2022, traces the migration of White-Eared Bulbul (*Pycnonotus Leucotis*), one of the species that is affected by Syrian Civil War, to Turkey and focuses on some entangled stories. The visual collage that Gecikmez creates by transforming the images she has collected about this story into ink patterns is accompanied by a collage text weaved by various texts by writers such as Zeynep Sayın, Agamben, and Derrida.

Deniz Gezgin's (2017) *YerKuşAğı*, is a polyphonic story of various beings at *YokYer* (Neverland), a place where death breathes, in which they make room and become a home for each other. The novel brings together four characters of different species and characteristics who have suffered from various forms of violence and lost their lives: A girl named Moy, who is deemed "crippled" because she hears the "absent" voices of animals and is raised in hospital beds, Shuri, the wounded bird whose wings are smeared with oil, after falling into the hands of a man who sees hunting as entertainment, a barking deer Cice, and Hagrin, a half-ivy half-hoofed being who connects these characters, shows them the way and give them the voice throughout the novel.

In her work, Eda Gecikmez pursues the question of "whether an extremely complex story that carries the burden of a long history can be solved by tracing the lost objects or people and animals that have lost their way" while Deniz Gezgin asks if there is a way to "survive" in an anthropocentric world where "the dead also lose their lives". I will seek the answers to these questions in the realm of possibilities created by the ethical-aesthetic spaces of these works in which water sounds and wing shadows are intermingled. I believe that some works resonate with each other, even if their creators don't know about each other. I see a kinship between Eda's work and Deniz Gezgin's novel. It is a similar perception and affection shared by two women who create in the same period. But of course, they have also their own unique way of creating worlds. In my talk, I'll follow the commonalities and by showing how Eda's images can also represent the world of the novel, I'll try to weave one world into the other.

## Becoming Plant as a Feminist Way of Survival

*Ezgi Hamzaçebi, Lecturer at Özyeğin University, PhD Student of Turkish Language and Literature at Bogazici University*

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“Fantasy of becoming plant retains links to a materialist, feminist, and queer tradition that prioritizes literature and art as spaces of metamorphic experimentation in which identities are in flux and marginalized subject positions may be foregrounded” (Meeker and Szabari, 2020, s.179) In this presentation, I’ll talk about two short stories written in the 1960s by two prominent feminist authors: Anne Richter’s *Sleep of Plants* and Leyla Erbil’s *Bilinçli Eğinim II*. In both stories, we witness the women’s desire to become plants to cope with their family relations and the roles expected of them.

In *Bilinçli Eğinim II*, the first-person narrator tells how she steals her parents’ bodies from their graves and buries them in a plant pot in their house by making her mother geranium and her father basil. As the plants grow, in their limbs she sees body parts of her parents. The narrator seems to be both delighted and suffocated by their act of reaching out to her. Each little act that plants do, triggers a memory in her, especially the ones in which her mother compares her with other women and reminds her “responsibilities” to survive. The story oscillates between two conflictive feelings: suffocation because of the bonds based on responsibilities and caring for the bonds that keep her alive. The mother-and-daughter relationship is important for Anne Richter’s story, too. *Sleep of Plants*, tells the story of a young woman, Ania’s transformation into a potted plant first and then a flowering tree planted in the backyard of the man who used to be her fiancé. While they are expected to marry soon, becoming a plant for Ania becomes an act of feminist resistance to the family structures that constrain her. She seems to prefer a “vegetal life” to being a married woman. As she transforms into a plant and her behavior changes, her mother’s attitude toward Ania changes, too. It’s not only her fiancé whom she wants to run away from but also her mother. In fact, it’s really hard to decide who suffocates Ania more.

Both stories make room to think about the history of the identification of women with plants and vegetal life as a pejorative or desirable state of being. As Meeker and Szabari (2020) point out, I believe that “plants are not somehow an “alternate” subjectivity: instead, they point to the dissolution of the human subject, insofar as the latter is ascribed a psychology, a consciousness, and a desiring individuality”(s.176). So in this presentation, my aim is to trace the approaches of these women writers to becoming a plant and to discuss what it means to be a plant as a feminist way of survival and what kind of potential it holds.

## On Matters of Being in and Out-of-Place: A Posthumanist Reading of Solastalgia

*Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç, Istanbul University*

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It is not an easy task to unlearn the deeply ingrained anthropocentric Cartesian epistemology, as my teaching experience has taught me over the past few years while incorporating discussions on posthumanism and new materialism into my course syllabi designed for anthropology students. The same applies to the endeavor of 'repopulating social research with nonhuman beings' without succumbing to the temptation of anthropomorphizing them. However, this endeavor is equally rewarding, as it allows us to examine seemingly human-specific phenomena such as semiosis, agency, and affect within posthuman contexts. In this paper, I aim to recontextualize these three phenomena to investigate nonhuman modes of representing and communicating ecological grief and unhomeliness in the Capitaloscene. To achieve this, I engage with the concept of solastalgia, originally coined to describe human suffering arising from the inability to find solace in one's home environment (Albrecht 2006). In doing so, I shift the focus from the human's psychoterratic states, place pathology in particular, to planetary wellbeing and sickness (cf. Boyd, Parr, Philo 2023). Taking up various ecological crises, ranging from slow violence of environmental degradation to seismic events, I explore how (or to what extent) earthly matters, or nonhuman beings, as agents in their own right, participate in the condition of solastalgia. Lastly, I discuss the ethical and political possibilities of accentuating the non/posthuman aspects of ecological grief, while also reflecting on the implications of this discussion for an anthropology in search of "terragraphic" methods (a term to be introduced in the paper) instead of a human-centric ethnography and pedagogy.

## Olive Trees as Rooted-Resistance-Companions in Palestinian Sumud: A More-than-Posthuman Perspective on Mahmoud Darwish's Absent Presence

*Jülide Sezer, Utrecht University*

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Olive trees remain in Palestine but are in motion. They have been a significant part of Palestinian agriculture, cultural, and political identity, but their existence in Palestinian resistance has often been metaphorized. This paper revisits Palestine's national poet Mahmoud Darwish's (2010) *Absent Presence* from a posthuman perspective to demonstrate the agency of olive trees as a metonym of life and resistance in the Palestinian struggle for freedom. The paper first explores the materiality of olive trees in Palestine and points out the ongoing settler-colonial praxis that has resulted in a colonial wound (Ferdinand 2019; Masalha 2012 Mignolo 2012;) in Palestinian collective memory. Second, the paper highlights the relational ontology between Palestinians and olive trees, which has emerged into the resistance concept of *sumud* (Rijke and van Taeffelen 2013; Sazzad 2016), inspired by the olive trees' steadfastness. Thus, the paper expands Donna Haraway's planetary companionship (Haraway 2003) to rooted-resistance-companionship between olive trees and Palestinians and positions olive trees as actants rather than silent witnesses (Bardenstein 1998). Third, the article destabilizes Darwish's male-human centrality in his literary journey by accentuating the relational ontology between Darwish and his rooted-resistance-companions, olive trees. The paper contextualizes Darwish's writing as a journey of memory, collective subjectivity, temporal and spatial embodying decolonial praxis. By adopting a zoecentric (Braidotti 2011) posthuman perspective, the paper emphasizes the communal aspect encompassing human interlocutors and more-than-human worlds subjected to colonial violence. This paper contributes to the growing field of posthumanism by highlighting the agency of non-human entities and their subversive power (potentia) by focusing on olive trees as actants in Palestine in the face of ongoing Zionist settler colonial violence.

## Ethnographing the Undersea: Positionality, Response-ability, And Aesthetics

*Julie Patarin-Jossec, PhD, Royal Society of Arts*

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This paper discusses an ethnographic fieldwork I realized for a year and a half as a queer scholar with commercial divers, becoming a diver myself and participating in their underwater public work activities. While ethnographic immersion is a fruitful methodology to reflect on embodiment and embodied knowledge in relation to underwater “companion species” (Donna Haraway) like fishes, seaweed, or plankton, this research also highlights the limits of ethnography for feminist ethics. Feminist ethnography has been historically torn between how the method suits feminism due to its experiential approach to knowledge emphasizing reciprocity between knower and known, and how ethnography facilitates risks of exploitation and harmful intervention by the researcher (Judith Stacey), to be reproduced through teaching. Relatively little attention has been paid to how nonhuman beings and ecological systems are affected by these power relations (Wendy Lynn Lee), and how considering nonhuman beings profoundly affects feminist ethnography. After discussing the virtues and limits of ethnography for a feminist apprehension of the undersea, this paper further explores how feminist axiology can develop ethical methodologies to work with the undersea both in research and teaching, through positionality, response-ability, and aesthetics (Donna Haraway, Wendy Lynn Lee), respectively through collective storytelling, disinterested attention, and filmmaking.

## “Might Delete Later”: The Vulnerable Interface of the Body, Corporeality and Flesh within Myselfie

*Luise Erbentraut, Independent Researcher*

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Thinking about the body and its relationship to the skin is not only a question of borders, boundaries and limits. It immediately raises the question of inside and outside. We can therefore think of the skin either as the dividing line between bodies, as a container, or as a terrain of semiotic-material formation itself. The latter invites us to think of the skin as a spatio-temporal assemblage that co-creates the body. Similarly, research on the selfie draws attention to its spatio-temporal dynamics (e.g. Berkland 2019; Warfield 2017). By considering the selfie as skin, Senft (2015) turns Haraway's (1990) question around: "Why should my skin end at my body?" (Senft 2015, 4) and observes: "When we skin ourselves, we endure temporary wounding that makes us more conscious of anything or anyone with the potential to touch our flesh" (ibid.). The relationship between skin and selfie is ambivalent in her reading: The selfie frees the body from the cauldron of skin, but imposes another one on it. 'To skin' is equally destructive and constructive. The selfie thus exposes the body as a semiotic-material formation that cannot do without the flesh's vulnerability. In my presentation, I re-read Haraway's and Senft's questions dos-à-dos with Elisabeth Grosz (1994), to rethink the practice of taking a selfie as an interface between corporeality and power between one's own body. Hence, taking a selfie is understood as a vulnerable technology of the self beyond humanist logics (c.f. Sundén 2015). In conclusion, I argue that media education needs to avoid the pitfalls of understanding the selfie within the dichotomy of self-objectification and empowerment.

## The Last Generation: An Intersectional Perspective of the Climate Crises through Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga's Works

*Nicole Haring, PhD Researcher, Center for Inter-American Studies at the University of Graz, Austria*

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When Amitav Gosh (2009) talks about “a crisis of the imagination” (9), he addresses the inability of literature, history, and politics to grasp the dimensions and violence of climate change and environmental degradation. This status-quo is explained by the fact that the (post)industrial world is held back by its current systems and their attendant behavioral patterns which predominately rely on fossil fuels, profligate consumption, and exploitation of the most vulnerable. Certainly, the industrial world cannot easily escape the “petro-imaginary” (Banita 2017), which defines a system that is dependent on fossil fuels and unequal and cruel exploitation. As a result, the human influence on the planet has exponentially increased in the 20th century particularly in terms of space and time. Yet, the Anthropocene is not easily understandable as a whole by the general public, particular by the dominant groups who are not yet immediately affected by the consequences of it. Nevertheless, the complexity of individual phenomena and their interrelatedness, which defines the Anthropocene, demand new narratives, approaches and theoretical considerations that problematize the intersectional character to work towards a climate-just future. Relying on non-Western thought and intersectional feminist perspectives is crucial here. Thus, this talk will use the works of Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherrie Moraga, two Chicana feminist writers, to negotiate an intersectional and relational understanding of the climate crises that highlights storytelling practices and problematizes the human-nature relation in all its complexities and relationalities. Eventually, this discussion will open up the possibilities for a critical environmental feminist pedagogy.

## Feminist Pedagogy For A Non-Anthropocentric Course and Class

*Özlem Güçlü, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

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In this paper I would like to reflect on my teaching experience of an undergraduate course titled “Society and Animals” at a sociology department in Turkey. This course, being one of the very few in Turkey on its subject, transgresses and calls in question the anthropocentric borders and boundaries of sociology, and humanities in general. Witnessing the “humanist” eyes rolling against this transgression and query, it calls for a pedagogic reflection on its learning, teaching and educational processes. Drawing upon the feminist pedagogy introduced by Sara Ahmed in their seminal piece *Living a Feminist Life* (2017), I aim to present feminist pedagogy, which intertwines feminist companionship, companion species (Haraway, 2003; 2007) and companion texts (Ahmed, 2017), as “a survival kit” in Ahmed’s terms, for a non-anthropocentric course design and class experience. In order to do so, syllabus design of the abovementioned course will be scrutinized and discussed from various aspects, through the feminist politics of citation. Following that, its application and practice will be presented along with the class outcomes. The discussion of class experience will be opened up with an emphasis on the idea of building a “communitas” (Turner, 2012; Bora, 2019) in and through classroom around care, response-ability and world-making.

## Teaching with Visible Mending: Propositions for a Transformative Pedagogy of Repair

*Dr. Sanne Koevoets, Researcher at the Erasmus University Rotterdam Platform for Design, Impact and Transition and Head of the Humanities Department at Erasmus University College Neel van Roessel, MA, The Education Developer for the Erasmus University Rotterdam Platform for Design, Impact and Transition*

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How can we imagine and enact more just and sustainable futures from within institutions into which the logics and values colonialist extractivism, heteronormative patriarchy, and (neo/liberal) capitalism are so tightly woven? At the platform for Design, Impact and Transition at Erasmus University in Rotterdam (The Netherlands) we are exploring the transformative potential of engaging students in mending as a collective, affective, and embodied practice of thinking-with the waste of consumer capitalism, colonial extractivism, and heteropatriarchal institutionalized rationality. Visible mending comprises a broad and expansive set of textile and yarn techniques aimed at repairing items in such a way that the repair itself remains visible or becomes a focal point of the repaired object. In this project, visible mending is engaged with as a material metaphor for a pedagogy of repair aimed at the co-creation of transformative research and education as spaces for reworlding.

## Re-Membering the Landscape of Yedikule: Lettuce and its Communities in fin-de-siècle Istanbul

*Suna Kafadar, Independent Researcher*

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Istanbul's 1500-year-old vegetable gardens, which stretch within and along the fifth century Theodosian Land Walls in Yedikule, have been a vibrant part of the city's religious and leisurely rituals since at least the mid-nineteenth century. Armenian, Greek and Turkish gardeners as well as immigrants chiefly from the Balkans farmed and fed the city for centuries. In this talk, the focus will be on the life history of a particular type of lettuce that became famous in Istanbul in the nineteenth century, and that came to be named after the neighborhood in which it was cultivated. Yedikule lettuce summoned many communities to the soil from which it sprang, until it withered in the mid-twentieth century.

On the brink of a regime change and a devastating demographic shift, fin-de-siècle Istanbul was a fertile ground for many desires, aspirations, deeds and dirt. From the coming together of seeds, curative waters, burdening animals, a range of manure, the touch of gardeners, and an entire city folk celebrating the life within these gardens nestled in Yedikule, a forgotten environmental imaginary emerges as fire, as Benjamin put it, to set "alight the sparks of hope in the past". The memory of Yedikule lettuce thriving among a community of plants, animals, rocks and humans, presents an opportunity to look at the oppression and abuse that these communities endured. This historical approach to more-than-human worlds lends itself to a vital imaginary to summon a future we yearn to live.

## Daughters of Daughters (Daughter, Mother, Mother of Daughter): An allo-Autoethnography of Feminist Posthuman Methodology

*Tanya Geggie, Independent Researcher*

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This is a cartography of an undulating journey towards better understanding female subjectivity as plural and relational. A voyage preoccupied with brushing up against the inconceivable, engaging with that which is of us and always exceeding us. This paper is empirically anchored to narratives emerging from the performance of posthuman autoethnography, allo-autoethnography in my terms, that fosters spaces of encounter to enact the collective agency of female kinship.

I discuss probing about my entangled female kinship web, forming a research assemblage with my mother and sisters, in pursuit of a poetics of female relationality. Our group-experimentations with creative autoethnographic modes of perception and expression are a line of flight to speculate dialogic being-knowing-becoming. A line of flight to speculate praxes of ethico-onto-epistemological response-ability. Focusing on embodied feeling and nonlinear networks of being-becoming, this paper rejects the intrinsic objectification and abstraction of the Enlightened subject, subverting processes that have entitled epistemologies and marginalised others. With situated and dialogic analyses of female kinship, I explore how we might become aware of, receptive to our submerged, entangled positionality without imposing alienating distance or stagnating representation. To understand ourselves, our bodies as situated within messy entanglements of intra- and interdependencies is to position care and responsibility at the core of ethical subjectivities. Thinking about relational existence creates urgency for a rush of stories, for us to affect and be affected by the lifeworlds of others (Braidotti, 2021; Tsing, 2015). Cultivating praxes of relational affirmative knowing-becoming is an opening to existential transformation. To response-able becoming-with, to livability.

