

the future was at her fingertips

digital ambivalence, cyborging and technofeminism

Os+1s Collective 9.6 -25.8
@ södertälje konsthall

0s+1s Collective consists of artists Anna Kinbom (SE), Choterina Freer (UK), Sonia Hedstrand (SE), and Rut Karin Zettergren (SE), who have been working together since 2013. Through a series of seminars, residencies and video screenings the group studies the relationship between camera technology, internet history and cyberfeminism. Each member approaches the shared concerns from point of view of their own practice, jointly exploring perspectives and opportunities to create and show art through flat organization. www.0s1s.net

Thanks to: Baltic Art Center, Bergmangårdarna, Film på Gotland, Iaspis Konstnärsnämnden, Kulturbryggan, Kustateljén Fårösund, NKF - Nordiska Konstförbundet, Swedish Embassy in Havana & Tingstäde Fästning.



0s+1s herstory 2013-2018

We formed 0s+1s Collective in London in 2013. After meeting through different art schools and a residency we organised a group screening and performance at Arebyte Gallery in London. The event – focused on technofeminism – was called Zeros and Ones inspired by Sadie Plant's 1997 book *Zeros and Ones: Digital Women and the New Technoculture* (which we read as a group via Skype). Our collective began its life as a dialogue that developed through the event and the group reading.

Questions that arose around the event included: how and whether cyberfeminism was relevant; and, after two decades, whether cyberfeminism was still alive online. Sadie Plant (and the original cyberfeminists) had a techno-positive take on digital culture that we saw as questionable (at best) in today's social media culture. Our conversations were taking place at a time when trolling, revenge porn, and online bullying in schools was the new norm. We hoped that there was still the possibility to use the internet to network feminists for consciousness-raising conversations and collaborative art-working. The more recent #metoo movement has shown that the internet can be used to give women voices as individuals; and to build that voice collectively to create change.

Practically speaking, the internet was critical to our collective from the start. We are based between Sweden and the UK; so, apps such as Skype and Facebook Messenger have been integral to our way of working. Our collective work began as group research, through readings of classic cyberfeminist texts such as *A Cyborg Manifesto* by Donna Haraway. We progressed to making online projects based around ideas we had discussed such as cyberfeminism, networks and cyborgs. One of the projects that is still ongoing is *Revealing Our Sources* - a database of cyberfeminist texts (originally inspired by a similar list on the Old Boys Network site) that we continue to update.

Online communication is a strength and a challenge for our collective. The possibilities for free communication across different countries is great; while the limits to this technology is frustrating - with its failing connections, lags and echoes. In 2015, we had the opportunity to meet in a group residency at the Baltic Art Centre in Gotland, a Swedish island in the Baltic Sea. This meant we could show our works together in the same physical space again. We hosted a screening at GoCart Gallery in Visby where we showed our own works together with works of other artists we selected as relating to our own projects in some way.

The residency on Gotland led us to consider the filmic and military legacies on the island. This is where Swedish filmmaker Ingmar Bergman lived and worked for many years. His patriarchal legacy is still dominant, and used by local politicians to brand the island in the experience economy; attracting commercial film production companies. The armament of Gotland dates back to the Crimean War and in 2015, the island - which had been de-militarised in the 1990s following the end of The Cold War - was rebuilding its military presence in the wake of an increased perceived threat from Russia.

These macho histories led us to reflect upon how film technology has evolved from military technological development and how and whether these legacies affect our work with these technologies. These considerations lead to our project *The Legacy Complex* (TLC). And by spring 2016 we were back in Gotland, at a residency at the estate of Ingmar Bergman, and were challenged by trying to work as a flat-organised feminist collective in the setting and legacy of the solitary auteur; a man who had nine kids, all taken care of by their various mothers as he was left to work.

During that summer – at a residency at NKF Malongen in Stockholm – we invited artists, public sector workers and cultural workers to a seminar and exhibition that ran over two days. Focused on the TLC inspired theme of patriarchal film and military legacies, we made performances, and engaged with each other's art and research. This expansion of our collective way of working gave us ideas which helped develop our project(s) further than would've been possible alone.

The Legacy complex was exhibited where the project began in Visby, at Gotland's Konstmuseum in early 2017. We exhibited all new works, including collages, installations, videos and performances. Some of the works were collaborative and others were made using a shared bank of footage we had recorded over the previous year. We also chose to include a separate research room with textual and visual reference material, alongside a video work showing the exterior of Bergman's house in Fårö with a soundtrack of us discussing the director's video collection.

We have twice been invited by Russian curator Masha Kotlyachkova to produce screening programmes (which we have attended for discussion via Skype). In 2015, we ran a screening and discussion programme to attendees at the underground feminist gallery *Intimate Space* in St Petersburg; and in 2017, we ran a performance and screening programme at the artist run festival *Work Hard! Play Hard!* in Minsk, Belarus, as part of a seminar on working conditions for artists.

In October 2017, *The Legacy Complex* was invited by The Swedish Embassy to The Swedish Cultural Weeks in Havana. Bringing the TLC theme to another militarised island further contextualised the project. Cuba's limited internet access changed the circumstances of our exhibition; we were showing the project in place where digital communication is not ubiquitous - which is taken for granted by most in northern Europe. Building a multi-channel video-installation exhibition in Havana (an economy where finding AA batteries for remote controls can be difficult) proved very challenging.

In 2017, we were invited to be part of the group exhibition *Mozart's Ghost*, curated by Alida Ivanov at Göteborgs Konsthall. The theme of the exhibition was Internet art, feminism and digital resistance. We showed three stations of pieces and reference material as texts, sounds and images, in an installation depicting our work from since we formed the group until today.

In this exhibition, the future was at her fingertips – digital ambivalence, cyborging and technofeminism at Södertälje Konsthall, we are showing a joint installation referencing the collective's ongoing seminar, with video and sound pieces, web-based art, texts and reference material.