## Fire Scene: Thinking Political Violence through the Testimony of the Non-Human

*Tuba Emiroğlu, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

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During our interview, Kemal tells the story of the fleeing migration of the island's Greeks from Imbros (Gökçeada) in 1974. He likens the panic of the islanders who hastily emptied their houses and sold their belongings at incredibly low prices and the scattered belongings to a "fire scene". This metaphor effectively reveals the magnitude of the nation-state's violence against the island. This violence has not only led to the displacement of people on Imbros, but has also disrupted the entangled relationship between human and non-human beings of the landscape.

This political intervention created its own non-human witnesses in a landscape where human witnesses preferred to stay away from bearing witness. In this paper, I aim to look at a landscape that has been ravaged by political violence and has taken on a "ghostly" quality. I will question the witnessing of the non-human by focusing on perhaps the most characteristic plant of the island landscape, the "geven" (*Astragalus*).

Thanks to its "resilient roots", the given gives us the chance to imagine political violence. It is referred to in the literature as the last protector of soils that have become arid due to overgrazing in areas where livestock farming is widespread. Its roots go very deep and hold the soil and it stands out as the last plant seen before erosion. On the other hand, Imbros has turned into a geography where people engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry set fires in order to fight against the given. These characteristics make it important to call upon the testimony of given.

By examining the testimonies provided by this resilient plant, this study not only allows us to rethink the history of Imbros, but also aims to understand the conditions for flourishing even in barren and fire-ravaged lands. Additionally, this research prompts us to rethink the nature of knowledge, the practice of research and the position of the researcher when interacting with non-human things in a haunted landscape.

## Agency, Subjectivity and Power: A Post-Structural Feminist Reading of Ethiopian Young Adult Novels in English

*Yared Machel, Ethiopian Higher Institution*

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This paper explores portraits of the agency of young adult females as they are represented in contemporary Ethiopian young adult feminist novels in English. The research upon which this paper is based aims to identify how young adult female protagonists are represented-especially in power relations with normative and patriarchal adults-and how they deal and negotiate power therein. To capture the protagonist's depiction of agency, a conceptual framework has been built based on three convergent conceptions of power and subjectivity from post-structural theories: Foucault's conception of control and resistance; Nikolajevia's conception of aetonormativity, and Butler's conception of performativity. With this conceptual framework, textual analysis as a form of qualitative research methodology has been employed for the analysis of selected young adult novels. In addition, literatures and related works on the subject matter have been consulted and reviewed. This research has pointed out that there are many forms of aetonormative and patriarchal power relations between young adults and adult characters. In almost all the novels analyzed, young adult females are placed under a bimodal oppression that goes from adult to young adult females: one mode is patriarchal; the other is in terms of normative age difference. Analysis made on adult characters also confirms that they are not aware of their domination and the fact that young adults also have their own opinion and needs. Within the selected novels analyzed, some minor young adult females are depicted as passive, subservient and submissive to the adult's control. Despite adult's domination, most of the young adult female protagonists analyzed in this selection were found to be independent, brave and intelligent through exercising of their personal agency. Thus, they can be considered as active agents for themselves. In this way, the subversive nature of the author's depiction in this young adult genre is shown. The analysis also revealed that female young adults are not only represented as active agents in the power relations they are ascribed to compete, some are depicted as moral agents who confirm adult norms-a paradox against the adult's labeling of them as juvenile, immature and weak. Furthermore, with the exception of one novel, analysis shows how literary works can be empowering. As most of the authors have depicted independent and active agents, the researcher concludes that the literary works selected for this study are also progressive from feminist perspective. However, as the present research is only a case study of the selected novels in the national catalogue, wider generalization cannot be made.

## A Case Study of Participant Embodied Experiences in a Virtual Reality Artwork

*Yiwen Li, University College London*

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This paper discusses participant embodied experience in a virtual reality artwork through a case study. This research emphasizes the importance of understanding the embodied experiences of participants in VR-Art works and their co-creation process to create more immersive and engaging VR-Art experiences. The paper argues that participant embodied experiences are created through a collaboration between the moving-thinking-feeling body and a virtual body. The participant's moving-thinking-feeling and collaborative body is defined as a dynamic process of mind-body-environment integration, which overcomes the binary separation of mind/body and information/machine. In this paper, a case study of participant experiences in a virtual reality artwork False Mirror-Skyville is presented. Through participant observations and interviews, this paper explores how participants are engaged in a co-creation process to construct the ideas of the artworks through interactions, make meanings of movements, and enhance the depth and richness to their experiences. The paper focuses on three aspects - acclimatization, resistance, and context - that influence cooperation during participants' interactions with virtual bodies. Within these interactions, participants learn, compromise, and undergo change in their relationship with the virtual body.

## Sensory Methods Towards More-than-Human Placemaking A Case Study of Traditional Ecological Knowledge on a Tisza Flood-Landscape

*Zsófia Szona Illés, Visiting Lecturer, Glasgow School of Art on Environmental Design and Integrated Design (MDes)*

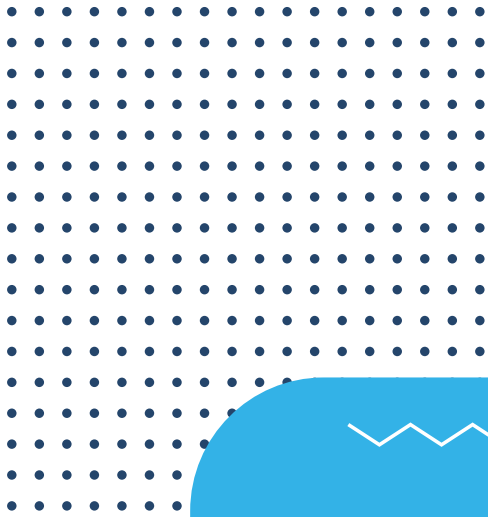
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How might we, within a more-than-human world, contest the notion that participation requires 'having a voice'? And what might participation look like within the 'pluriverse' (Mignolo 2018)<sup>1</sup>, where multiple positions, power relations, 'voices' and experiences are involved? How might we create knowledge through situations that allow space for an entangled and reciprocal relationship to be articulated - instead of our very human need for representation and translation? The context of the climate crises and the Anthropocene makes it urgent for designers and land researchers to think beyond human-centered notions of landscape and placemaking. The proposed paper explores the above questions and the potential of sensory methods towards addressing these. The research develops sensory methods through a case study at the flood-meadows of the Middle-Tisza region (Hungary) - through the perspective and traditional ecological knowledge of flood-meadow farmers, whose knowledge of such complexities often lays in their tacit practices. The research seeks to understand the capacity of sensory methods in mapping, analysing and describing (communicating) tacit knowledge on the complex and entangled interaction between human and more-than-human actors of this flood landscape.

The paper also addresses gaps in knowledge within land use and water management perspectives on flood landscapes. Following decades of unsuccessful debate between conservationists, environmental activists and water management decision makers, the 2021-2022 summer droughts<sup>2</sup> in Hungary (and the Middle-Tisza region particularly affected by it) gave a sudden urgency<sup>3</sup> to the topic of designing and planning with water (or the scarcity of it), and put the issue of flood plain water retention into the spotlight. Until now research only with technological, engineering<sup>4</sup>, or natural science (biology) approach have been carried out on flood-meadows and flooding at the Tisza region. There is ethnographic literature available on past flood-meadow farming traditions<sup>5</sup>, but no research has been conducted on the contemporary use of flood-meadows from a versatile, more-than-human point of view, where the knowledge of those who practice traditional floodplain farming would be made visible and considered.

From interviews in the area it became clear, that local and traditional floodplain farmers would welcome such research - seeing it as a way of preserving and communicating local and traditional knowledge of floodplain farming, and as a way of having their voices heard in debates around water retention. The research conducted with flood-meadow farmers, focuses on and describes their perception and understanding of the complexity of this ecosystem, landscape, waterscape and land use, and through this, also shows the capacity of sensory methods in capturing, analysing and describing tacit knowledge about complex ecosystems and the more-than-human perspectives within it.

The conference paper proposes to describe the development and use of sensory methods through the Tisza River case study and to introduce a sensory artistic practice (that is closely related to the land research practice), where sensory artistic installations are used to communicate and describe tacit knowledge and sensory data on ecological complexities. Examples are also brought from the researches's art and design educational practice at MOME<sup>6</sup>, The Glasgow School of Art and KISD Cologne<sup>7</sup>, where sensory approaches are used to help students empathise with other point of views, and to create situations of attunement and 'sense'-making.



# Strand 6: Affects, Emotions, Moods in Pedagogies and Demarcation

*Coordinators: Demet Gulcicek, Carys Hill, Alena  
Sander and Liz Ablett*



## Digital Feminist Activism and Imagining the Future: Case Study of the 'Women, Life, Freedom' Protest in Iran

*Azadeh Shamsi, Central European University*

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This research investigates Iranian women's collective imagination of the future by focusing on the politics of affect and emotion and the experience of doing digital feminist activism during the "Women, Life, Freedom" uprising in Iran. The death of Mahsa Jina Amini, in September 2022, sparked a massive street protest in Iran, primarily led by women.

Alongside massive street protests in large and small cities across the country, digital media platforms remained a crucial part of the uprising. Jina's tragic death brought up different emotions: anger, sadness, despair, and hope. People, specifically women, started to talk about their experiences, their emotions, and memories of inequality and violence in recent decades on social media platforms. The focus of this project is on how affective publics or counterpublics, enabled by the affordances of digital media, shape the affective political formation of Iranian women and their life experiences of inequality. It is argued that through digital narratives communicated by textual and visual narratives on social media platforms by Iranian women during the uprising, a new collective future is imagined. My methodological approach in this research draws on digital ethnography and because of the complexity and multilayeredness of Iranian women's media engagement, adopting a mixed method approach, I use a range of methodological tools and integrate different research methods to analyse online narratives, meanings of images, texts, and practices on social media in their multiple social and political contexts.

## Feminist Killjoy in the Classroom

*Catherine Dale, Tokyo Joshi University*

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The study of feminist theory in the classroom, as elsewhere, encounters problems trying to understand the relationships among emotion, experience, and theory. In this paper, I approach the idea of the personal as how you feel and the notion of the private as how those feelings are framed and become trapped in capitalist liberal culture. In the classroom, discussion moves from concrete experience to theory and back again, but also from anger and hopelessness to quick solutions that appeal to buy-now, feel-good celebrity feminist optimism or to the authorities to do something useful. I try to slow down the class sprint to a solution, “to make trouble” as Aileen Moreton-Robinson suggests, but that can mean staying with grief and discomfort in the face of both individual personal responsibility and the idea that emotions are private. It's not a comfortable situation. As a white woman from a western country teaching feminist theory at a women's university in Japan, I try to "stay with the trouble," to study with the students and to share with them a set of tools, not borrowed from the master (Audre Lorde). This paper presents some of these tools, feminist concepts, focusing on those that seek to make public emotion and mood: the feminist slogan “the personal is the political,” Sara Ahmed's concept of the “feminist killjoy,” the Feeling Tanks' Street protest sign “honk if you're politically depressed” (Lauren Berlant et al.), and bell hooks' suggestion that we initiate theory “from the location of experience.”

## Affective Labour, Precarization, Commoning: Three Cases From Turkey

*Derya Özkan, İzmir University of Economics*

*Güldem Baykal Büyüksaraç, Istanbul University*

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This paper has evolved from a prolonged thought and research process, developed in conjunction with a series of seminars and workshops (Spaces in Common, Istanbul, 2016), as well as an edited volume (Commoning the City, Routledge, 2020), which serves as an archive of these events. In one of the workshops, we collaborated with three worker subjects from urban Turkey, a domestic laborer, a sex worker, and a freelance cultural worker, to collectively explore the complex interplay between precarization and commoning. This paper dwells on the insights derived from the accounts of our three research participants to discuss the post-industrial conditions of precarization through affective exploitation, as well as the emergent networks of commoning that challenge these conditions. In these three cases, affects take on multiple meanings and function in multiple ways. When instrumentalized in capitalist circuits, affect emerges not only in labor form but also as a discursive aspect of an exploitative work relationship. Affects are essential to both capitalist production and the reproduction of the unequal work relationship. However, paradoxically, and simultaneously, they provide the excessive capacities for subjects to begin to challenge the conditions of their precarization. We observe how the participants in our study are transformed into post-class political subjects by activating the affirmative potential of affective labor, changing how they perceive themselves and their relationship to others. These observations prompt us, as two women, researchers and higher education workers, to rethink our own (self-)exploitation and the common/comparable aspects of our precarization. The experiences of these three worker subjects have served as more than just case studies for us; they have become pivotal in exploring the possibilities of living labor that capital fails to capture and domesticate. Gaining insight into the cultural codes of solidarity among precarious worker subjects, we have begun to reflect on how to transmit these codes to young researchers and students in the university. In this paper, we would like to share the itinerary of this exploration.

## Effects of Feminist Pedagogy in Gender and Women Studies in Turkey

*Dilşad Karakurt, Middle East Technical University*

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My study focus on the effects of feminist pedagogy in Gender and Women Studies in Turkey. To understand this, I will conduct field study in Gender and Women Studies in Middle East Technical University. I will do qualitative semi-structured interviews, in the context of feminist pedagogy experiences and practices, both students and academics. This study is still in progress. In the frame of my study, my main research questions: What is the effects of feminist pedagogy in Gender and Women Studies class? When it practices what are the strategies and methods using in the class? What limitations and resistances does it face? How do feminist pedagogy practices transform Gender and Women Studies classes? How do affect and emotions transform the relationship between students and academics in the context of feminist pedagogy? According to the literature, practices of feminist pedagogy, within and beyond the classroom, support empowerment, critical thinking, gender equality creates social change and activism, sharing experiences and emotions. On the other hand, resistances reveal against these practices within the classroom because of the hierarchial structure of the university, social, cultural and political factors. There are two majors significances of this study. In Turkey, there are very few studies on the impacts of feminist pedagogy in GWS. Therefore, this research will fill a gap in the literature. Secondly, since this study will reveal the structural limitations and potentials effecting feminist pedagogy, it is important for the further development of feminist pedagogy practices in GWS and its wider dissemination in academia.

## The Clash of Embodied Knowledge with the Spaces of Politics: Is Crying Acceptable in Academia?

Hande Çayır, University of Warwick

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How does sharing academic spaces of politics with non-feminists affect the integrity of an international feminist student? In academic settings, how do others respond to someone who is crying? How do institutional structures affect one's mood? The first time I shed tears in academia was at a conference on autoethnography in the United States in 2013. 'The ethnographic I' (Ellis 2004) described a documentary I made about my last name change. The tripod allowed me to record myself; however, I never watched the video. I experienced the second incident in 2020 when discussing why I dedicate my books to whom. This time, I cried during a conference held online. Through the chat box, I received a flood of love from the audience, and we were encouraged to show our 'vulnerabilities'. Last, I wept during a conference in the UK in 2023 while describing fieldwork obstacles. I found collaboration opportunities during this conference, despite my belief that I would never be accepted again because I cried. In this presentation, I aim to explore the impact of my feelings, 'embodied knowledge' (Okely and Callaway 1992) and actions on self and others when working within an institutional setting. As 'my body knows things' (Upshaw 2017), could choosing research topics related to my personal life increase the possibility of bonding or exclusion? Is personal still political? 'What about the power of those who are oppressed? And what about the vulnerability of paternalistic institutions themselves?' (Butler 2016: 13)

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## Re-imagining Children's Agencies Across Cultures from Feminist Pedagogies

*Ingrid Agud-Morell, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain*

*Montse Rlfà-Valls, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain*

*Berta Llos-Casadella, Unviersitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain*

*Constanza Chamorro, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona & Circle of Feminist Teachers Amanda Labarca*

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Children and childhood, as stated by Nadorowski (2015), are the starting and the arrival point of pedagogy, the sine qua non condition of pedagogical production (the pedagogical discourse, and the pedagogy as a great narrative closely related to the narrative of the desired childhood for a desired society (p.26).

Framed within the granted research project "AGENCies. Children agencies, vulnerability and education: Creation of transmedia narratives for inclusion", we explore in this study how children agencies can (and should) be re-imagined within feminist pedagogies, pedagogies of affects and vulnerabilities.

In order to problematize the configuration of childhood and children' agencies, together with antiracist, decolonial, intersectional, transfeminist and anti-adultcentric perspectives, we use feminist pedagogies and its potential to contribute to deconstructing the idea of the modern universal subject that has guided educational theories and knowledge production throughout the (western) world (Beasley, 2005).

In this paper we will present the results of a systematic literature research to identify how narratives on children agencies have been signified across borders, highlighting how the geopolitical context and the onto-epistemoligical position of the researchers shapes.

Rethinking the signification of children's agencies from feminist perspectives and the pedagogy of affects enables the construction of spaces that promote the proliferation of ways of existing, the construction of identities as a continuum and that subjects can collectively explore and question the assigned categories, without limitations or prejudices and how to create alternative narratives for inclusion.

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*Narodowski, M. (2015). Infancia y Poder. La conformación de la Pedagogía Moderna. AIQUE Educación.*

## Effacing Jennifer: Vulnerability, Grievability and Public Mourning

*Ivanka Custodio, Master's Student, Critical Gender Studies, Central European University*

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On October 11, 2016: the 2nd death anniversary of Jennifer Laude, a transpinay (Filipino trans\* woman) sex worker who was killed by a U.S. Marine in Olongapo City, Philippines. The anti-imperialist LGBTIQ organization that I was a part of at the time performed several actions in a state university to commemorate her death, including staging 'guerilla-style' re-enactments of the murder, a candle-lighting memorial, and a panel discussion. One of the highlights of the day's actions is the mounting of decals on bathroom mirrors all over the university campus. The decals bore the outline of Jennifer's face and her hair, her facial features hollowed out. Beside her faceless face is the text, #RememberJennifer. When one stood in front of the mirror, they would have noticed from the outlines that there was a missing face there, bearing witness to its absence. At the same time, one would have seen their own face staring back at them, framed by the outline. In filling in her effaced face, one's face became Jennifer's face – and Jennifer's face, in its absence, became one's face.

In this paper, I use Judith Butler's (2004) notion of 'face' as the apprehension of the shared fundamental condition of vulnerability to examine the 2016 #RememberJennifer campaign. Specifically, I show how the campaign enabled the collective mourning of Jennifer's death against the production of her life as ungrievable by the deadly assemblage of gender normativity, imperialism and transnormativity.

## Honesty and Humbleness: African Feminism and Epistemic Justice

*Miriam Adelina Ocadiz Arriaga, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam*

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Historically, feminist scholars have emphasized the need to develop academic practices that acknowledge and challenge power imbalances in all fronts, including knowledge creation. African feminists for instance have emphasized the importance of centering the voices of socially excluded communities to address colonial and apartheid legacies. This often takes place by cultivating (safer) spaces of dialogue where people can share their lived experiences, bringing emotions and feeling along with thoughts and reflections. Looking into the connection between emotions and knowledge, I analyze how emotions mediate the praxis of African feminist working with LGBTQI+ refugees in South Africa. I depart from situating emotions as contextual sensations entangled in axis of race, class and gender, among others. This is important in South Africa, as a country with deep inequalities that continue to displace marginalized communities outside the university. Thus, my analysis is grounded in the narratives of LGBTQI+ refugees themselves about their experiences working with feminist scholars. Their voices include feelings of frustration, anger and disappointment when collaborations are unequal, despite the use of feminist praxis, highlighting that (good) intentions are not enough. However, they also described a sense of joy, empathy and hope when collaborations were rooted in honesty and humbleness, leading to the acknowledgement of refugees as rightful knowledge co-creators. Their stories provide meaningful insight into the pitfalls and contribution of feminism for epistemic justice in South Africa and beyond.

## Divorce Studies As A Feminist Counterspace in Transnational Discourse

*Dr. Nadja A., Assistant Professor of English, SAFI Institute of Advanced Study, Kerala, India*

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Divorce narratives constitute an advanced discipline in Gender and Family studies. Ranging from research on relationship stigmas to post-divorce actualisations corresponding to diverse cultural settlements, Divorce Studies is a potential feminist counter space in emerging. The divorce narratives in literary discourses problematise the blemishes of marriage-centred social praxis of male hegemonic societies.. The biased depiction of divorce in prominent myths, fiction, non-fiction and media narratives impose cultural taboos and impact in social alienation. The privileged status of male divorcees and the selective discrimination against divorce-trodden women from disadvantaged economic situations should be subject to detailed sociological analyses. The male-defined tenets of religiosity hang Democlesian sword of divorce over the heads of married women and derogate women divorcees. The defective written and unwritten rules prevalent in the society constitute the major concern in divorce narratives.

The recent narratives of divorce in general and in cyberspace in particular by women and men establish counterspaces discussing hypocrisies of marital existences. Celebrity statements on divorces has been receiving positive responses towards acknowledging individualities as detached from marriage-centred identities. Though dependant on privileges, the active discourse can contribute to inclusivity in a transnational realms of gender studies. The narratives from different regions of the world can pattern into strengthening the discourse as a counterspace. The activist wings of prominent organisations and divorce-support groups such as 360 Degrees back to Life in India voice the un-spotlighted traumas and survival stories. The discourse in turn could help in giving space to women, towards rethinking gendered phenomenon of relationships.

## The Importance of Queer Representations in Turkish Literature as a Pedagogical Tool

*Sevcan Tiftik, PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology and Methodology, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University*

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As much as literature empowers people with visibility through its language, narrator, character, construction of situations and events, and even the narrative universe as a whole, it can also trigger people, cause anger and disappointment with invisibilities, discrimination and stereotypes embedded in itself.

As a researcher, educator, and reader, I envision literature as a refuge that creates spaces of encounter where we can find coping strategies, be inspired, be empowered, have fun, realize ourselves, our diversity and difference, be included, meet our peers, desire, commiserate and mourn at the same time.

On the other hand, when literature is considered as a field of representation, it creates the realities of its own universe through language and representations. This universe is neither an exact reflection of what we are in, nor does it consist of ideal or accurate representations.

In this presentation, I will attempt to demonstrate the relationship between literature and representation, the power of representation in literature, the relationship between literature and readers, the effect of literature on its readers, and the importance of queer representations. One of my main concerns here is to read representation through power hierarchies. Keeping in mind that representation itself is not independent from power relations and hierarchies, I look at how those who have the power to construct representation use this power, that is, how they exercise agency, even when ethical or "successful, good" representations are attempted. In short, I attribute agency to the author who constructs representation, and I am interested in what the agent turns the power to create representation into. Focusing specifically on the issue of representation, ethics, and political responsibility in Turkish literature, I would like to examine the impact of representations on us, their relationship with sociocultural and political context, and finally the transformative potential of queer representations as a pedagogical tool.

## A Mind-Body Disjuncture in Everyday Life of the Women and Queer Community

*Srestha Chatterjee, Master's Graduate in Sociology*

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Adapting to an indecisive mind is completely rational for many individuals, difficulty arises when the mind does not correlate to how your body feels. It is integral to keep a healthy mind body connection. Yet it might get out of sync, predominantly on an everyday basis - which probably women have to face a lot on an everyday basis. A determinant factor being how women perceive their everyday travels and communications with strangers. From Leslie Kern's understanding of how Mothers navigate the city - wherein her body becomes an object of scrutiny and public dissatisfaction making it difficult for a mother to have a comfortable mind-body connection or being comfortable in her embodied being open in the urban; to including the concept of Simon de Beauvoir's concept of embodied self - explained by Fiona Vera Grey as the practice of the mind to consciously reiterate and practice our gendered bodies and habits so that regular intrusions of our embodiments become a habit for women. It is not something which is only a matter of conflict for women but also a troubling necessity for queer individuals who have not met their desirable embodiments and are perhaps trapped inside a body which the mind rebels every day. Owning your embodied self and being comfortable in the everyday world becomes difficult in such circumstances - when your body doesn't talk so suitably with your mind. Going through narratives of conflicts this study would try to decode this mind-body conflict from an intersectional feminist perspective.

## Shared Air and Shared Affects: “Post”-Pandemic Agency and Relationality

*Tamsyn Riddle, MA Student, Central European University*

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My project will explore the feminist affective implications of the construction of the end of the COVID-19 pandemic. This analysis builds on an understanding of how the framing of the pandemic as an emergency that can then “end” obscures the structural forces that allow it to continue to disable primarily working-class communities (and, disproportionately, women). While in many countries the pandemic has been declared “over,” an examination of the lived experiences of immunocompromised people like me reveals that it continues to spread from person to person, and that this silence further marginalizes those who are less willing to capitulate to this (false) ending. I will draw on examples from my lived experience as an immunocompromised person in Canada and Austria as well as theorizing by Lauren Berlant and Sara Ahmed on the biopolitics of public health and on negative affects. I will examine how governments have mobilized negative affects such as fear and exhaustion to normalize mass infection and to make alternatives such as community care seem impossible. In contrast to these government discourses, I will discuss the Instagram account “mask4maskjoy,” which shares user-submitted pictures of COVID-19 protections such as mask-wearing, testing, and air purifiers, to demonstrate the affective possibilities offered and sustained by COVID-cautious communities. By examining the politics of COVID indifference and “moving on” in contrast to those of continued caution, I will demonstrate how centering affect in feminist pedagogies offers possibilities for imagining new forms of agency in and through relationality—with people and with viruses.

## Thoughts on Cooking as an Embodied Ethnographic Method

*Vanja Petrovic, Social Policy and Social Work Department, University of Belgrade*

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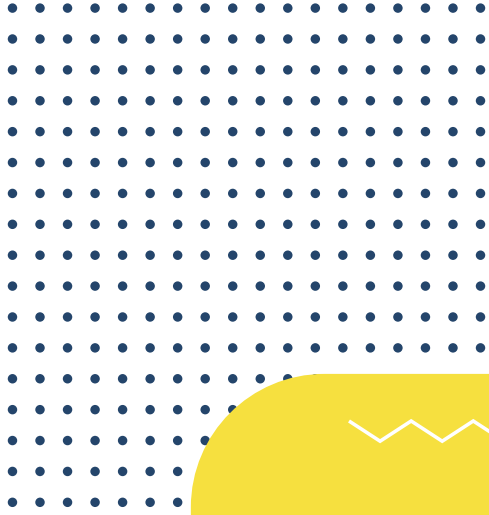
In the Western scientific tradition, cooking is relegated to the private and home-adjacent sphere. Like many other domestic activities – particularly those necessary for the survival of the body – cooking is considered empty of scientific potential as carrying it out requires the use of “non-objective” and “feminine” senses like smell and taste. This paper breaks from this tradition and offers cooking up as an ethnographic methodology uniquely equipped for researching and working through a variety of questions that are not necessarily food-related, such as those of positionality and identity. I contend that cooking, as an embodied and always-relational method, challenges entrenched hierarchies present in Western academic research and the artificial, patriarchal division of private and public spheres. Additionally, as an activity not traditionally categorized as “rational,” it calls into question the categorization itself. Further, its intrinsically relational nature allows for holding messiness, enabling reflexivity in the research process. Most importantly, as a method, cooking is collaborative, egalitarian, and participatory.

## Hindutva and the Politics of Maternal Subjectivity

*Yanis Iqbal, Aligarh Muslim University*

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In India, the rise of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) has fueled anti-modern politics, opposing community to individual, home to world, and tradition to modernity. This has led to the revival of religious communitarianism against state intrusions. In terms of gender norms, Hindutva replaces juridical equality with the myth of maternal womanhood. The question is: can women achieve secular personhood without the insensitive hubris of the Enlightenment subject? Cultural feminists reject rational subjectivity for maternal experience. The maternal space of primary relationality and mutual attunement becomes the stage for social relations. From the viewpoint of Lacanian dialectics, the intersubjective harmony of the maternal space is always-already disturbed by the constitutive lack that inheres in human beings. The impossibility of total satisfaction means that subjectivity is the inadequacy-to-itself of any identity. This abyssal negativity of the subject means that the mutual recognition found in maternal space is only a transitory point, an attempt to deal with the primordial non-relation at the heart of humanity. The valorization of maternity replaces the ontological void of subjectivity with the evolutionary progression of intersubjective balance, thus reifying maternal relationality as the obverse of paternal sovereignty. In Indian politics, this reinforces the desexualized portrayal of women as “Mother India,” whose natural bond with the child makes them fit for the private sphere of the family. In opposition to this, we must confront the internal impasse and nonbelonging of all identities – the way in which they are rendered unstable by the restlessness of desire.



# Strand 7: Transnational Feminisms and Solidarity: Eastern Perspectives

*Coordinators: Tereza Hendl, Maryna Shevtsova,  
Karolina Szpyrko*



## Decolonial Discourses in Kazakhstan

*Aizada Arystanbek, Rutgers University*

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In 2022, discussions of decolonization entered the public sphere in Kazakhstan with an unprecedented velocity. There is a recent and continuing trend of Kazakhstani public and intellectual groups, such as scholars, activists, and artists, engaging in conversations on decolonization in the contexts of Kazakhstan, Central Asia, and post-Soviet spaces. While decolonial discourses and scholarly works can be found in previous history of Kazakhstan, this represents the first time since independence when decolonization became a point of active public discussions in contemporary Kazakhstan, in the emergency context of ongoing Russian military invasion in Ukraine. In my study, I aim to explore the importance and implication of decolonial frames and discourses for national identities construction in the post-Soviet region, as well as present an argument for intellectual and political imperative to attend to the linkages between heteropatriarchy and coloniality in Kazakhstan. Some of the research questions this text aims to answer include how the discourse on decolonization disrupts dominant understanding of national identities in post-Soviet societies such as Kazakhstan; in what ways decolonial discourses and frames emerging in Kazakhstan are gendered; what feminist, queer, trans-inclusive frame can offer to contemporary Kazakhstani epistemologies on decolonization. The study pieces together the publicly available data on Kazakhstani decolonial knowledge to demonstrate that the production of knowledge on decolonization has been practiced openly and communally. By using information, discourses, content, documents, and events that are public and easily accessible, I aim to showcase how far-reaching and momentous Kazakhstani decolonial discourses have been. The goal is to examine how the Kazakhstani public understands decolonization and how the latter's relationship with gender and nationalism is shaped and challenged.

## **‘Gender’ as a Mode of Knowledge Production: An Intervention From Post-Socialist Lithuania**

*Jorune Linkeviciute, PhD Student, Sociology, University of Cambridge*

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The presentation will examine how feminist knowledge was (re)produced in post-socialist Lithuania through the construction of gender equality discourses. By sketching out the genealogy of ‘gender’ and positioning the term within its socio-historical context, the presentation will showcase how the contemporary understanding of gender equality emerged in—or was ‘imported’ to—Eastern Europe. The presentation will make an argument that, in addition to being a multifaceted concept and a category of analysis, ‘gender’ also constitutes a discourse, marked by specific meanings, advanced in particular institutions, and promulgated by certain actors. In other terms, ‘gender’ entails a specific mode of (feminist) knowledge production. The latter conceptualisation of gender is rarely acknowledged or treated as such; however, it is particularly apparent in the context of Eastern Europe, where the notion of ‘gender’ equality entered in a particular socio-historical moment, tracing back to the transitional period from state socialism to neoliberalism after the fall of the Soviet Union. This post-socialist transition of the early 1990s brought a paradigmatic shift in the conceptualisation of gender regimes – the Soviet-era ‘woman question’ was replaced by discourses on gender equality, gender mainstreaming, and gender gaps. ‘Gender’ became the predominant lens to analyse inequalities, casting aside class-based accounts of emerging socio-economic polarisation among women and men due to market liberalisation. Thus, the presentation will discuss the emergence and subsequent adoption of ‘gender’ as the main discursive framework for women’s rights and feminism in the post-socialist space of Lithuania.

## The Status of Women Among the Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes in The Past and Present

*Maria Ochir, Independent Researcher*

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Contemporary European studies are dominated by the notion that women's rights have only begun to be respected in the last century and primarily in industrialised countries. Often, the historical and cultural specificities of different ethnic groups are not taken into account.

The factors of landscape and geography, climate and related type of economy and way of life are not sufficiently taken into account in this context. Meanwhile, in ancient and pre-industrial times, these factors influenced the status and rights of women in traditional societies. Historically established relations in specific societies are reflected in the role and status of women today. Statistics on women's participation in public administration and businesses show a higher percentage among nomadic peoples in the past.

Extensive nomadic pastoralism was a highly specialised economic form of adaptation to the harsh climatic conditions of the Eurasian steppes. Interchangeability in farming led to the equalisation of the status of family members. The reproduction of human resources was a difficult problem of societal survival in the ancient and pre-industrial periods of history, in which the key role belonged to women. In folklore, traditional rituals and modern sociological research, it is possible to trace and highlight the facts that create the conditions for women's emancipation.

## Transnational Feminist Solidarities in the Context of Russia's War in Ukraine: Epistemic Gaps and Proposals for Methodologies of Coalition Building

*Oksana Potapova, Independent Researcher*

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In early July, 2023, I attended the conference in Berlin "Feminists Reclaiming Life". It brought up key discourses and struggles of a globalised leftist feminist movement: the rise of far-right, environmental damage, neoliberalism and militarisation. The movements represented in the space came from Latin America, Iran, Kurdistan, Turkey, Germany and (one feminist voice) from Poland.