Zeros+0nes screening, inviting artists working in relation to women and technology, @ Arebyte Gallery, London, 13.12.15



Distant Relations, screening @ Go|c|art Gallery, Visby, 15.6.18 & Relative Distance, screening @ Intimate Space, St. Petersburg, Russia, 15.12.18



TODAY

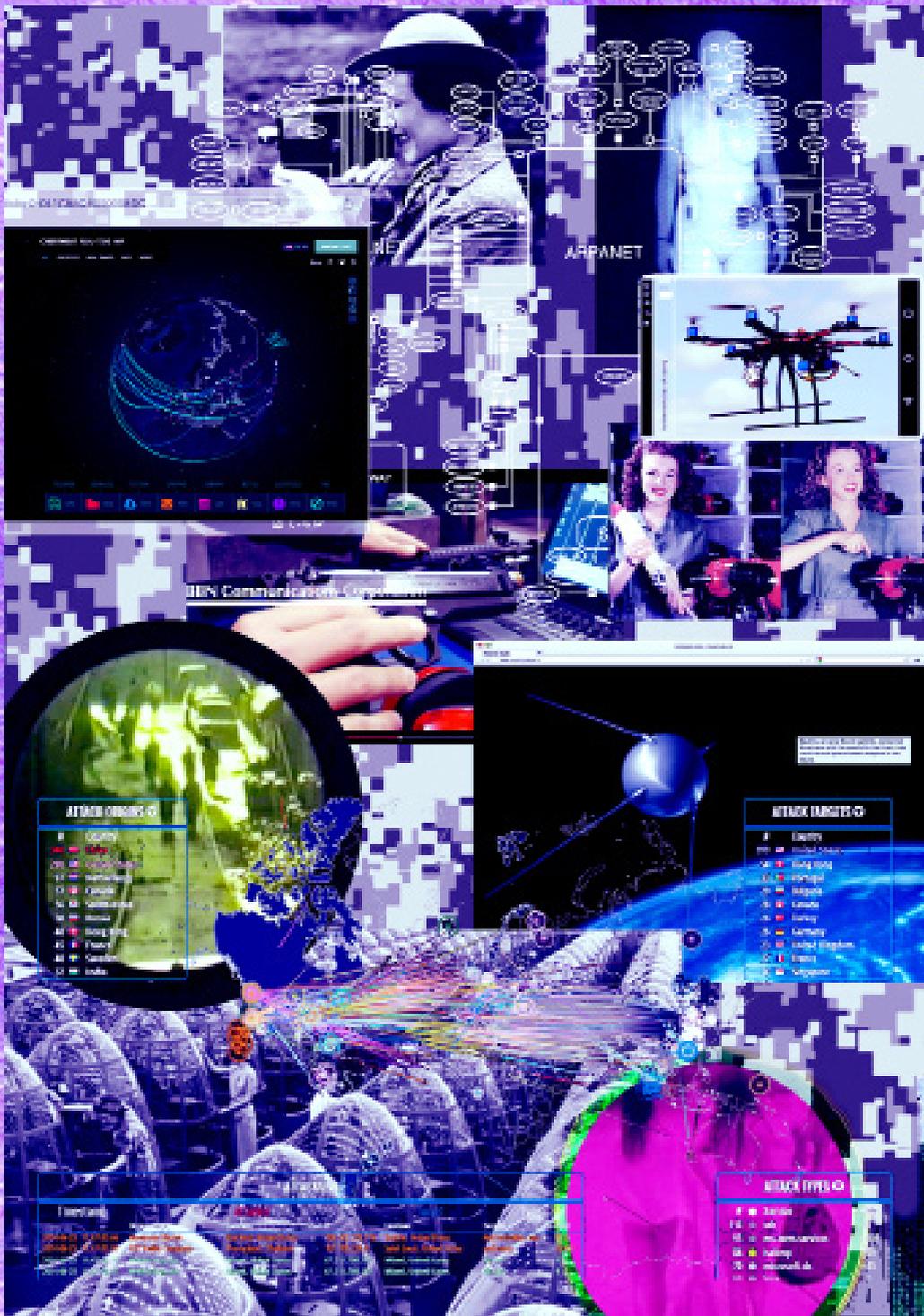
ZEROS+ONES

Sound, Video and Live performances

Arbitt Gallery
Sunday 13 December 2015
2-00pm-7-00pm

Featuring: Copia Lisa Bonetto, Jane Collins, William Clegg, Mark B. Smith, Ian Southworth, Christopher Young, Sarah Marshall, Joey Walker, Alan Kuper, David Murray-Bassett, Benjamin Brice, Adriana Passaduno, Patrick Schmitt, Felicia Spooner, and Sarah Dettlaff.

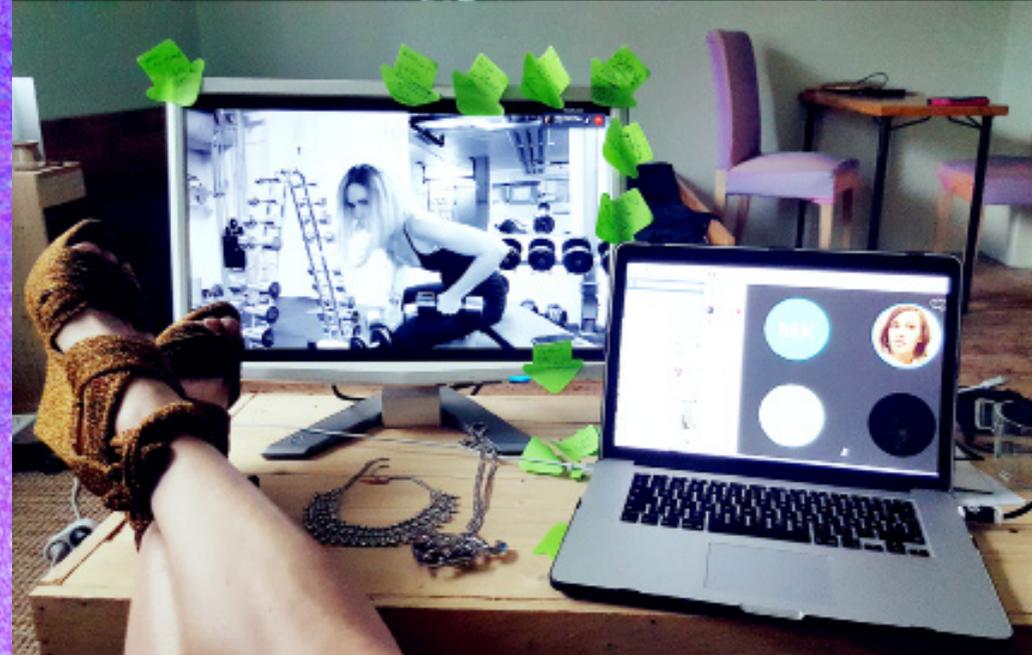




TLC Symposium, conference with invited guests at The Nordic Art Association, Stockholm, 16.06.28-29



The Rhythm Method, online performances at Work Hard! Play Hard! @ Gallery-Canteen XYZ, Minsk, Belarus 17.07.07-09



The Legacy Complex

0s+1s Collective

Gotlands Konstmuseum



The Legacy Complex exhibition was first held at Gotlands Konstmuseum, in Visby, Sweden 17.02.18 - 17.04.23