While questions of solidarity, decolonial struggle and authoritarian violence were central to the agenda, neither Ukraine nor the wider region were represented nor included in the debate in a meaningful way. As a Ukrainian feminist present in the space, I made a brief intervention by underlying that a lot of our struggles are similar: violence and death from authoritarian regimes (in our case, such a regime is waging a war against us), neoliberal policies that will affect, and are already affecting women disproportionately, ecocide and genocide happening right now. It was apparent to me, that forging global solidarities is vital for our region, and for Ukraine more specifically. And yet, this is not happening in spaces like this one. I then asked a question: What do we need to do, in order to be part of the conversation?

In my brief presentation I will attempt to briefly look at the key issues and discourses that were brought up and discussed at this conference, with the aim to show where breaches of solidarity with Ukrainian context currently exist, and will attempt avenues for bridging them. I will rely on the concept of transversality, coined by Nira Yuval Davis and used by various feminist scholars (Gago, Cockburn, Hill Collins) in their analysis of movement building. I will also attempt at mapping methodologies of solidarity and coalition building described and mapped out by various activist-scholars who have been engaged in the work of knowledge production alongside with activism in their respective contexts. The presentation is an invitation to collectively think about strategies and methodologies of feminist solidarity building that may be pertinent to the current context in the region.

# The Limits of Transnational Solidarity: Migrant Women as the Unheeded Subjects of the Women's Movement in the UK

Dr. Sinem Bal, Bogazici University

During the last decades, due to poverty or political circumstances including civil wars, social conflicts and political turmoil, millions of people have decided or been forced to migrate. According to the Migration Policy Institute<sup>1</sup>, the biggest migrant receiving countries in Europe are UK and Germany. Since the UK is concerned, before the refugees' flow<sup>2</sup>, it has already had an experience with ex-colonial migration, and the situation has doubled with Middle Eastern and Central and Eastern European people's arrivals. Being an immigrant or a refugee is a traumatic circumstance in itself, but it becomes more challenging when this migration process is feminized. In this era of migration, human mobility is globalized, diversified and feminized. Migrant women<sup>3</sup> face mostly two specific problems during their journey or stay in the host country: being forced to work under precarious conditions in the informal economy and being the 'easy' targets of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). On the other hand, these problems are also common for the women citizens of the host countries. European women's right-based advocacy is constantly in a struggle against patriarchy and the political discourse that consolidates women subordination. Even though these two women's groups have common grounds in terms of women's subordination, the reasons of their mutually exclusive and misplaced relationship needs to be questioned.

Academically, there is a significant amount of studies on migrant women movements' struggles both in economic and political spheres. Literature mostly considers feminization of migration by focusing on how human rights treaties and conventions are invoked on behalf of the empowerment of women migrant workers (Satterthwaite, 2005; Hainsfurther, 2008), their access to utilization of health and social services (Piper, 2005; Sanchez et al, 2017), their social life and maintenance (Zontini, 2004), occupational segregation in the labour market (del Rio and Villar, 2012) and from various other perspectives. On the other hand, in terms of migrant women in UK some focus on the struggles of Syrian refugee women who are at a crossroads between their culture, traditions and gender roles of origin and the new life they are seeking to create for themselves and their families (Nasser-Eddin, 2017), the degree of sensitivity and awareness level of the UK national media on SGBV against refugee women in Syrian refugee camps (Özdemir, 2015). Apart from Syrian women, the literature also considers the citizenship dilemmas of other migrant women by questioning the complex relations between various socially constructed modalities of time in producing specific experiences for migrants women in UK (Andrade, 2023), migrant women's experiences in naturalisation process in the UK within the context of the colonial genealogy of the modern state and its construction of who is a migrant, who is a citizen (Bassel and Khan, 2021) or their rights as EU citizens to better their own and their families' wellbeing (Duda-Mikulín, 2013) and the extent of the discourses and policies around citizenship and immigration that circumscribe the reproductive choices of migrant women in UK (Lonergan, 2012).

Even though there is a rich literature with sociological and comparative political analysis, the scholarship has not yet asked to what extent women movement in UK has included migrant women's rights in their discourse and advocacy making in order to solve the aforementioned problems together. UK women movement is crucial to analyse due its historical legacy as it was a pioneer of women liberation and women solidarity in the Victorian era. Hence this research question is significant because an alliance among these two women groups, both oppressed by the same hegemonic and patriarchal order, is necessary for cooperation and resistance that would allow the implementation of equality policies. As complementary to the research question and in order to understand the common resistance or discriminative attitude between these groups, as a sub question the paper also asks how and to what extent this inclusive agency of resistance is endorsed by international actors, such as the EU and United Nations, either in material or immaterial ways. Because also studies do not sufficiently set forth the particular role of the International and national donors' (e.g. the EU, UN, Trusts in UK) financial assistances and how these funding mechanism restructures women organizations in UK. The answer of this sub-question enable us to understand whether funding system puts beneficiaries into a competing normative vacuum, consolidates power asymmetries and hierarchical entities or strengthen their solidarity ties in the site of advocacy.

By using Gramscian approach, the paper focuses on the historical representations of the UK women movement as insider right-based advocacy and posits the degree of their association with migrant women's rights. Migrant women do feel the depth of their gender and race nexus subordination, which had not broadly been vocalized by most of the feminists. Because migrant women have no other choice but to accept indecent living conditions, unconditional dependency to host countries' system make them more vulnerable. Indeed, it is expected from the feminists to work collectively on behalf of migrant women because the solidarities that are practised within different settings (Featherstone, 2012) ensure the redefinition of political identities in defence of the common, while constituting a shared understanding of what the common is. Hence, a transnational approach to multiple relationships and social inequalities can lead these women groups to discover themselves and constitute a universal claim to equal civil rights for all (Apitzsch, 2016). Women solidarity is important because, as Gramscian approach suggests, one social class (or human rights agent) cannot challenge the hegemonic order without including the other social actors (Agustin and Jorgensen, 2016). Within this context, the plurality of identities and interactions between migrant and non-migrant women, their organizing under 'transnational women solidarity' would allow for a wide-ranging alliance against patriarchal hegemony.

Hence in order to answer the research question by referring Gramscian approach, methodologically I made semi structured interviews with the women groups in UK. First I focused on the established women NGOs that have more or less influence on British Politics. In addition to interviews, I also examine their websites as to see whether they address migrant women right in their annual reports – and projects that they conduct or completed and their donors and sponsors. Second, I made interviews with migrant women organizations in UK and asked why they create their own organizing and under which occasions they collaborate with British women organizations. The results illustrates that since they have compartmentalised under different issues, there is a sharp disconnectedness between these women groups based on vertical organizing model. I also argue that the funding mechanism and their utilitarian and interest-based hegemony reproduces a competitive sphere that deteriorates the genuine role of civil society, women solidarity and its potential counter-hegemonic sphere.

1. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-statistics-global-migration-migrants#:~:text=Put%20differently%2C%20the%20United%20States,%E2%80%94combined%20\(50.2%20million\).](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/top-statistics-global-migration-migrants#:~:text=Put%20differently%2C%20the%20United%20States,%E2%80%94combined%20(50.2%20million).)

2. [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/infographic/welcoming-europe/index\\_en.html](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/infographic/welcoming-europe/index_en.html)

3. In this research, although the concepts of immigrant and refugee differ from one to another in terms of their legal status, living and working permissions, they are both designated as 'migrant women' in order to differentiate them from the non-immigrant/native women.

## Combating Atrocity Denialism During Times of Conflict: A Case Study on Russian Disinformation Efforts in Syria and Ukraine

*Sophie Fullerton, Columbia University*

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Russia's current occupation of Ukraine has connected the country to an unlikely ally, Syria's revolutionary movement. Both struggles share the tragic bond of Russian aggression and devastation. Many of Russia's war tactics in Ukraine, such as the double-tap strike and the coordinated targeting of hospitals and apartment complexes have been carried out and perfected in opposition-controlled Syria.

Russia's wartime efforts have also gone digital through its online disinformation campaigns. Russia's success in obscuring the truth related to the Syrian conflict has seen the Kremlin try to repeat its success in relation to Ukraine.

Russia's disinformation campaign has seen real world consequences for Syrians, this has included the targeting of dissidents, journalists and rescue workers. And seeking accountability for victims has become more difficult.

While it is still early to truly understand the long term impact of Russian disinformation efforts on Ukraine. There is still much we can learn about Russian disinformation by deconstructing its efforts in Syria.

This proposal seeks to fully understand Russian disinformation efforts when it comes to both Syria and Ukraine. The proposal also seeks to provide suggestions for how academics, researchers, journalists and human rights activists can be more equipped to combat atrocity denialism.

## Towards Accounting for Russian Imperialism and Building Meaningful Feminist Solidarity with Ukraine

*Tereza Hendl, Augsburg University / LMU*

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Feminist responses to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine have revealed a striking dissonance: while feminists from societies with socio-historical experiences of Russian imperialism and colonialism have expressed wide support for the de-occupation and sovereignty of Ukraine as a whole, many feminists from societies without direct experiences and embodied knowledges have produced a number of troubling anti-war manifestos. While these manifestos were presented as acts of solidarity with Ukraine, they have not only come short of supporting the Ukrainian claim to self-defense, resistance and liberation, but also failed to attribute full responsibility to the perpetrator: Russia. In my talk, I will build on my lived experience with Russian imperialism as well as the rich scholarship of feminist and decolonial thinkers from Ukraine, Europe's East, Central Asia, Syria and the Indigenous nations currently colonised by the so-called Russian 'Federation' to explore the feminist anti-war manifestos through the lense of gender and power. I will also critically explore contemplations on the Russian invasion of Ukraine made by Judith Butler and Jasbir Puar. In my paper, I will identify and raise concerns with the epistemic injustice, imperialism and coloniality (of knowledge production) committed across these feminist debates, which I will argue not only come short of genuinely anti-oppressive feminist solidarity, theory and practice, but concerningly reinforce the oppression of women and fellow people impacted by Russian imperialism. Taking a closer look at these debates, I will show that these serious issues stem from an ongoing history of disengagement, marginalisation and epistemically imperialist overriding of the knowledges, voices, perspectives and agency of the (post)occupied. I will argue that in order to not perpetuate coloniality and gendered oppression, debates on Russia ought to centre the direct and intergenerational knowledges of societies who have been harmed by centuries of Russian imperialism and colonialism, and that an epistemically just and non-extractivist integration of these knowledges is a major debt owed within feminist and decolonial scholarship and social movements.

## Russian Imperialism and Coloniality of Gender in the Syrian War

*Yasser Munif, Emerson University*

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Russia occupies an in-between geography stretching on two continents. It is part of two cultural spheres at once: “the West” and “the East.” It also lives on the margins of both geographies. Occupying such a space created an existential crisis for a segment of the intelligentsia and the political elite. These actors believe that Russia was not accepted by the West. They also resent the idea of being part of the East or the Orient. Their response was to reposition Russia at the center by imposing a geopolitics revolving around Eurasia. “Neo-Eurasianism” allows powerful actors in Russia to move their country from the margin to the center. This geopolitical discourse appeared in the early 20th century but it’s only in the past several decades that it became hegemonic. It’s is currently instrumentalized to justify Russia’s expansionist and imperialist policies. Neo-Eurasianism has a civilizational dimension best represented by Soviet historian, Lev Gumilev, and a geopolitical manifestation best embodied by far-right philosopher, Aleksandr Dugin. While the former has become hegemonic in public discourse and popular culture, the latter is influential in the Russian military and among far-right groups abroad.

This paper examines the logic and military implications of Russian imperialism in the Syrian context. While Neo-Eurasianism seems inoffensive at first since it calls for multipolarity and the preservation of cultural and civilizational specificities. It could even be considered a commonsensical response to late globalization. However, a political examination of Russia’s dominant discourses and practices in the past several decades clearly shows its imperialist ambitions. Deploying Maria Lugones’ concept of colonially of gender, this paper analyzes the Russian war in Syria. It shows that the hyper-masculinist logic at home enables Russian patriarchal violence in Syria and elsewhere. The framework proposed by Lugones provides conceptual tools to understand the processes by which the Syrian territory becomes part of the Russian vital space while Syrians fighting against dictatorship are turned into emasculated terrorists that need to be suppressed.

## Imperialisms and Households in Russo-Ukrainian War: An Intersectional Feminist Political Economy Perspective

Yuliya Yurchenko, *University of Greenwich*

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On February 24, 2022, when Russia yet again invaded Ukraine, the latter was already one of the poorest and most indebted countries in Europe, weathered by “transition to market” and associated “unintended consequences”, numerous economic crises, large scale de-development by fiscal shrinkage and de-socialisation of social reproduction services, and nearly 8 years of war with Russia and its proxies in Donbas and Crimea. The empire of capital spread, and amidst global multipolarity contestation and new challenges to the already dysfunctional “rule-based international order”, the foremost sites of intersectional capitalist extractivism are becoming acutely strained by a combination of local, national, regional, and inter-/trans-national forces and systemic power structures globally. Displaced/ruptured households/persons are the embodiment of such sites of extraction by imperialistic capitalism in its many varieties and its extension of domination by military means. Intersectional analyses are frequently lacking (1) the class dimension’s intersection with other forms of exclusion and oppression, (2) materiality of sex and its dialectical relationship with variegated gendered social norms and performativity as compliance/defiance/stereotypical reification as situated within equally variegated structural domain that either permit or not, enable or paralyse exercise of rights and meeting of sexed and gendered needs; and (3) lack historically informed understanding of (de)colonial and (post) imperial dynamics of the postsoviet region per se and as situated in the global political economy system and discourse, region’s idiosyncratic forms of othering and exclusion, politics, sex and gender relations. This paper tries to correct the above, with appropriate historicisations I show that capitalist and patriarchal reproductive inequalities have been exacerbated by displacement – refugee and internal alike albeit with variegated effects and their severity. Fleeing the war during the martial law in most cases led to enforced single motherhood (Dutchak 2022), impoverished motherhood (Gulenok 2023), further feminisation of poverty, and an incalculable increase in reproductive labour hours that mainly women clock-in as direct and indirect effect of the war. Observable are the reification of “resilience”, responsabilisation for growing social needs, manufacturing and solidifying of neoliberal subjectivity in the process of *trasformismo* (Gramsci 1971) where state and market failures alike are being “fixed” by unpaid work by those already most marginalized and those progressively marginalized, topped up by donations of varied sorts. “Productive” immobilization of women is underway i.e. growing unpaid work demands amidst lack of state support in Ukraine and in target locations of refugees limits women’s ability to partake in gainful employment thus causing their immiseration and that of their dependents – which too leads to the “productive” shrinkage and loss in demand and tax revenue. Neoliberal/neoclassical manufactured invisibility of “unproductive work” also paralyzes socio-economic recovery of individuals, households, and economy as a whole. In this paper I will document the dynamics of systemic, historic (1991-present) socio-economic displacement of women in Ukraine, and put forward a case for a needs orientated, care economy, founded on creating of green and purple jobs, capital controls, investor transparency, domicile rules and insourcing, full re-development and deployment of public services and re-socialisation of the social reproduction function of the state as precondition of refugee return/IDPs integration, building a sustainable (post)war economy, and a society where future conflict is designed out from the start (Yurchenko 2023) as an exemplary project that can deliver the fall of the capitalist empire.

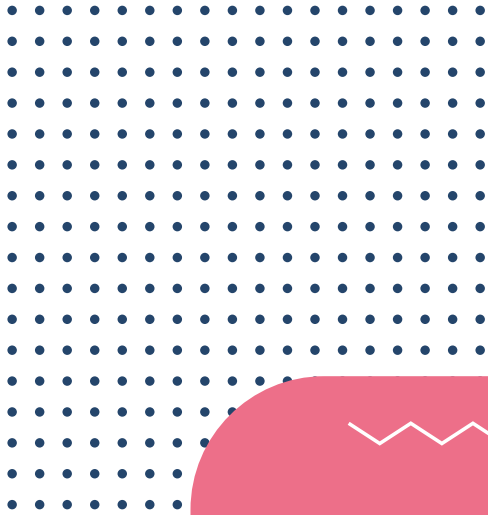
## The Role of Queer Feminism in Decolonization of Kazakhstan

*Zhanar Sekerbayeva, Independent Researcher*

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More than 500 days we witness the war led by Russian authoritarian regime of Putin. Kazakhstani people – opposite to the second president of the country Kassym-Zhomart Tokayev – are showing unshakable support and solidarity with Ukrainians. Their tremendous, heroic resistance for democracy and life is greatly important for Central Asian countries – ex-colonies of Tsarist Russian Empire and later republics under Soviet Union. We were always under someone, and our resources were always used to feed not us, but ruler, owner, colonizer. To make him rich, prosperous, imposing, tyrannical. Our blood, our hearts, our spines served to sustain one big economy from which we are still desperately dependent. When we do protest, Kazakhstan president calls troops from The Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and give the order to shoot to kill without warning. When we rise heads, we named as “twenty thousand of terrorists”. When we speak loud in Kazakh, we called nationalists. When we mention role of women in the resistance, we are shushed. Do I even exist in my country which I tenderly name as Motherland?

In my paper I would like to focus on role of queer feminism in decolonization of Kazakhstan. It is not publicly and widely analyzed and not reflected. Decolonial queer feminism is what we experience recently, and war in Ukraine fastened the processes of decolonization in Kazakhstan. Noticeably, there are a lot of discussion regarding decoloniality. And they again are narrowed by purely academic understanding which has to be widened and held in Kazakh language rather than in English and Russian.



## Strand 8: Gendered (historical) Perspectives on Wars/Armed Conflicts Across the World

*Coordinators: Maryna Shevtsova, Karolina Szpyrko,  
Zeynep Kutluata, and Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu*



## Feminist Archives and Oral Narratives of Women\* Veterans of the 1992-1995 Bosnian War

*Aynura Akbaş, Department of Gender Studies, London School of Economics & Political Science (LSE)*

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With the end of the war in Bosnia in 1995, women\* who joined the army ranks during the war, enlisting in thousands and occupying diverse roles within the military, were first in line for demobilisation and their stories still remain undocumented. The complete erasure of women, genderqueer, and non-ethnic/civic experiences from the historiography of the 1992-1995 Bosnian war is by no means an accident but a deliberate constellation of neoliberal patriarchy and post-war ethnonational re-traditionalisation processes. These damaging and historically incorrect viewpoints have had significant epistemological implications in shaping the post-war and post-genocidal memorialisation spaces and practices. In this research, I set out to document, collect, and analyse the life histories of women veterans of the 1992-1995 Bosnian war to construct critical feminist historiography of the war. In doing so, I employ Cynthia Enloe's (2016) concept of militarised patriarchal confusion, political elites temporarily abandoning patriarchal tenets of gender difference for the sake of war-waging, as a lens through which I trace continuities and ruptures of militarised gender systems in Bosnia. Through feminist oral history, collaborative collage-making, and alternative archives, I nudge towards a methodological shift from traditional frameworks of statist, nation-based historiography to a critical feminist reframing of memory. I draw on the emerging field of Bosnian studies and on critical feminist, queer, and postcolonial archives to argue that situated knowledges of women\* veterans who have been systematically written out of the history of the war is a critical tool for further theorising women's military experiences and for reimagining Bosnian past/present/futures.

## Unveiling Gendered Perspectives: The Securitization of Memory in Turkey

*Assist. Prof. Bengi Bezirgan-Taniş, Istanbul Nişantaşı University, Department of Sociology*

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This paper aims to examine the role of gendered narratives and myths in the securitization of memory in Turkey, specifically regarding the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust. It delves into how the Turkish state's identification of certain memories as 'secure' results in the suppression or visibility of alternative gender-specific experiences. The ongoing endeavor for historical consensus within national borders neglects to recognize gender-based discrimination and violence, while simultaneously emphasizing heroic masculine figures. By framing historical incidents and memories as security matters, acts of violence against women, such as sexual assaults, are overshadowed. Simultaneously, specific representations of masculinity in the national historical narratives are portrayed as integral to genocidal processes. Security discourses determine which historical occurrences are deemed worthy of remembrance or oblivion, often aligning with the state's rhetoric. The securitization of memory thus masks the true function of memory as a counter-hegemonic site of resistance and a space for political opposition by neglecting the gender aspect of the issue. On the one hand, I focus on the absence of the experiences and narratives of Armenian women in the official national historiography of the Turkish state along with the politics of genocide denial. On the other hand, I discuss the selective remembrance of the official ideology turning the spotlight on Turkish diplomats' brave acts of heroism during the Holocaust. By incorporating the issue of gender into the discourse on the securitization of memory, my intention is to shed light on the disparity between femininity and masculinity in the state's historiography.

## Being, Belonging: Gendered and Sexual Violence Embedded in Turkey's Nation-Making and Nation-Building Processes

*Cemre Kumla, Graduate Student of Political Science, Central European University.*

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It is through continuous violence and reaffirmation of gender relations in militarism, militarization, and war that war as continuum is realized, and war is benefited by those who monopolize gender, ethnic, and economic power (Cockburn 2010). Rethinking war and gender in Turkey's context, I argue that the gendered and ethnic violence is embedded in Turkish nationalism and rooted in late-Ottoman politics. Women have historically and continuously been seen as spaces of nation-making through sexual and gendered violence. Critical scholarship on official Turkish history has been growing since the 2000s with immense contributions from feminist scholars. The focus is still limited to case studies, and literature is awaiting comparative work that can establish patterns, commonalities, and differences in diverse temporalities and spaces. This paper critically analyzes the Armenian Genocide and the Dersim Massacre of 1938 through a feminist lens, prioritizing the perspectives of surviving women and critically reflecting on their experiences of forced conversion, sexual violence, being, and belonging. The Armenian genocide provides a framework of Islamization, whereas the case of Dersim provides a framework of Turkification. Two cases portray the connection between and continuity of gendered violence and gender and age-selective assimilation processes. The paper questions what makes female and child bodies more appropriate for conversion and space of continuous sexual and gendered violence. War as continuum as a framework offers an opportunity of focusing on what comes after the traditional "hot war" and how surviving Armenian women and women of Dersim reiterated and challenged patriarchal and nationalist norms.

## Bordercrossing - The Bridge as Border, The Bridge as Crossing

*Hanna Al-Taher, TU Dresden/University of Kassel*

*Noura Salahaldeen, University of Vienna/Austrian Academy of Science*

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On both sides of the river, we search for the city's lights on the other side. On clear nights we see lights flickering, road 347 on one side, road number 1 on the other. Between Jerusalem and Amman lie 100 km, a 2-hour drive, a bridge: bridge is 'a structure carrying a pathway or roadway over a depression or obstacle (such as a river)', a bridge can also be 'a time, place, or means of connection or transition.' The connecting bridge between the east bank and the west bank of the Jordan river is a border, a barrier many cannot cross. How does settler-colonialism shape our desires of movement, how do we move with, beyond, and against its violent restrictions? Can we think of Amman-Jerusalem as borderlands?

'Amman continued to remember, but it did not stop waiting for the days ahead' (Munif). For those of us who are Jerusalemites, everything is oriented to Jerusalem, but this city, stubborn as it is, orients itself to no one. I press my feet on its streets and claim it my own, and yet like moving sands every time the city manages to flee from underneath my feet. Jerusalem leaves me breathless with the constant, never ending desire to chase after it, to dig my way up back to its surface, to repeat this cycle, only to be rejected again. Amman, swallows you whole, throws you up and breathes down the wound to make sure it is deep enough. 'The Jerusalem of the sky will live forever, but our life in it is threatened with extinction' (Barghouti).

Borderlands are vague and undetermined, created by the emotional residue of an unnatural border, set up to distinguish us from them (Anzaldúa). In the case of this specific bridge though, where is the boundary between us and them? Can we speak of residue when the process of bordering is ongoing? This paper began as a conversation at a conference in Vienna on 'Palestine as an Epistemic Site' where we, a Jerusalemite and an Ammani, met and started discussing the meaning of the bridge. Combining our work as researchers on the two sides of the bridge with our personal experiences as Palestinians carrying different identification documents and passports, born and bred on either side of the bridge, we take this project to experiment with knowledge production that travels against the bridge - we cross the same physical border, what does the movement across the bridge-turned-border signify? Return, escape, treason, normalization, resistance, transgression, trauma? How can crossing the bridge be translated into anti-colonial futures; not just passing through it, but dismantling the bridge-border-crossing itself?

## Swear Words as Empowering Voices: Exploring Obscene Language as a Form of Resistance among Ukrainian Women in the Army and Volunteer Movement

*Dr. Mariya Shcherbyna, Politecnico di Torino (Visiting Prof.), V. Dahl East Ukrainian National University (Assoc. Prof., Department of Philosophy, Culture Studies and Information Activities)*

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With the onset of Russia's full-fledged invasion of Ukraine, there has been a significant increase in the number of women in the army, amounting to 60,538 women in the Ukrainian armed forces, which is 2.5 times higher than in 2014 (according to L. Humeniuk, Chief Specialist of the Department for Gender Issues of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine). This increase is observed both among militarians and within the volunteer movement, where women play a prominent role. As a result, women's experiences of war encompass active participation in resistance and the emancipation from traditional gender roles that cast them solely as victims devoid of agency and personal perspectives. This has led to the emergence of new behavioral practices, such as the use of obscene language as a form of resistance. This cultural phenomenon is also observed among civilians, but within the military, both the practice and function of obscene language differ.

The objective of this study is to examine personal narratives to understand how the experiences of war have shaped their self-perceptions and influenced social expectations. Special attention is given to the role of obscene language in women's speech within the army and its various functions. By highlighting the multifaceted nature of women's experiences in war and the power dynamics within the military context, the study seeks to understand how women actively redefine their roles and assert their presence in traditionally male-dominated spaces.

## The Militant Translator: A Microhistory of Epistemic Resistance

*Maya Zebdawi, MA Student, Department of Gender Studies, Central European University*

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This paper is inspired by the translation school held by Kohl: A Journal for Body and Gender Research (a feminist journal based in Lebanon) and the paratextual heritage of the Palestine Research Center (PRC – a former foundational institute for revolutionary Palestinian thought). The systematic absenting of the act and actor of translation, and its denial as a form of politically charged intellectual labor is contemplated. I posit translation as a visionary classed praxis, cultivating a culture of epistemic confrontation and dissent in times of neoliberal knowledge consumption and reproduction. I introduce the concept of “The militant translator” as an agent maneuvering around, in conformity and/or in antagonism with colonial truth.

I begin with a focus on the Palestinian translator, a worker who engages with, and (re)produces intellectual frameworks about, west-centric epistemic categorizations and elitist schools of queer and feminist thought through imperial vessels of dissemination. In the translation practice, the translator utilizes their native/local language as the sole embodiment of one’s labor power. Thus, translator in praxis embodies a friction of an uneven and combined epistemic encounter. It is in that uneven amalgamation that our inevitable need to employ intersectionality as a methodology emerges. Hence I show how intersectionality is needed in organizing our understanding of the translator’s relation with the existing symbolic order and the functionalist significance of their skilled labor/practice.

Further, I argue that this stratum of workers (myself included), not unlike the native intellectual, do not have a static relationship with European legacies and modes of thinking. Nonetheless, we/they maintain peculiar cultural perceptions or explanatory models and carry the ability to be knowingly disturbed and consequently (possibly) actively disturb the rhetoric of European thought. This non-stagnant relationality begs a particular understanding of intersectionality that helps us dissect the compounded positions and relations, weaving our research subject not as independently intertwining vectors but as overlapping and unfolding becomings, hence contemplating the muddiness of multiple identities and intellectual directionalities. In this way, intersectionality helps us dwell into the question of our subjects’ intentionality, the genealogies of their epistemic (dis)continuum and the building blocks of their industrial performances – an approach that focuses on the conflicts residing within and around the translator as a subject of agentic capacities.

## Palestinian Censorship and the Case of the MQ: A Decolonial Feminist Perspective

*Salma Shaka, Independent Scholar, Vienna, Austria*

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The paper sheds light on the recent incident of censorship and suppression of Palestinian voices at the Museumsquartier (MQ) Vienna, a renowned cultural space in Austria. An event titled "Human Rights, International Law: Do they Apply to the Anti-Racist Civil Society in Europe?" sparked controversy due to the inclusion of BDS Austria, and was smeared by pro-Israel groups, leading to its cancellation. The article examines the reasons behind the event's cancellation following semi-structured interviews conducted with several of the activists involved, using a feminist and decolonial lens.

The paper finds that the institutional response and the strategic use of obstacles to deny Palestinians a platform for their voices highlights the growing limitations on freedom of speech and the increasing challenges faced by Palestinian rights advocates in Europe. This includes systemic targeting with smear campaigns, legal threats, and cyber-attacks. Moreover, the case at MQ Vienna reflects a broader trend of anti-Palestinian sentiment, including the outright censorship of Palestinian feminist and queer voices, especially in Austria and Germany, and how this is intertwined with Europe's anti-refugee attitude and Islamophobia, supported by a history of European racism and contemporary imperialism.

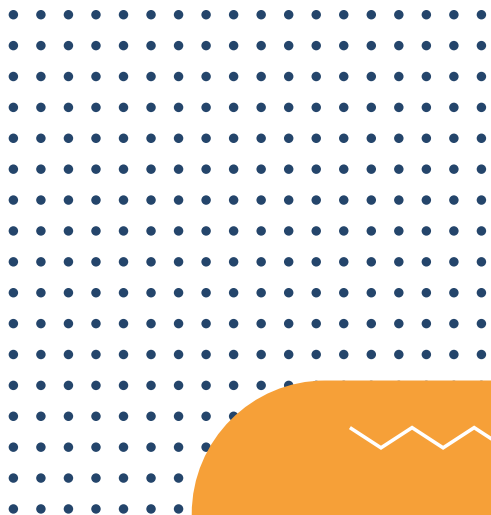
I hence emphasize the importance of decolonial feminist solidarity and the need to confront systemic oppression in order to create spaces for dialogue and social justice, especially amongst other marginalized groups in the country. I also highlights the need for these countries to confront their own gruesome history of antisemitism, instead of pinning it on pro-Palestinian resistance.

## Ottoman Widows and Widowhood During World War I

*Zeynep Kutluata, Visiting Assist. Prof., Core Program, Kadir Has University*

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While there is a growing literature on the gendered experiences of WWI across classes and ethnoreligious communities in the Ottoman Empire, women who identify as “widows” are often neglected in the existing scholarship. While recent studies focus on the ways in which Ottoman State's war-time propaganda used the “mothers as war heroes” trope, turning motherhood to almost only position through which women can “serve” their country. In this formulation, widowhood was not a position to be “glorified.” Widows were portrayed as dependent and unfortunate, and thus in need of protection. As women without marital ties, they were also seen as possible threats to the “moral order” of the society. By analyzing the discourses around the experiences of widows and the representations of widowhood in the literary fiction of the time and in the Ottoman archival documents, my paper discusses the conflictual and ambiguous positioning of widows and widowhood in the context of World War I Ottoman society.



## Strand 9: Social Movements, Social Mobilisations, Social Unrest

*Coordinators: Maryna Shevtsova, Tereza Hendl,  
Karolina Szpyrko, İrem İnceoğlu*



## The Young Feminists and their Anger: An Old Story with a New Twist

*Ayşe Akalın, Associate Professor of Sociology, Istanbul Technical University*

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In 2010's, the political regime in Turkey has rapidly succumbed from (right wing) populism to (competitive) authoritarianism. This regression has also meant a reversal in Turkey's regime of formal gender equality. In response, the women's movement (re)established itself as an uncompromising opposition against the governments' anti-gender agenda. At the forefront of the movement is a new cohort of young women who in displaying their unease about the changes in gender policies have also been not shy in expressing their anger. This particular anger is a direct response not only to the anti-gender agenda of the government in general but also to its most palpable form of the sharply rising number of deaths of women by men.

For the young feminists, the femicides have turned death into something that is not merely "expected" (ertwarten) to happen some day but rather as something that is now "anticipated" (vorlaufen) in the Heideggerian sense. The high number of femicides as well as their randomness in many cases, which are then followed by a systematic impunity for the perpetrators altogether point out a mechanism similar to what Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2015) has termed "organized state abandonment". Caused by the retreat of the state, abandonment has become a strategy for governing populations through exploiting gendered vulnerabilities that already exist in the society. This paper is based on a research Project funded by SU Gender in 2021. The data is collected from 15 focus groups and 15 one-on-one interviews.

## Sisters, Comrades and Friends: The Historical Trajectory of Feminist Women's Friendships in Turkey

*Begüm Selici, PhD Candidate at Sabanci University, Gender Studies Department*

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Friendship has been one of the most powerful sources to build political solidarity and sustain social justice movements. Women and queer friendships especially have strengthened the feminist and LGBTIQ+ movements by creating safe communities and support systems for feminist and LGBTIQ+ activists. As non-formal and non-institutionalized form of connection, friendship is critical for collective organizing and solidarity by building active trust relationships, creating accountability, and allowing moments of collective joy, pleasure, and vulnerability. Therefore, this research focuses on the role of women and queer friendships to understand how friendship becomes a political tool to organize collectively, and how women from different social, political, and economic backgrounds establish friendships within the feminist movement in Turkey. While concentrating on friendship, the study does not aim to romanticize women and queer friendships, but rather plans to analyze how friendship operates among differences and conflicts as a source of organizing collectively. Moreover, taking friendship as the focus, I revisit the kinship forms such as "sisterhood" and "chosen family" and analyze more complex connections and intimacies among women to go beyond imaginary of the family. The research includes both analysis of archival data on feminist women's writings and literary works about friendship since 1980s, and the interviews with feminist activists from diverse backgrounds and generations in Turkey. Eventually, the study provides a historical trajectory of friendship in feminist movement and reflects on how feminists understand friendship today in relation to sisterhood and comradeship within feminist organized struggle.