- 100 anti-theses
cyberfeminism is not ...
1. cyberfeminism is not a discipline, a platform
 2. cyberfeminism is not a movement
 3. cyberfeminism is not ideology
 4. cyberfeminism is not a theory
 5. cyberfeminism is not a practice
 6. cyberfeminism is not a method
 7. cyberfeminism is not a tool
 8. cyberfeminism is not a technique
 9. cyberfeminism is not a strategy
 10. cyberfeminism is not a goal
 11. cyberfeminism is not a result
 12. cyberfeminism is not a process
 13. cyberfeminism is not a product
 14. cyberfeminism is not a service
 15. cyberfeminism is not a function
 16. cyberfeminism is not a system
 17. cyberfeminism is not a structure
 18. cyberfeminism is not a form
 19. cyberfeminism is not a style
 20. cyberfeminism is not a genre
 21. cyberfeminism is not a medium
 22. cyberfeminism is not a language
 23. cyberfeminism is not a code
 24. cyberfeminism is not a sign
 25. cyberfeminism is not a symbol
 26. cyberfeminism is not a message
 27. cyberfeminism is not a meaning
 28. cyberfeminism is not a value
 29. cyberfeminism is not a quality
 30. cyberfeminism is not a quantity
 31. cyberfeminism is not a measure
 32. cyberfeminism is not a standard
 33. cyberfeminism is not a norm
 34. cyberfeminism is not a rule
 35. cyberfeminism is not a law
 36. cyberfeminism is not a principle
 37. cyberfeminism is not a doctrine

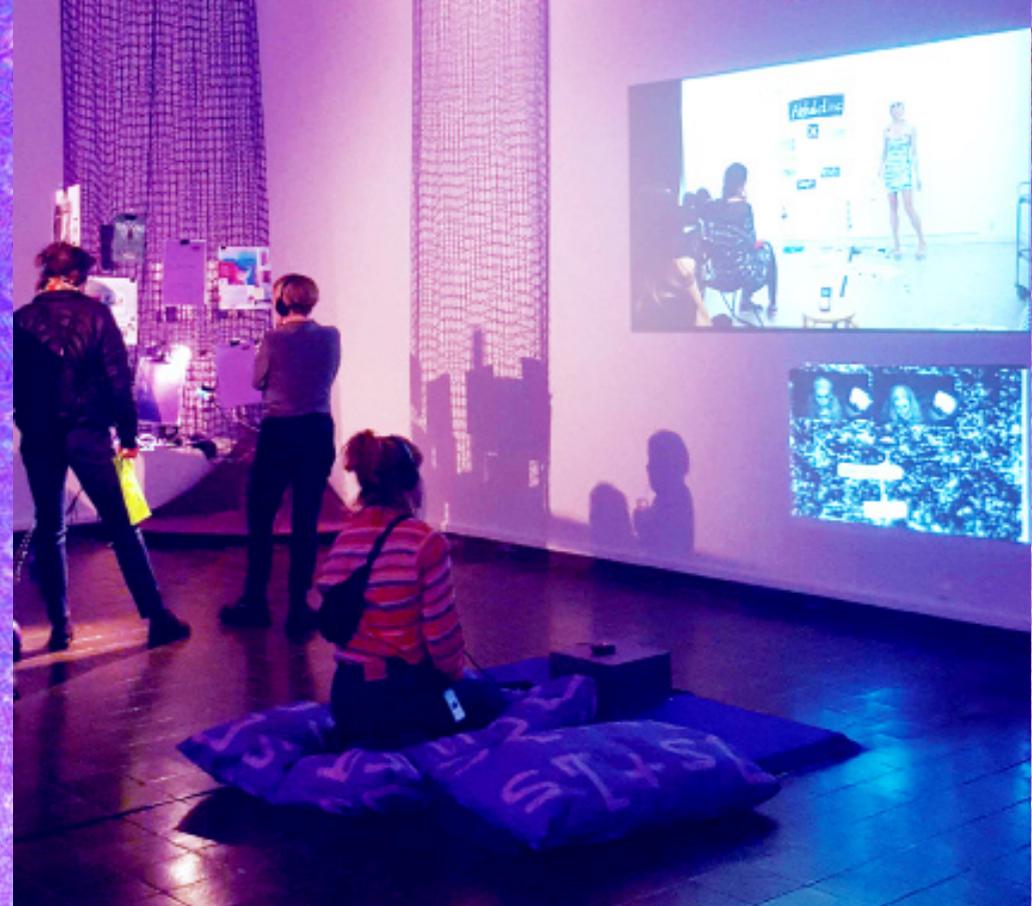
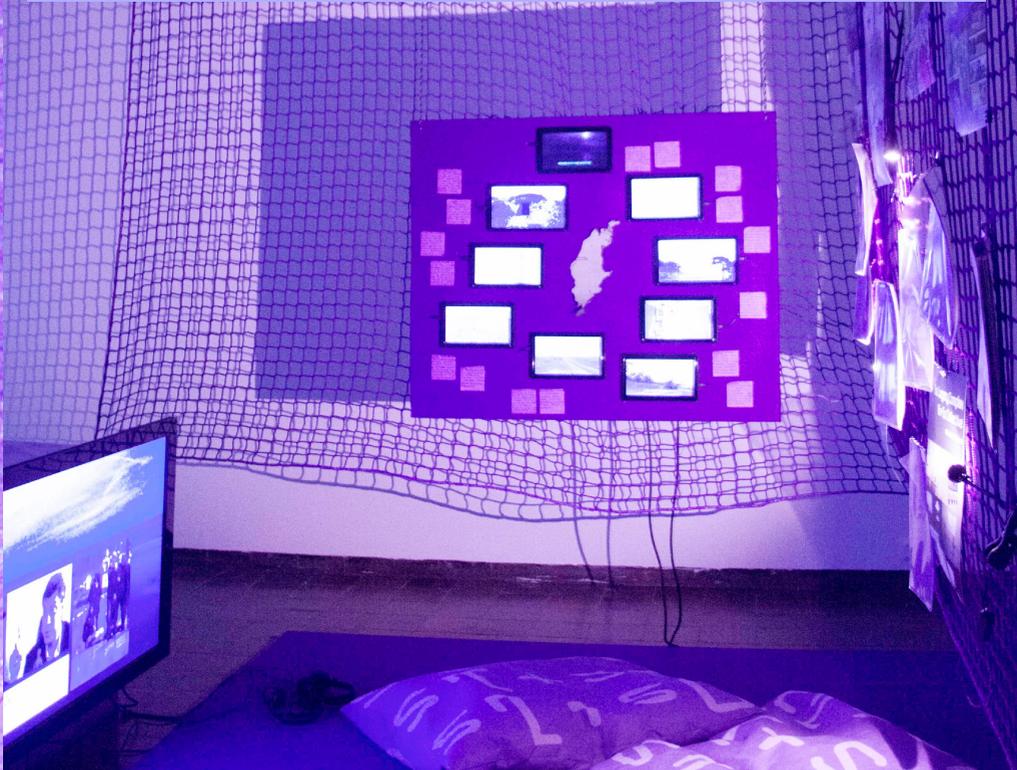
2017.12.09