## Where Feminist Pedagogy and Feminist Organizing Intersect: The Human Rights Education Program for Women (HREP)

*Duygu Dokuz, Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways Association*

*Gülşah Seral, Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways Association*

*Hilal Gençay, Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways Association*

*Nigar Etizer Karacık, Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways Association*

*Zelal Ayman, Women's Human Rights (WWHR) - New Ways Association*

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Women for Women's Human Rights-New Ways (WWHR) was founded in 1993, and conducted the "Domestic Violence" research study in Ankara, and the "Women and Law" study in Turkey's Marmara, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian regions soon after. Both studies revealed that many women experienced violence and were unaware of their legal rights, and highlighted the extreme scarcity of local women's organizations. Based on these results, WWHR developed a legal literacy program—HREP—in 1995 that was rolled out on a large scale following two pilot implementations (the first in Istanbul, and the second in Diyarbakır, Gaziantep and Mardin). HREP, which consists of 16 modules covered in four months, has reached 61 provinces across Turkey over the past 28 years. It employs feminist methods to support women in realizing their rights in all areas, gaining rights awareness and empowerment, and organizing around their needs.

Over the years, numerous HREP participants have either joined or come together and formed a variety of organizations, including associations, cooperatives, platforms, media initiatives, and others. In other words, HREP has often served as a tool for local organizing that has continually strengthened grassroots and nation-wide feminist movements in Turkey. Becoming part of these movements after having firsthand experience and familiarity with the methods of feminist pedagogy also functions as a protective mechanism against conflicts that can arise while organizing the ways and means of maintaining and securing the human rights of women.

## Affording Abolition Feminism(s)

*Dr. Ece Canli, Guest Lecturer at Sociology of Gender Master's Programme and Full-Time Researcher at CECS at University of Minho*

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The exponential growth of incarceration, policing and state control apparatuses as products of carceral capitalism (Wang 2018) which paved the way for today's "prison industrial complex" especially in the US (Davis 2003) have been detrimentally affecting not only underclass and racialised communities, but also women, juveniles and LGBTQI+ people who have been increasingly criminalised and put behind bars (Gilmore 2007; Richie 2012; Davis et al. 2022). As a response to that, since the second half of the 20th century, first African American and then Anglo-European feminists have been calling for "prison abolitionism" which have turned to a social movement in itself especially in anti-violence queer, trans\* and feminist activism. Such agenda includes not only rejecting and dismantling all forms of institutions and mechanisms of criminal justice system, but also propounding a form of justice that is not based on punishment and retribution but on transformation, accountability and healing (Dixon and Piepzna-Samarasinha 2020; Kaba 2021). Abolition feminism (Davis et al. 2022), however, have been in jittering discord with "carceral feminism" which keeps advocating imprisonment and harsh legal punishment especially for sexual predators and those committing gender-based crimes (Levine and Meiners 2020). Taking into account this ongoing tension and spreading debates that have escalated particularly in post-#Metoo atmosphere, this presentation aims to discuss prison abolitionism first as a universal feminist ideal like the US scholarship and activism argue, and then in the context of Turkey where the justice for gender and sexual violence goes mostly unsecured – who can afford abolition feminism? With a brief overview and analysis of historical facts, statistics and material conditions of imprisonment, this comparative exercise aims to speculate about the possibilities and limitations of abolitionist movements and non-carceral solutions for gender and sexual justice in its site-specificity.

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## Consciousness-Raising in the Women and Feminist Movement in Turkey: (Still) a Radical Feminist Learning Method?

*Eva Bernard, PhD Candidate in Political Science at Sciences Po Aix (Mesopolhis CNRS/AMU), Associate Researcher at the French Institute for Anatolian Studies (IFEA-Istanbul)*

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This presentation will interrogate the role of “consciousness raising” in feminist mobilizations by looking at the use of the concept and practices related to it in the contemporary feminist and women’s movement in Turkey. Consciousness-raising groups were central to the development of “radical feminist politics” (hooks 2000, 11) in the 60’s and 70’s especially in the United States, as they developed a collective feminist redefinition of the “reference point for truth” (MacKinnon 1991, 87). This method was also used by the first feminist groups in Turkey in the early 80’s, as a precondition for building a mass movement. With the institutionalization and professionalization of feminist organizational structures in the 1990’s (Bora and Günal 2002), some scholars consider that consciousness raising has lost its radical potential by becoming associated with “group therapy” (Rostendal in Zorlu n.d.), and “lifestyle based feminism” (hooks, op. cit.). This more liberal use of the term, however, does not convey the constant learning efforts made by radical women’s and feminist organizations in Turkey. While some groups encourage non-hierarchical discussion about the social construction of gender based on experience of oppression (such as the *jineoloji* approach developed by the Kurdish women’s movement, or the “feminist self-defense” workshops organized by a socialist feminist group), others adopt a more classical “training” method. Yet all these initiatives are also aimed at strengthening collective mobilization. This presentation will analyze to what extent the “free space” (Allen 1970) in which feminist learning and consciousness-raising takes place, still holds a radical importance in contentious feminist politics in Turkey, and is still necessary in order to build feminist solidarity (Ovadia 2011), in particular in such a polarized political and social context. This presentation will be based on data collected during an ethnographic study conducted in the feminist movement in Istanbul since 2020, in the framework of my ongoing PhD thesis.

## On The Possibility of Transgender Studies in Turkish and The Question of Transgender<sup>1</sup>

*İlkay Özkürüalpli, Assistant Professor, Sociology, Istanbul Arel University*

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In Turkey, by the end of the 2010s, discussions on transphobia and trans feminism have gained visibility on social media platforms. These debates, which have turned into a war of words, are one of the examples of the “gender ideology” through transphobia. However, before this social media appearance, the history of transgender studies in Turkey can be traced back to the 1980s and the field is still developing.

Transgender studies are a critical interdisciplinary research field related to all the mechanisms of the possibilities and impossibilities of transgender identities. It also addresses all gender studies with the question “how should we understand gender?” In this research, I present the historical trajectory of Turkish transgender studies and discuss the transgender question that emerges from it with feminist epistemologies. For this purpose, I examine the field of transgender studies in Turkish, which begins with a focus on transgender phenomena and expands with the interactions of the transgender movement in Turkey between homosexuality studies, queer theory, and feminism, through a literature review of 70 Turkish sources.

Transgender studies challenge the conceptual ground of feminist studies and problematizes all categories related to sex, gender and sexualities. In this way, it tells cisgender people different things about gender than they already know. If taken as a question rather than a problem, the Turkish transgender studies literature offers a chance to rethink gender and confront the fact that most of the existing feminist gender epistemologies in Turkey are produced from cisgender positions.

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<sup>1</sup> The extended version of this research is the foreword of the Turkish translation of *Transgender Studies Reader I*, edited by Susan Stryker and Stephen Whittle. This book was published by Dipnot Publications in April 2023 and translated by me. See: Özkürüalpli, İ. (2023). *Türkçe Literatürde Trans Çalışmalarının İmkânı ve Trans Sorusu Üzerine*. In *Trans Çalışmaları – Cinsiyet ve Bilim* (S. Stryker and S. Whittle, Ed.), (İ. Özkürüalpli, Trans.), Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları, 11-39.

## Vulnerability as Resistance in the Activism of Filipina Migrant Workers' Collectives in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands: GABRIELA London and Migrante Utrecht

*Julie B. Jolo, Department of English and Comparative Literature, University of the Philippines Diliman*

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This study explores how vulnerability is embraced and mobilized in migrant workers' activist practices in Europe: both in wielding political visibility on the public level and in the strain of organizing on an intimate level. I foreground the experiences of women migrant workers from the Philippines, as they navigate broad structures of globalized, gendered care work (Parreñas, 2015) and the permeable yet surveilled space of social media. Their protest materials reinterpret flows of power amidst escalating attacks on human rights defenders and activists under the Duterte administration at home (2016-2022), that has coincided with the Covid-19 pandemic, and long-standing European policies on the "hostile environment" for migrants from the Global South.

Filipina migrant workers' contributions to existing theories on social movements are grounded on their doubled vulnerability as exploited migrant workers and as members themselves of collectives that work to end this exploitation. Central to this discussion is how they manage material and affective exhaustion, as well as internal conflict within their collectives, as gleaned from my interviews and moments of collective action with the collectives in Utrecht and London in 2021. Their narratives teach us about caring and resisting through our debilitated (Shildrick, 2015) and disabled (Puar, 2012) lives under neo-liberal crises—marked by the confluence of political depression, anger, joy, and solidarity (Ahmed, 2014; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010). Ultimately, Filipina migrant workers' practices re-orient activism away from the binaries of local and international; online and offline, and toward more fluid understandings of migrant workers' simultaneously difficult and vibrant lives.

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## Medical Cannabis Movements, Community, Knowledge and Care

*Lucia Amaranta Thompson, PhD Candidate, Lund University*

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This presentation focuses on the role that a medicinal cannabis mothers movement in Argentina 'Mama Cultiva' has had in the passing on of knowledge. The current wave of the Cannabis movement in Argentina began in the mid 2010s and has from its very outset worked by exchanging information between themselves and then raising the awareness of the public about its use. In 2015 a mothers movement Mama Cultiva was formed and its main activity became passing on the knowledge that had been passed since 2010s and also to be able to expand the movement to publicly influenced and create social change. Mothers' movements also have a history in Argentina, specifically in Las Madres who used social constructions of motherhood and femininity to be able to garner public and international support in their search for their disappeared children. Therefore, the mother's cannabis movements have been able to use these social memories to then seek acceptance so that their knowledge became seen as necessary to the creation of regulations passed by the government, gathering different professionals within the movement that would be able to support their cause through their ability to speak through hegemonic forms of knowledge.

The fieldwork carried out for this research has highlighted the ways in which the cannabis movement has been able to communicate with various spheres of society. the forms of knowledge dissemination are markedly community oriented with notions of care and health, both physical and mental, which involve significant amount of emotional labour. However, there is a notion of empowerment that the plants provides that investment in the educational aspects of the movement takes on the meaning of being able to improve quality of life so therefore contributing to the bettering of the social world. The mother's movement (which extends beyond Mama Cultiva) has also taken on feminist thinking around care, health and motherhood to further be able to inform and influence policy. This presentation will delve further into these networks of knowledge and examine how care, emotions and histories in the medical marijuana movement have been able to overcome social and institutional boundaries to create change and how this has affected the perspectives and attitudes towards cannabis in Argentinian society.

## Feminist Spanish and Colombian “Compañeras” Across the North-South Divide: Undoing the Good Feminist Subject through Ethnography

*Lucie Naudé, PhD Candidate in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Central European University*

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Based on a multi-sited ethnographic study, this contribution explores the subjectivities and experiences of a group of Colombian and Spanish feminist NGO workers caught up in global aid chains. From this uneasy context criticized by feminist and postcolonial scholars and activists for reproducing geopolitical power asymmetries, these feminists develop their individual and collective activism in a pragmatic fashion amid constant political contradictions. I introduce this setting as a zone of transnational frictions where aspirations to feminist solidarity awkwardly meet global power relations.

The paper explores two ways of defining their political subjectivities. First, I suggest describing them as "incorrect feminists" as a provocative but liberatory framing to study their situated attempts to find the right way to work together and care for one another across the North-South divide, while navigating the power relations at play in the institutional setting of global aid chains. I then explore the emic use of the term “compañera” (that translates as female comrade) to characterize the emancipatory relations they aspire to build among themselves and with other feminist subjects, despite existing power asymmetries.

This ethnographic work with a singular group of feminists helps us undo the “good feminist” subject and renew a political imaginary of feminist relationships across spatial and political dichotomies. It contributes to current theoretical debates about the sustainability of a feminist political community, recently put into question by visceral fragmentations about power relations within contemporary feminist movements and organizations in different sociopolitical contexts and at the transnational level.

## From Deep Eco-Feminism to Current Social Movement for Saving The Earth

*Mariaclaudia Cusumano, Kore University of Enna, Italy*

*Alessia Fallocco, Sapienza University of Rome, Italy*

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The escalating impact of Climate Change and the hazardous consequences for both Human survival on Earth and the Planet necessitate an urgent global shift in the relationship between humans and the Environment. The introduction of Ecofeminist thought in Vandana Shiva has given relevance to the role of women as caring for the Mother Earth. Over the past decades, other influential Ecofeminism authors have contributed to the debate by raising a critical voice against the violence and the oppression of masculinity exercised both against women, the Environment, and other marginalized or oppressed groups. Some of them have criticized the current denomination of Anthropocene, calling for a better name that highlights ethical contradictions as well as social and economic inequalities. This allowed the development of new ethical paradigms that provide for a multispecies liberation from a common domination. These paradigms are not realized yet, but something is changing. More countries do have women at their helm. Greta Thunberg's activism is representative of a young and conscious generation that fights for a sustainable future. The winner of the Goldman Environmental Prize 2023, Alessandra Korap, is not only a woman but also an indigenous leader. This study aims to explore how Ecofeminist has provided critique of the current time in which we are living in and how the female gender is tackling the current time characterized by the Environmental crises nominated as Anthropocene. This work will employ a comprehensive methodology, including a literature review of ecofeminist text, by starting from the milestone of Vandana Shiva, that represents not only a feminist view but also the voice of the Global South. It will explore how Ecofeminist has developed in the last decades, crossing the theoretical perspective coined as Gynocene as well the perspective of Caroline Marchand in the Death of Nature. Our study will cross Donna Haraway's theory that not only renominates the current time as Chthulucene, but also provides tools (and an image) to better visualize our current time. We are seeing the seeds planted by ecofeminism germinate. Greta Thunberg, young leader of the social movement for the Planet and Alessandra Korap, winner of the Goldman Environmental Prize are representative of the results achieved by eco-feminism. The research findings demonstrated the vital role of feminism in addressing change. In this sense, the role of gender can be the key to reversing the trend of the Anthropocene and ensuring a future for All. The research highlights how the ecofeminist alliance, also thanks to social movements advocating for the Earth, can effectively contribute to mitigate climate change and save the Planet. Looking at personalities such as Greta Thunberg and Alessandra Korap, representative of the results achieved by eco-feminism, we will be able to also demonstrate that to have a woman leading the country is not always a good sign, nor the realization of ecofeminism purposes. A critical tool thanks to which it will be possible to re-examine apparently eco-friendly and progressive policies.

## Slut Walks: How Transfeminist Groups Engage with Public Space in Bologna

*Olivia Burchiotti, MA in Sociology, University of Amsterdam*

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The sexual harassment episodes in Milan on New Year's Eve 2022 show that much is at stake in Italian public space in terms of gender, race, space, and inequality. This work addresses the gap in literature regarding the actions of Italian transfeminist groups in urban spaces, taking the city of Bologna as a case study. While being a fertile ground for grassroots feminist groups, Bologna is also a city where several security measures were implemented, thus representing a fascinating environment to look at the struggles occurring in public space. In particular, I explore the way public space is politicized by transfeminist groups through performativity. The Slut Walks, which were marches held in 2021 in Bologna, are analyzed as a case where this dimension emerges. Investigating how these groups address the securitarian narrative, how they create safety during the Slut Walks, and how they understand the role of the performativity of these actions sheds light on how Italian public space is gendered and on the politics of reclaiming it. Using static interviews, map drawing, and walking interviews with transfeminist activists, I argue that the distinction between private and public space is challenged through performativity during the Slut Walks. While performativity politicizes public space on different levels, participants consider it to be a temporary effect, contrary to squatting actions.

## Woman, Life, Freedom Global Revolts: Intersectional and Transnational Memetic Politics of Contemporary Social Movements and Activisms

*Sama Khosravi Ooryad, MSCA-PhD Candidate in Film and Media Studies, Department of Cultural Sciences, University of Gothenburg*

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This paper-presentation explores the question of which unique characteristics of the recent Woman, Life, Freedom feminist revolts led it to become so globally viral. I argue that, among many factors, memes – or, more accurately, the memefication of contemporary social movements – was a main reason.

Memes are ubiquitous. They have shaped our worldviews and ways of being. They no longer exist only on our screens with cute cats and funny captions but have pervaded our everyday encounters with the world. Memes have been commodified by capitalist consumerism and populist aesthetics and instrumentalized through alt-right abstract eliminationism. Furthermore, they have become part of the politics and intersectional social movements. In this talk, I delve into the recent contemporary global social movements by focusing on their fundamentally memetic elements. I argue that the intersectional and memetic elements of these movements– such as the assemblies of marginalized, revolting bodies memeing themselves from TikTok to streets and back in the Woman, Life, Freedom movement– have been integral to their global virality and sociopolitical advancements. To contextualize, I first address some examples of meme pages on Instagram and Facebook to illustrate how today’s “digital junk” is not only deeply political but has become the core of the current feminist politics of transformation. Then, I elaborate on the key intersectional and memetic elements of mediated, audiovisual, and embodied protest performances from Jina Amini WLF protests across multiple social media platforms and every corner of the streets around the world, to highlight how these instances are transforming contemporary global social justice movements in the present era. Ultimately, I assert that we no longer have to “argue for” the importance of digital technologies (and memes in particular) in our politics and society; rather, we must come to terms with the fact that, from image macros to bodies in revolt, our world is increasingly an actualization of memetics as politics.

## Equality and Objectification of Women

*Sandra Amankaviciute, University of New South Wales, Sydney*

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Social movements have driven social change and challenged oppressive structures that perpetuate inequality and marginalize certain groups. Feminism, in particular, has played a crucial role by demanding equal rights and challenging the patriarchal norms that govern society. However, some social movements perpetuate the objectification of women through their visual campaigns, which employ sexualized and objectifying images. This contradicts the goals of justice and equality.

This paper explores the prevalence of sexualized and objectifying images in social movements and how they are presented as progressive and liberating while perpetuating women's objectification. In addition, neoliberal tendencies which often place the responsibility for inequality and injustice on individuals obscure the sexualization and objectification of women as structural and systemic problems. Instead, it promotes the narrative of self-sexualisation as empowering, which is enforced even further when it is (visually) narrated by social movements themselves.

In doing so, I reframe objectification as a form of systemic discrimination which impedes women's fight for justice and consider the interconnection between the notions of objectification, sexuality, and substantive equality.

## Transnational Feminist Networks at the United Nations: The CSW as Site of Resistance for Global Feminism

*Serena Fiorletta, PhD Student in Social and Economic Sciences, Sapienza University of Rome*

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One of the recognized and studied forms of transnational feminism is that which emerged during the Women's Conferences organized by the United Nations (UN) between the 70s and 90s. Thousands of women attended these gatherings, resulting in an organized feminist civil society that became a UN interlocutor. After the last conference, held in Beijing in 1995, the annual Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) became the body of reference for women's rights. At the CSWs, transnational feminism has continued unabated to perform mobilizations, campaigns, and advocacy actions. Since 2020, with the pandemic, the CSW, like feminist activities, has moved entirely online. The result has been a narrowing of civil society spaces by governments and the UN, but a widening of space for activism, especially that coming from the Global South. The contribution that I propose aims to illustrate the first results of an ethnography conducted between December 2022 and May 2023, on one of the Transnational Feminist Networks (as identified by V. Moghadam) active in this context, the Women's Rights Caucus. Here, challenges, tensions and resources are constantly evolving and contribute to creating a space of transnational subjectivation, that seems to refer to a renewed idea of feminism defined as intersectional and decolonial. This mobilization plays a form of political resistance in a place where the presence of the anti-gender movement is increasingly strong. The analysis also reveals the possibility of perspectives and hypotheses useful for a more fluid definition of the social movement and feminist movements in particular.

## Imagination-Sharing Relationships and a Feminist Critique of Default Monogamy

*Tuna Öğüt, Research Assistant at Istanbul Bilgi University Department of Architecture,  
PhD Student at Kadir Has University Gender Studies Programme*

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This is a feminist critique of monogamy as the default form of relating. In this paper I will address the complicity of the monogamous family institution to capitalism and patriarchy. Then, I will introduce non-monogamy as a political framework that is in dialogue with materialist feminist critiques of the nuclear family. Lastly, I will introduce imagination-sharing relationships as a potential concept towards making families and households differently, arguing that such conception can be used to make visible otherwise intangible failings of the organisation of the society in couples.

Under capitalism, reproduction of labour happens in two ways: recreation of the existing workers and addition of new workers into the workforce. Both are a mode of reproductive work predominantly carried out by women. This distribution disproportionately restricts women within the spatial boundaries of the nuclear family, resulting in social isolation and lack of access to social safety nets. The modes of intimate relationships formed under such mandatory nuclear family creates an unjust distribution of emotional and care labour, increases social risk in case of break ups, and creates an ambiguous set of rules in relation to faithfulness that is open for abuse. In contrast, not participating in default monogamy can result in loss of respectability and status as a good citizen.

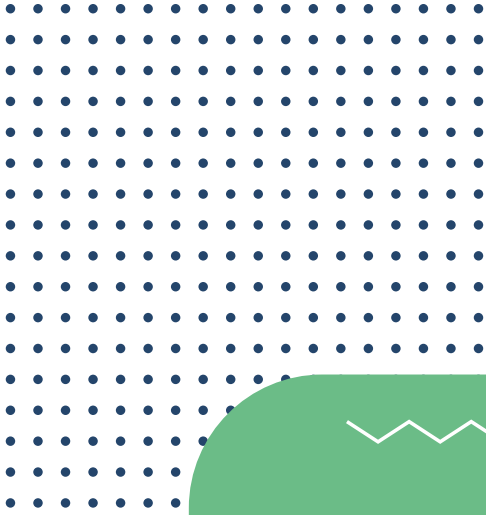
Imagination-sharing relationships can be used to describe new forms of intimacy that can expand the boundaries of non-monogamy and bring the failings of the dominant forms of relationship structures into light. Whereas new modes of relating can be understood in relation to common production, collective joy, an egalitarian culture of sexuality, and the expansion of relationships that can constitute families. I will conclude this paper by applying the concept of imagination-sharing relationships to make projections for alternative households available.

## Ruling the Borderlands: Pakistan's State and Its Ruling Practices in Pak-Afghanistan Border

*Usman Khan, Sun Yat-Sen University*

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This article examines Pakistan State's ruling practices in Lower Dir, a peripheral Pak-Afghan Borderland region that is still ruled by a colonial concept of governmentality. The periphery/borderland region is mainly inhabited by the Pashtun populace across the contested Durand Line. The region has seen massive military deployment especially at the aftermath of 9/11 and "war on terror". The state apparatuses using "security" and "protection" as governmental tactics that disciplined, ridiculed, punished, and exterminated the local people in their native region. Through a 'thick' ethnography of Lower Dir, I documented the militarized, and fragmented state practices that Tsing refers to as the "sticky materiality of practical encounters" of the local people with the state apparatuses. The study collected data through anthropological methods such as mobile ethnography at checkpoints, casual conversations with locals, and first-hand observations of state ruling practices in the region. This article concludes that it is the Pakistan state's strategic interest that keeps the region out of the mainstream, and its security status is now even more important for Pakistan's State following the Taliban's takeover of Kabul in August 2021. This article asks for a re-conceptualization of the center/periphery discourse and adds a theoretical significance to the theory from the margin.



## Strand 10: Everyday Life

*Coordinators: Åsa Ekvall, Defne Karaosmanoğlu,  
and Edyta Just*



## The Feminism Journey; Lived Experiences of Young Women and Girls Due to Cultural Policies in Uganda

*Angella Beatrice Nalwanga, University of Kisubi, Uganda*

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The feminist perspective envisions gender equality; where females and males are given equal opportunity in all spheres of life like social, economic, political among others. Women and men in Uganda go through similar but rather different experiences due to what the society has socially constructed feminine or masculine. Statistically, the biggest composition of the society constructs environments that pose limitations to females. This paper will present experiences that adolescents and young women go through due to cultural policies. This paper will examine the influence of feminism on cultural policies in Uganda highlighting the feminist journey; the pros and cons. The paper will also give an analysis of how far the feminism journey has reached as well as give recommendations of how best the wellness of adolescent girls and young women can be improved using feminist approaches bench marked from best practice elsewhere. This is seen in socio-cultural constructions like patriarchy, property ownership, power imbalance, unequal access to opportunities among others. Masculinity is so vividly visible in all spheres of the lives of Ugandans. This situation therefore accelerates the gender inequality gap that is normally followed by limited access to resources hence increased poverty. A vivid example is seen in contemporary migrant issues, human trafficking; modern day slavery where adolescents and young women are hired as domestic laborers. They leave their young children back home and take care of the children of their bosses while theirs can hardly afford the next meal. Children grow up without proper nurture from their mothers and yet they earn a meager pay that can hardly cater for their families back home hence creating a vicious cycle of poverty. Even when their male counterparts are taken to the same destination, girls are taken to do domestic work while men are given better jobs with better pay. Adolescents and young women face inequalities both home and away

## What is Unfair Advantage?

*Åsa Ekvall and Sandra Meeuwssen, Erasmus University*

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As the World Athletic Federation is coming out with a new guideline on the possible participation of trans women and women with and intersex condition we take a look at the evidence there are to base such policies on. The very few medical studies on the topic tells us that trans women should be allowed to compete with cis-gender women while the research on women with an intersex condition is almost non-existent. The existing studies also show that blood or saliva levels of testosterone are not a useful measurement of someone's sex. Moreover, today a growing number of young people identify as non-binary and the conversation on how to include them in competitive sports has not even started. We argue that today's policies are based more on opinions and ideologies than facts and that human rights and ethics dimensions are largely ignored. We also argue that there is a disproportionate attention paid to sex and gender in sports when the topic of unfair advantage in the women's category is being raised, while this does not happen in the men's categories. There are many factors that can lead to an advantage in sport, especially height and weight, but also more than 200 other factors. It might be time to rethink categories and fairness altogether.

## Mission: Creating Gender-Responsive Learning Environment

*Aslı Çelik, Kaynartaş Ortaokulu, Ordu, Türkiye*

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Teachers inspire and empower – they can also discourage and impose limitations, regardless of whether they are making a conscious effort to do so. In the world, where millions of girls find themselves either on the sidelines of education or excluded entirely, this role of teachers in perpetuating or actively combating gender inequality is especially critical. Thus, this research committed to tackling gender stereotyping among students and raising them to be active citizens with increased abilities. As we planned a gradual timeline starting from gender equality awareness and discussion activities to creating and implementing gender-responsive learning environment activities in the classroom settings, we let students to explore their community and the world in order to express their solutions to provide gender equality in education. This research conducted in four secondary and six high schools of five European countries (Türkiye, Italy, Romania, Albania, and Spain) during nine months. Ten teachers and eighty-eight students were participated in the research. Included in the activities had been stereotyping, language, classroom equality, gender and technology. As gender-responsive learning environment is a global issue, it requires multidisciplinary approach. It was used a multidisciplinary curriculum is one in which the gender equality topic is studied from the feminist viewpoint of more than one discipline that students and teachers can bring to illustrate the issue. Teachers created tools for evaluations, and guidelines that can help promote gender equity in the school and the classroom setting. The study managed to maintain a culture where students are achieving, active, procreator, responsible, and included.

## Gender in Higher Education: Student Experiences in a University's Hidden Curriculum

Arzu Saldıray, Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Türkiye

Cansu Haykır, Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, Türkiye

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Turkey is depicted as a society where patriarchy is dominant (Engin & Pals, 2018; Özdemir-Sarıgil & Sarıgil, 2021). Official rules and regulations in Turkey are in principle compatible with the principle of gender equality, but in practice, the patriarchal mentality causes discrimination against women and the continuation of social injustice. One of the areas where patriarchal understanding causes social inequality is higher education institutions that based on a strong hierarchy. Higher education is an area where gender inequalities are observed and their effects are reflected on working life (UNDP Turkey - CEID (Association for Monitoring Gender Equality, 2022)). The purpose of this research is to make a phenomenological examination of students' gender-based experiences in a hidden curriculum of a state university in Central Anatolia. The phenomenological (phenomenological method) design, one of the qualitative research methods, will be used. For this purpose, individual in-depth interviews will be conducted with a total of 20 undergraduate students, 10 women and 10 men. Content analysis method will be used in the analysis of the data. "Maximum variation", one of the purposive sampling methods, will be used in the determination of the participants. Thus, if there are any intersecting discriminations in student experiences, they will be examined in depth. It is expected that the findings to be obtained within the scope of the research will embody the inequalities experienced based on gender in the higher education hidden curriculum, plan and develop egalitarian and inclusive measures for these identified problems, thus contributing to the experience of more egalitarian education and training processes.

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## Being a Feminist in non-Feminist Spaces: An Effort Towards a Reparative Approach

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The way in which WGFS has been institutionalised in many contexts mean that feminists often inhabit non-feminist spaces as part of our everyday lives within universities. This involves collaborating, teaching and learning with academics and peers from different epistemological contexts in a variety of spaces, including classrooms, departments, committees, and review panels. In this sense, it is a feature of the institutionalisation of WGFS that feminists often find ourselves in spaces where we feel we do not quite fit (Acker, 1983; Barata et al., 2005) or face epistemic marginalisation (Pereira, 2012). In this paper I reflect on my own experiences of navigating non-feminist spaces and consider the challenges this institutional context can bring – from the loneliness of being the only feminist in the room, to facing the dismissiveness with which those from other epistemological backgrounds can often treat feminists and feminism. I draw on these reflections to consider the affective moods and atmospheres these contexts and experiences can bring, particularly feelings of defensiveness, fight and besiegement (Nash, 2019; Nash and Pinto, 2020; Piepmeier, 2011; Pereira, 2022). I consider how these feelings which come to shape the everyday institutional lives of feminists can affect us in ways that can be draining, and close us away from more generative, reparative encounters with non-feminist spaces. Drawing on the work of scholars of the reparative approach (Sedgwick, 2003; Weigman, 2014), I consider how alternative encounters with non-feminist spaces might be possible – shaped less by defensiveness, and more by empathy, hope, and a curiosity for what might unfold.

## “The Unlimited Joy,” Men in the Domestic Space: Masculinities and Technology in TV Commercials

*Defne Karaosmanoğlu, Kadir Has University, Faculty of Communication, Istanbul, Turkey*

*Leyla Bektaş Ata, Kadir Has University, Faculty of Communication, Istanbul, Turkey*

*Bahar Emgin, İzmir Institute of Technology, Faculty of Architecture, İzmir, Turkey*

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Only recently, studies have started paying attention to men’s interaction with/in domestic space to examine changing forms of masculinity and domesticity. Most argue that housework has become a recreational and leisure activity with men’s involvement. When they do housework, they turn domesticity into a hobby and cook if it is a special day. In other words, domesticity is represented as fun and special for men and ordinary and boring for women. Domestic technologies have also become tools (toys) for men to play with. In this paper, we explore how men in Turkish television commercials of domestic technologies are portrayed and how these portrayals articulate and rearticulate domesticity and masculinity. We use discourse analysis to examine the domestic technology commercials broadcasted on public and private TV channels from the 1980s to the 2020s. Together with the leisure and fun approach, we discuss the ways in which discourses of masculinity and domesticity have been framed with specific themes such as the naughty scientist, the self-seeking purchaser, and the clumsy chef. Finally, we argue that male representation in domestic space has been on the rise in the last decade in TV commercials, and domesticity is aestheticized through the portrayals of masculinity. However, this does not seem to democratize domesticity since the equal share of workload at home is still far from being realized even in these portrayals.

## Conceptualizing Academic Sustainability

*Ezgi Pehlivanlı, University of Stavanger*

*Hande Eslen Ziya, University of Stavanger*

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Recently academia became an arena of political conflict that results in corrosion of academic life in general. Complication of academic freedom, lack of research autonomy, the mobilization against gender, in addition to the standardized success criteria of neoliberal university mediate a new academic ideal strengthening hierarchy, competition, anxiety, burn-out, and precariousness. Taking gender studies as a case, we aim to define and conceptualize academic sustainability with relation to attacks on academic freedom and academic wellbeing of gender scholars. We take academic sustainability as a matter of maintenance and wellbeing and argue that it is being challenged both by internal and external patriarchal ideologies, or masculinity restoration efforts.

## Everyday Life and Gendered Practices. An “Ideal Day” and a “Normal Day”.

*Mag. Dr. Gerlinde Mauerer, Researcher and Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Vienna*

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In my contribution I present and discuss results of my current research “Gender and Family in Motion” (2021-2025, Austrian Science Fund), analysing parents’ reports on a perceived “ideal day” and a “normal day” on parental leave. The gained qualitative-interpretative data included both parent’s reports on spending time with an infant and/ or more children. The analysis of parents’ reports provided insights in perceived and/or practiced “parental duties” in daily life experiences and workloads as a parent on leave. Although most of the included parents stated to follow the goal of sharing parenting responsibilities 50:50, the results pointed to gendered imaginations and practices at least in some facets of parents’ dual work-family arrangements. Moreover, a substantial part of male interviewees continued working in a minor (paid) employment during the uptake of parental leave, which impacted the promotion of gender inequalities in parents’ dual reconciliation of employment and family work.