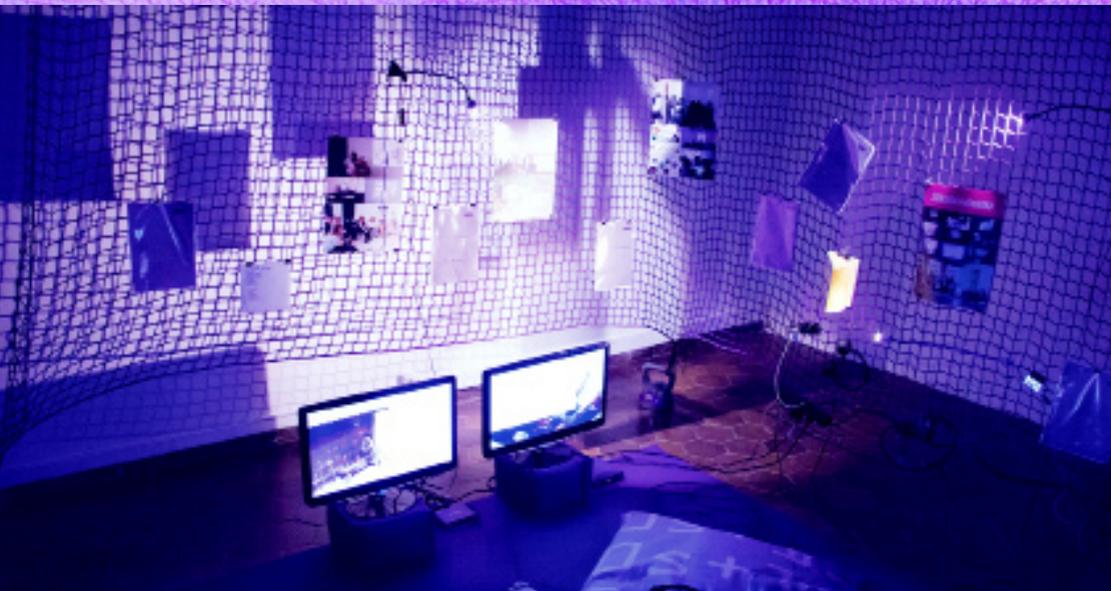
2018.04.15

MOZART'S GHOST

INTERNETKONST, FEMINISM OCH MOTSTÅND

Ds+ls Collective took part in Mozart's Ghost @ Göteborgs Konsthall with three installations, containing works by the group between 2013 and 2018. It included research, references, readings, recorded discussions, video and audio pieces.





DAGENS NYHETER
 Cyberfeminism. Trevande om fysiska och digitala kroppar

Det som rådar utställningen – i denna första del – är kollektivet *o=1*'s bekända arkiv där man kan följa sig i exempelvis frågor om integrerat skyddsgästning, performansföreläsningar om Googles företagstaktik och feminist-cyberfeminismens utmaningar.

Lita kort kassa, men här finns ännu inte den skärpade och skarpa som annan saknas i det konstnärliga uttrycket. Performansen kan man koppla på att mäta del, som tar vid i medvetenheten och ska handla om "det digitala rummet", tar chansen att stå till den abstrakta och låter de medkritiska frågorna om den nya digitala världsbilden trilla i sigredens. I stället för att baus ge nytt bränsle till den gamla maskinlärtaktiska konceptfilosofin.

PALETTEN

länken i Mozart's Ghost, och dess överfångare De+1-maknät svarar ansom en sålens till grupps tidigare arbete inom bibliotekskonstkonjunkt. Det är sålens att överdriva, och hur viktig innehåll är är så reduceras det hämnd till anslyste. Detta även om särskilt Sonia Hedstrands-Feministind weapons on export (2017) – en 50 minuter lång essä i videokonst var kombinerad på ett sludrand levligt, soundom kassa vis redogör för hypermarknadsens historia i förhållande till global kapitalism, korporatiskt och tidslan för den andra – erbjuder precis den typ av pregnans som skulle ha behövts väcka sin prägel på större delar av utställningen. Det är också utskärande i arkivinstallationerna som den utövade historiseringen av internet och teknologier för ävenaktning, information och värld kan.

Konsten att klä av nätet
 Fredrik Svensk ser en sociala media-utställning utan liknanden

Var skulle en konstutställning i digitala konstutställningen drivas utomst ägarna själva medfölja?
 För att den ska presenteras i galleriet och betala mer än 1000 kr för att få en sålens utställning är tillgripa utställningen är genomgående "fukt" och konst utgör exempelvis ett duktigt konstutställningskoncept. Detta är en utställningsperiod: för detta till att ströma en konstutställning "konst" i en utställning som tillgripa en grupps konstutställningskoncept. För att utgöra ett utställningskoncept, eller ett utställningskoncept, är det utställningskonceptet att de ska utgöra ett utställningskoncept.

Idén är intressant, även om det inte kan verka så, är detta utställningskonceptet utställningskonceptet i galleriet och betala mer än 1000 kr för att få en sålens utställning är tillgripa utställningen är genomgående "fukt" och konst utgör exempelvis ett duktigt konstutställningskoncept. Detta är en utställningsperiod: för detta till att ströma en konstutställning "konst" i en utställning som tillgripa en grupps konstutställningskoncept. För att utgöra ett utställningskoncept, eller ett utställningskoncept, är det utställningskonceptet att de ska utgöra ett utställningskoncept.

Drömmen om internetns feministiska potential lever

Cyberfeminism, internetkonst och feministisk utmaning för den nya utställningen *Mozart's Ghost*. Med Thea som ett blick, som utställningen är drömmen om internetns feministiska potential lever.

KULTUR & NÖJE

Arbetsmarknaden för de gamla och nya i en sociala media-utställning utan liknanden

Arbetsmarknaden för de gamla och nya i en sociala media-utställning utan liknanden

Cyberfeminism i ständig förändring

Feministisk internetkonst och medieteknik i de digitala medieteknikerna är utställningskonceptet i Göteborgs konstutställning *Mozart's Ghost*. Med Thea som ett blick, som utställningen är drömmen om internetns feministiska potential lever.



Dystopisk klang i Mozart's Ghost

I första delen av konstutställningen *Mozart's Ghost* står det klart att det inte bara är utställningen som handlar om internetns feministiska potential lever. Med Thea som ett blick, som utställningen är drömmen om internetns feministiska potential lever.

'Mozart's Ghost' at Göteborgs Konsthall focuses on feminism and internet art

Arbetsmarknaden för de gamla och nya i en sociala media-utställning utan liknanden

GP

Arbetsmarknaden för de gamla och nya i en sociala media-utställning utan liknanden

Excerpt press clips with reviews of *Mozart's Ghost* from Dagens Nyheter, Aftonbladet, Göteborgsposten, Kunstkritikk, Paletten Art Journal, Syre, ETC Gbg, 2017.



El Complejo Legado es una exposición de videoarte por parte del colectivo sueco/británico 0s+1s sobre las historias interconectadas militares, cinematográficas, sociales y personales situadas en Gotland, isla del mar Báltico. 0s+1s es un proyecto de investigación y producción de Jenna Collins, Choterina Freer, Sonia Hedstrand, Anna Kinbom y Rut Karin Zettergren. Los intereses del grupo incluyen las políticas sobre tecnología, prácticas ciberfeministas y estructuras de colaboración no jerárquicas. www.0s1s.net. La exposición es parte de SUECIAKONSTCUBA, semanas culturales Suecia en La Habana octubre de 2017.

The Legacy Complex

Inauguración: Octubre 6, 18-23. Bienvenid@s!
 Casa Victor Hugo calle O'Reilly 711. Habana Vieja. La exposición estará abierta de lunes a sábado, del 6 al 15 de octubre, 9:30-17 hs.

iaspis   



The Legacy Complex exhibition
 @ Casa Victor Hugo, Havana,
 Cuba 17.10.06 - 17.11.06



Revealing our sources



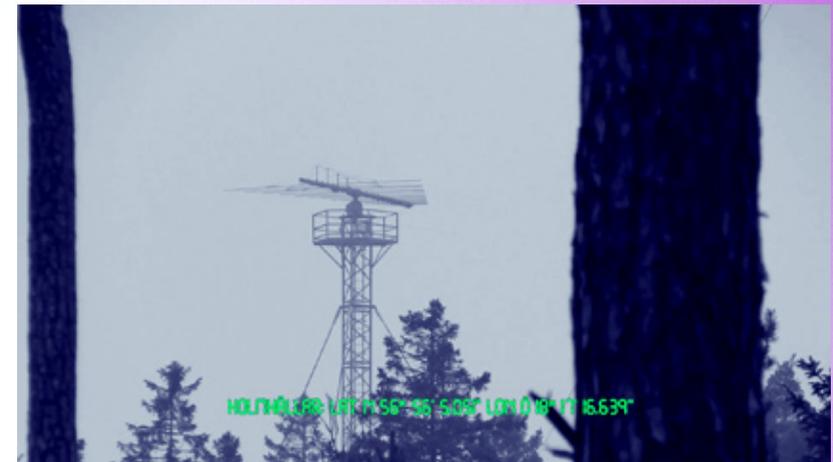
Snapchat workshop for kids at Göteborgs konstall 18.02.15-16



Surveilling the Surveillers
by Sonia Hedstrand &
Rut Karin Zettergren

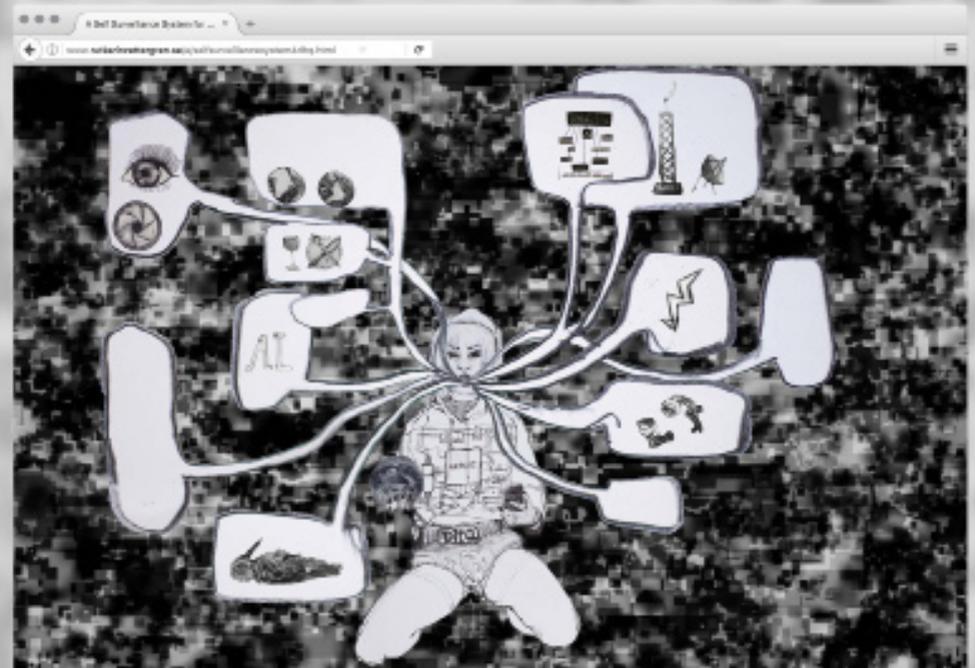


8 channel installation @ Gotlands Konstmuseum, Visby, 2017.



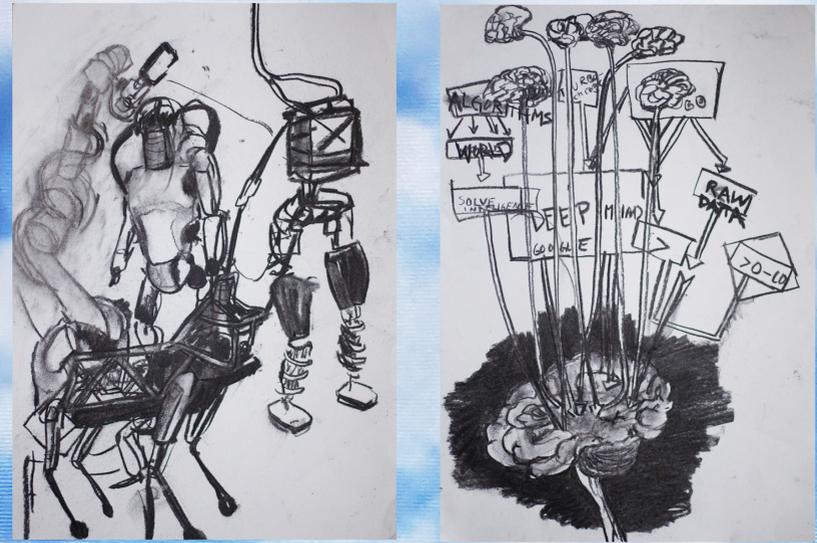
Stills from *Surveilling the Surveillers*.