Overall, the results point to the fact that knowledge building in feminist and gender research impact parents’ decision-making and their attempts to dually reconciling employment, childcare and household chores. Subsequently, I ask if and how feminist and gender knowledge on gender as an impact factor in the daily life-course might contribute to changing gendered employment conditions and dual parenting arrangements. Moreover, I would like to discuss if and how feminist knowledge and empirical research succeed in creating alternative work-time scenarios, including everyday life management, caring practices and caring masculinities, cooperating with critical masculinities studies and critical research on employment, work and organization.

## Digital Liminality: Breeding Allyship and Care at Work

*Hanish Srinivasan, Consultant, Tamil Nadu Government*

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Chennai, Tamil Nadu is hot. Mornings can shift from sultry to extremely humid within an hour. On the 6th of June, as I was sweating and lugging my heavy laptop bag, lunch bag, and myself toward the train station, I received a message from my manager:

“Guys, please come dressed in proper formals today. If we’re going for the review for review, we need to be dressed formally.”

A kurta is a long cloth tunic common in South Asia. My kurta was well ironed, lemon sherbet in color, and completed my loose cotton trousers and sandals. I dressed up for the meeting. However, I was not presentable, not in the conventional sense. To put it short, I was not dressed like the average male professional

I, however, do not identify as a male. In addition, I do not enjoy calling myself a man. I am quite comfortable using my name, along with many other adjectives and discernible tools. Of these tools, the kurta is one. I have a large collection of expressive, loose, cottonkurtas that rarely fails to pique my peers, colleagues and acquaintances' interest. However, when I started working with the government 6 months ago, I received clear feedback that my kurtas would not be appreciated.

Yet, the kurta is quintessentially Indian. The kurta, at work, falls under a smaller, more ubiquitous repertoire of clothing articles called Indian formals. Indian clothes are culturally meaning-laden and prescribed for women and advised against men. Professionalism, then, becomes a matter of presentability, deeply rooted in what Judith Butler refers to in *Gender Trouble* (1990) as ‘performative acts’.

I was expected to perform my masculine professionalism by coming to work every day in a prescriptive costume that is either Western formals or semi-formals. This was repeatedly stressed by a former male colleague of mine who responded with anxiety each time I wore bright or patterned shirts or kurtas.

This paper seeks to interrogate queer praxis within the government infrastructure. It is one thing to be policed by the state. However, it is an entirely different rubric of negotiations to claim space and exist within government workspaces as a queer individual, as a contributing professional.

The answer to my plight was digital intimacy.

Colleagues who I expected would shun me, have become nodes of allyship and support. By launching an autoethnobiographic study of my experience with the government and my relationship with my colleagues, I hope to offer an analysis and commentary on queer praxis and allyship within government spaces. I also hope to highlight how Sarah Lamble, in *Queer Intimacies* (2015), calls to our attention the power of performative acts of non-disclosure in otherwise heteronormative spaces of power. This, I shall do by interrogating the idea of the formal and propriety, both in presentation and decorum. I connect these ideas with Candance West and Don H. Zimmerman's work to explore the potential of performative gender acts through care.

By digital intimacy, I refer to the everlargening mushroom of interconnected capacities that envelope and ascribe meaning to workplace interactions between colleagues. I study the evolution of my relationship with my colleagues, individually and collectively, through moments and opportunities of intimate exchange. Most importantly, I demonstrate the use power of online groups on media platforms that promote care and support.

With the growing list of anti-LGTBQIA+ laws in America and the polarizing polemic surrounding personal freedom, allyship from unlikely sources, and queer praxis in the subjective contexts of the global south, can be useful to better understand how transformative interventions can be staged at the governmental level. Particularly, I would like to demonstrate that by leveraging the liminal excess of the digital medium, care, acceptance, and mutual respect can be engendered in spaces that are otherwise dismissed as hostile and impervious to change.

## The Subversive Potential of Cross-Borders Academic Friendships. A Queer-Sharing Dialogue

Ingrid Agud-Morell, *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain*

Samuele Grassi, *Monash University Prato Centre-University of Florence, Italy*

Yvette Taylor, *University of Strathclyde, Scotland, UK*

In this study draw on academic friendship as a queer sharing method, and consider collaborative auto-ethnography (Breeze and Taylor, 2020).

As queer-feminist academics, we occupy critical positions as we stretch to take up space within the academy as disruptive, challenging, activist presences - even as 'imposters', or part of the 'queer precariat' (Taylor et al., 2022; Agud, 2020; Grassi, 2022). Here, we explore how the creation of cross-border alliances, friendships and coalitions has been for feminist-queer academics an important strategy to build spaces of resistance and contestation (Caravaca, et al, 2023).

We highlight the generative and subversive potential of sharing three personal-political-professional stories, charting how they circulate, succeed, and stall. The stories are presented following the ethnographic vignette method capturing everyday blockages, moments of interruption, and pauses. These show the energies and vitalities of doing queer work and working on queerness as queer scholars, who are differently positioned inside the university, located in three different country contexts-sites.

Through dialogue we'll rethink how meaning can be constructed collectively, and for what, for whom and with whom do we produce knowledge (Alvarez, et al., 2023). We explore what happens when we interweave culturally and linguistically different 'voices' as a gesture of queer-sharing and friendship. How can we negotiate, stretch, and share from our distinct location at the border, e.g., across disciplines, languages, and feeling of (non)belonging to Europe?

The queer-shares in crossing borders through academic friendships become a way of subverting secrets within institutions (Flores, 2008), working as a powerful strategy to interrupt the intuitional normality.

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## Gender Identity and Pronouns in a Complex Higher Education Environment: Exploring Inclusivity in our Professional and Academic Research Cultures

*Kayden J. Schumacher, Coventry University*

*Alun DeWinter, Coventry University*

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Pronouns are used daily in daily life across universities. Whether it be in office-based conversation with colleagues and friends, in seminars, lectures, staff meetings, or research projects, we constantly include pronouns in our interactions with others. But what happens for those who do not fit into gender norms? Gender identity can be a complex topic within the higher education environment and there many barriers to creating an equitable, inclusive, and empowering university environment for staff, students and other stakeholders alike.

This research identifies issues of misgendering through the use of pronouns, how this effects the sense of authentic self and how this might impact an individual's ability to bring their full range of skills and abilities to the table. Pronoun mishaps also inhibits the university's ability to transform and enact feminist, intersectional change within their workplace and learning environment and can inadvertently create an environment of confusion, fear, and uncertainty for those affected.

Using the Coventry University Group (CUG), with multiple branches in the UK and worldwide, as a focal point, this paper seeks to explore what can be done to make everyone feel included. This paper is based upon initial research across the England-Based CUG campuses and will highlight good practice whilst also exploring and promoting what might be done to better enable inclusivity for all.

Although undertaken through a LGBTQ+ lens, this paper also seeks to also steer the conversation towards feminism, protecting minorities and the intersections between queer theory, 'transness' and feminist thinking.

## Reading in Everyday Life: A Gender Perspective

*Michela Donatelli, Department of Educational Science, University Roma Tre*

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This work analyses how the use of the book and its representation can reveal a different relationship between men and women and cultural practices. Specifically, after a brief excursus on how historically the model of the female reader has been constructed differently and in counterpoint to the model of the male reader (Roselli, 2016), the paper highlights how the gendered dimension is manifested in cultural places and practices, most notably in book clubs. Reading circle activities and discussions allow the observation of gender through the interaction between the participants and the texts read. Reading shows all its ambivalence in these contexts: an instrument of emancipation and a mirror reflecting gender differentiations.

Based on ongoing research conducted through the participant observation in the reading circles organised in three public libraries in Rome, the paper proposes to reflect on how the reception of specific texts sustains subversive biographical trajectories in a dual movement of the transgression of the dominant norms of femininity and adherence to values that promote material and symbolic autonomy from men.

Like previous studies (Albenga, 2017), I adopt the perspective of the socio-history of reception, which focuses on different aspects of reading practices to capture the meaning that readers produce from books.

Bourdieu (2001) defines this notion to evoke the co-production of the meaning of cultural goods by authors and audiences and the practical and symbolic uses of these goods. According to Chartier (1988), this notion allows us to think about sharing differences because it postulates creative invention at the centre of reception processes. Moreover, early results suggest that certain activities of the reading circle are part of the literary field where gender operates as a distinctive category. For some reading groups, for both authors and readers, being a woman means converting "negative symbolic capital" into "positive symbolic capital" (Moi, 1999), demonstrating, with some ambivalence, the emancipatory power of reading.

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## The Sexual Objectification of Hijra People: Reflection Upon the Childhood Experiences

*Muhammad Ali Awan, Jinnah Sindh Medical University, Karachi*

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The sexual and gender diversity of hijra people, position them an object of sexual desires i.e. sexual objectification of hijra people. Through this article, I would like to answer the question how hijra people identify themselves in relation to their body, sexual encounter and social position? This article is based on the data, which was gathered during PhD research in 2015 and later in 2022 during further research to understand the phenomena of sexual objectification of hijra people. The data was collected through biographic and expert interviews from members of hijra community and development sector. The constructionist grounded theory was used as a research methodology and acquired data was analyzed in MAX QDA based on grounded theory data coding scheme. The findings presented in this article specifically dealt with the childhood experiences of hijra people which they have reflected during data collection. This research shows that hijra people face sexual abuse and sexual exploitation since their childhood. They grow up with derogatory identification labels like gando, chakka, khusra, hijra. Some of the labels specifically communicate the meaning of passive sexual partner and weaker position in sex and gender order. The people from mainstream society exploit a weak position of hijra people and exercise power upon them. Resultant, hijra people are compelled to participate in sexual activity. The abusive and exploitative sexual encounter force hijra people to identify themselves as an object of sex. The sexuality of the hijra people either ignored or considered deviant due to the socio-cultural, religious and legal positioning of hijra people in Pakistani society. Hence, sexual objectification of hijra people revolves around their experiences of sexual abuse and sexual exploitations, which increase a feeling of marginality and social exclusion among hijra people.

## Everyday Life

Niels Niessen, *Culture Studies*, Tilburg University

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This paper is a critique of everyday life in the Big Tech era, in which profit-driven algorithms monetize people's experience—from chatting with friends to walking in the city. I argue that everyday life, as it is accelerated by data colonialism, transforms into a stream. By stream I mean a frictionless flow in which all oppositions blur, including the opposition between public and private life that for long structured the everyday as a modern invention (as have argued theorists including Rita Felski and Henri Lefebvre). For long, everyday life was a domain relatively separate from the market. Of course, people continue to have day-to-day lives, like people had quotidian lives before modern capitalism, but everyday life as a sphere relatively free of market interests hardly exists anymore. How to reclaim the everyday from Big Tech? And how is this endeavor a feminist practice?

Engaging these questions, I acknowledge the emancipatory side to the blurring of public and private life: the stream may also disrupt patriarchal and racist binaries. Yet insofar as this blurring is driven by data colonialism, we have to be critical of this development. My paper argues for common spaces—online but certainly also offline—where public and private life blur, not because they are integrated by Big Tech's stream, but because the personal is political. Inspired by this 1960s feminist rallying cry, I call for embodied conversations that facilitate a consciousness of how data colonialism burns out people and the planet.

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## Precarity as Post-Colonial Anxiety: An Autoethnographic Exploration of the Affective Labor Involved in the Visa Processes for Academic Inclusion

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This auto-ethnographic presentation unearths my experiences of applying for a UK visa to attend a conference organized by the British Sociological Association as a precarious scholar from the global south. Descriptive and self-affirmative in nature (Chang, 2008), the autoethnographic narrative theorizes the effects of precarity, from a feminist perspective (Asgarilaleh, 2023, Flores Garrido, 2020; Zembylas, 2019; Shildrick, 2019), which I argue, births structural and affective postcolonial anxiety (Krishna, 1999). These affective and structural implications of being in a precarious position as a scholar from the global south facing the global north extend beyond the borders that hold my skin to the community, state, and “third-world” country I inhabit. We all bear the bodily and more-than-bodily effects of this anxiety which is not only a pathological response to fear, uncertainty and vulnerability involved in the process of visa filing. But also an outcome of being a postcolonial subject in a capitalist, neoliberal and globalized economy which is deeply colonial and Eurocentric (Burlyuk and Rahbari 2023) where the anxiety to meet “European standards” is heightened by insecure work contracts, inferior passports, hyper-competition, meritocracy and other forms of discrimination faced by bodies in a neoliberal economy (Asgarilaleh, 2023).

While significant attention has been paid to the theorization of “colonial anxieties” that shaped the socio-political life of empires within Asia and Africa (Peckham 2015, Grant and Pringle, 2020), this presentation marks the emergence of ‘postcolonial anxiety’ within these empires after years of colonization, looting and violence through the analysis of my experiences of filling a visa. As a frame for the entire presentation, I ask: what shape and form does postcolonial anxiety take in my life, and in the lives of other postcolonial subjects? What are its socio-pathological symptoms and triggers? How is it influenced by its interaction with other subjects, borders, and socio-cultural-political phenomena? And what can its theorization do for feminist and queer scholarship on work, precarity and migration?

Beginning with a theoretical discussion on precarity and postcolonial anxiety within feminist and queer scholarship, this presentation is divided into three sections. The first section discusses visa processes as a trigger for anxiety, panic and fear. The second section unpacks precarity through a discussion of the implication of holding unequal passports and insecure contracts. The third section talks about the post-application anticipation and the mishandling of my visa application resulting in a rejection. My reasons to talk about my visa experience is to not dilute my affective experiences in mere academic jargon but to foreground the emotional labor of being a postcolonial subject. Making this presentation is an important ‘affective turn’ in understanding and mapping the life of a basic human emotion: anxiety, and its relationship to postcoloniality through the lens of precarity and migration.

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## Knowing Me Knowing You

*Sophie Alsbach, University of Amsterdam*

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At a time when more and more everyday tasks – including not only social communication, but also e.g. dealings with official institutions, labour market services or banks – become digitized, exclusion from digital spaces might lead to severe disadvantages. In Austria, migrant and refugee women with low literalisation and high barriers towards education are especially at risk of being excluded in this manner. Adult basic skills education is vital to counter these forms of discrimination as its target groups are exactly those groups that are disadvantaged in socio-economic terms and vulnerable to exclusion in terms of intersecting racist and gendered discrimination.

Our presentation is based on on-going empirical research undertaken at the Institute of Conflict Research (IKF Vienna), which maps education in critical media literacy in the field of adult education. The Austrian curriculum for basic skills education (Curriculum Basisbildung, 2019, updated in 2023) includes digital competencies besides German language, mathematics and basic skills in another language, but offers little insights into actual teaching settings. Our project i.a. researches how digital skills are integrated in teaching basic skills in different institutions and associations. In this presentation we focus on anti-racist, intersectional and migrant feminist approaches in this field, which are developed in a number of smaller associations – often under highly precarious circumstances. We hope to map not only the challenges faced by these engaged educators and learners, but also the lessons that could be drawn for feminist but also for mainstream pedagogies in the field of digital and media education.

## Feminist Perspectives on Critical Media Literacy in Adult Basic Skills Education

*Stefanie Mayer and Viktoria Eberhardt, Institute of Conflict Research (IKF), Vienna*

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## **“I'm Not a Feminist, But”: A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis on Chinese University Students' Negotiation with Feminist Ideologies in Everyday Lives**

*Zixi Zuo, PhD Candidate, Department of Education Practice and Sociology, University College London*

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In China, the widespread stigmatization of feminism on social media and strict censorship and surveillance over feminist activism limit young people collective emotional and political expression. During my research on Chinese youth gender and sex culture on Chinese campus, I have observed a trend of disavowing the term feminism among young people, instead they adopted an ambivalent and apolitical "egalitarian" discourse. Through semi-structured interviews and digital diaries collected from 18 Chinese university students, the study unpacks their dilemmatic position in relation to gender and feminist ideologies in the backdrop of postfeminist and anti-feminist backlash. Using feminist critical discourse analysis, this research studies the discursive tactics employed by these educated young individuals to justify their rejection of the term feminism and their embrace of a 'pro-egalitarian' stance. 1) (hetero) romanticizing naturalistic sexual orders and embodied vulnerability 2) othering feminists as deviant and irrational 3) individualizing notions of empowerment. The research find that their explicit conservative articulation of 'pro-egalitarian' discourses is rooted in a neoliberalist rationale which intertwines with the prevailing gender orders, institutionalized heteronormativity, and the distinct non-aggressive characteristics of Chinese state feminism. Moreover, the author argues that replacing the term feminism with rhetorical 'egalitarian/pro-gender equality' serves as a particular manifestation of structural gender inequality and institutionalized misogyny. Hence, there is a pressing need for an indigenous and inclusive feminist pedagogy with better and widely available vocabularies and frameworks that anatomize everyday life struggles on an individual and highly localized context in China.