A Self-Surveillance System 4DH@S
by Rut Karin Zettergren



Videos, website, performances, drawings, 2017

Soft Light on Alphabet Inc.
by Rut Karin Zettergren



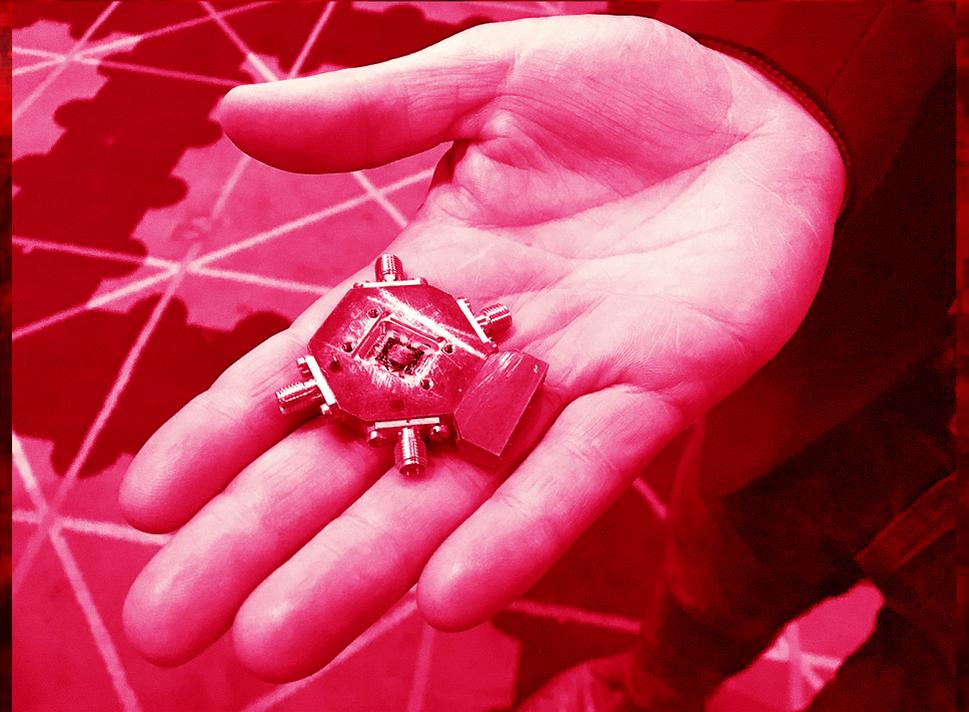
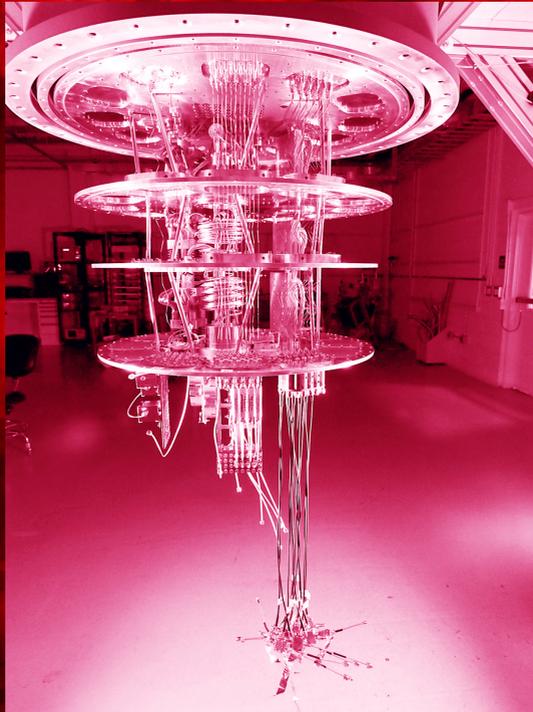
Videos, website, performances, drawings, 2017

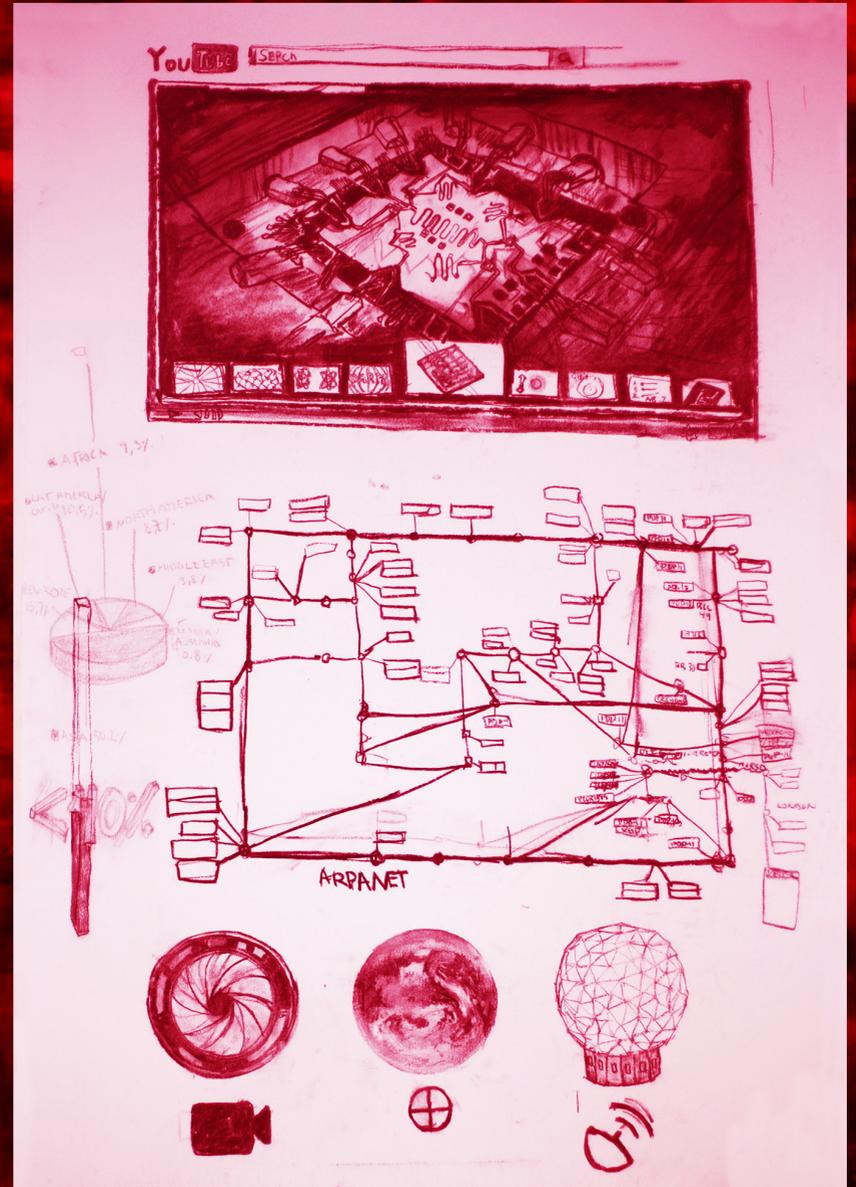
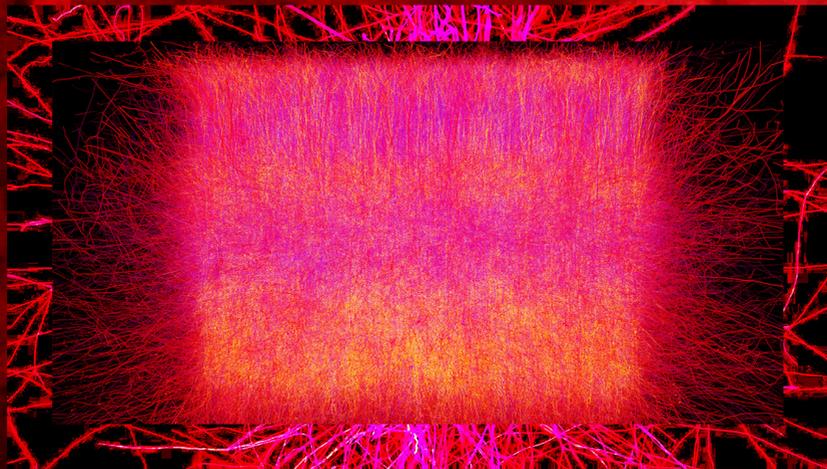


LADDAR...



Soft Light on Alphabet Inc.





Cyberfeminism is a song
by Anna Kinbom

Cornelia Sollfrank wrote in a text
Cyberfeminism can be anything
I thought Sadie Plant was pronounced
[[Seidi]] but my teacher said It's [[Saidi]]

Sadie wrote a book
Zeros and Ones
Women in Technoculture
At the same time
Cyberfeminism was invented also in Aus-
tralia

Cyberfeminism is a song
Cyberfeminism is a song
Cyberfeminism is a song
Cyberfeminism is a song

There are 100 things that are not cyber-
feminism
You can read about them in 100 anti-theses
Cyberfeminism can be what you want
But it's also not many things

Cyberfeminism is a song
Cyberfeminism is this song
Cyberfeminism is a song
Cyberfeminism is this song

Stills from music video *Cyberfeminism is a song* by
Anna Kinbom 2017. The song is inspired by Corne-
lia Sollfrank's text *The Truth about Cyberfeminism*,
about cyberfeminism as strategy and method.



Cyborgs by Anna Kinbom

Donna,
You told us we could be cyborgs
Like that I don't need my history
I don't need the history of other women

But I want the history
Of other women
I want to know the stories
All the stories
I still want to hear your stories

/repeat/



Stills from *Cyborgs* music video by Anna Kinbom 2017. Anna Kinbom sings on beaches at Fårö where Ingmar Bergman recorded the film *Shame* in 1968. She sings about the lack of women's history in Donna Haraway's idea of the cyborg.



CYBERFEMINISM IS A SONG

Cornelia Sollfrank wrote in a text
Cyberfeminism can be anything
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FIN



Performance by Anna Kinbom at *15 minutes of Shame* at Cigarrvägen 13, 2014.

Performance by Anna Kinbom at *Spring Clean*, Marabouparken, 2017.

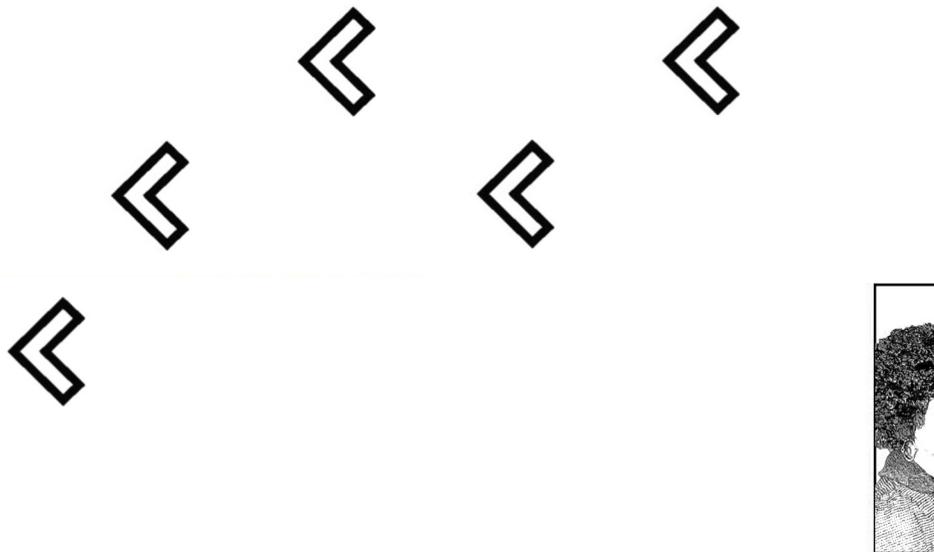


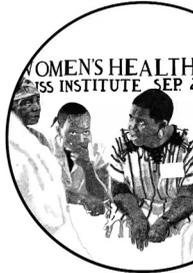
Vinyl EP by Anna Kinbom 2017. *Cyberfeminism is a Song* is inspired by Cornelia Sollfrank's text *The Truth about Cyberfeminism*, about cyberfeminism as strategy and method. Anna Kinbom wrote the song for 0s+1s Collective. The B-side of the record is the song *Cyborgs*.



Performance and installation view from Gotlands konstmuseum, 2017.

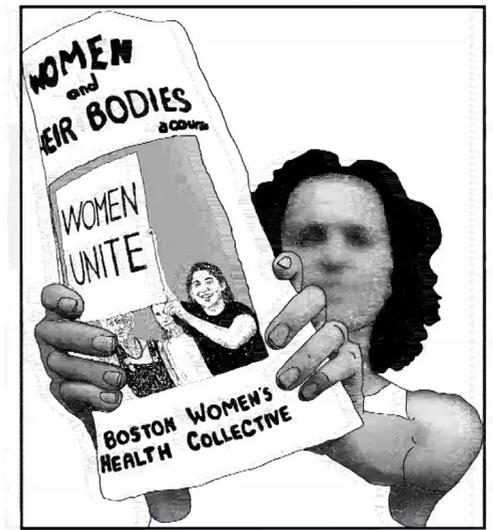
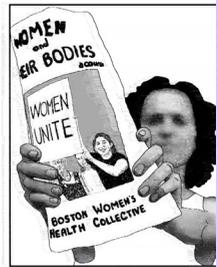
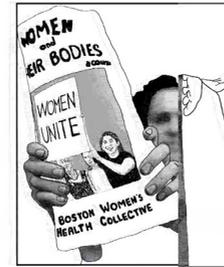
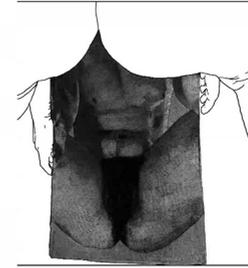
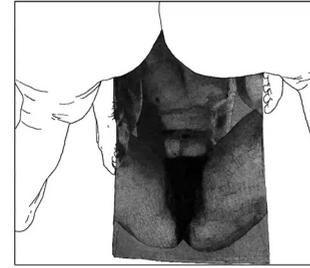
Still sequence from *Impatient Voices*
by Choterina Freer



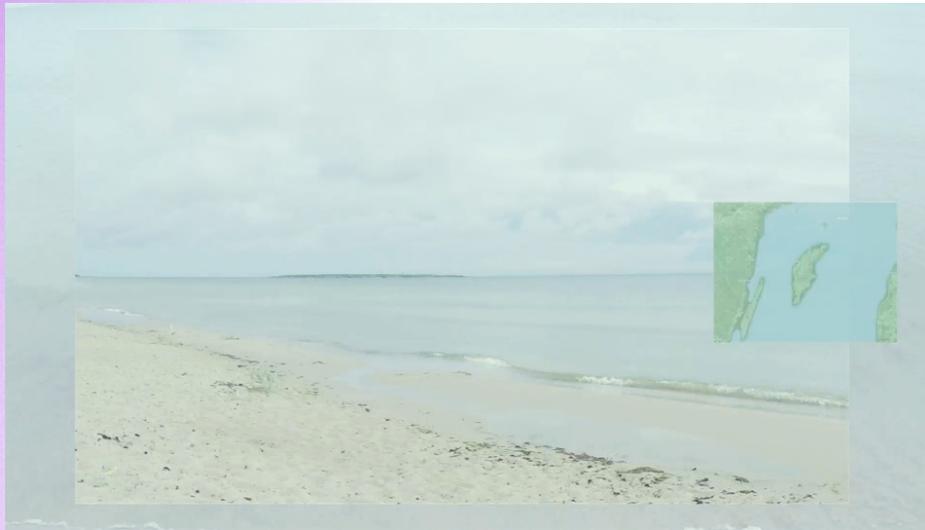




RAGGEDY ANN
FINDS OUT WHAT
SHE LOOKS
LIKE



Feminism and weapons on export



On this beach, at the southern point of the island of Gotland, in the Baltic sea between Russia and Sweden, I spent the first 15 summers of my life. These years, between 1975 and 1990, were also the last years of the Cold War. As a child, I played among the World War bunkers, collecting empty vodka bottles thrown overboard from military ships patrolling the Baltic sea. Soviet broadcast could be overheard on FM radio. The loud noise from rehearsing Viggen fighter planes flying low over the beach made the grown-ups grave and silent. Stories were told of suspicious vans parked close to fenced military protection areas, surely filled with Russian spies listening in to secret communication. When picking berries in the woods, I suddenly stood face to face with an armed soldier.

At home, my mother did all the cooking and cleaning, and expected me to help her out since I was the daughter. "Wait til dad comes home", was her standard phrase when we did something wrong. My father said that men were more intelligent and better at mathematics than women, although I had top grades in maths, and not my brothers. Women were not logic, he said, but emotional beings. This patriarchal time is distant now, but it still feels so recent in my mind.

In October 2014, the newly-elected Swedish Prime Minister presented a feminist government consisting of fifty percent women and fifty percent men. Foreign Minister Margot Wallström explained that she intended to pursue a feminist foreign policy, supported by the United Nations revolutionary Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security from 2000 when, for the first time,

women's organizations were invited to make women's role in war visible.

The feminist foreign policy would then permeate all areas of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs's activities. The action plan for how this will be addressed has six overall objectives concerning; Combating sexual violence in conflict situations, women's human rights in humanitarian situations, participation in peace processes, economic empowerment, and sexual and reproductive rights.

The Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs is headed by three female ministers. The Ministry has initiated an international network for women peace negotiators, they have networked with female foreign ministers and female ambassadors, and commissioned Swedish embassies to focus their work on women and peace. In June 2016, following Wallström's targeted campaign, Sweden received a seat on the UN Security Council. Since 2015, Sweden's efforts in Afghanistan between 2002 and 2014 have also been investigated with a focus on gender perspective.

In addition, foreign minister Wallström has positioned herself internationally through media statements. In 2015, she criticized Saudi Arabia's regime for crimes against humanity on the grounds that a blogger was sentenced to whipping punishment. She criticized Israel for pursuing an "aggressive politics" and named "Putin's reign of terror" after the murder of opposition leader Boris Nemtsov. From the point of view of the political right, these positions have fueled some ridicule. Even the international media has laughed at Swedish women fighting Putin with feminism. In interviews, Wallström has addressed this by quoting Mahatma Gandhi: "First, they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight against you, and then you win."

An area where feminist foreign policy has reached far is the introduction of gender perspective within the Armed Forces. Particularly through the development of the Nordic Center for Gender in Military Operations, a knowledge center based in the Stockholm suburb of Kungsängen, which was started in 2012 to train gender advisors for the Swedish defense. The Gender Center is also responsible for gender education in NATO, and foreign militaries from all over the world come here for courses, to become aware of the importance of gender perspective in military operations.

Sweden is thus trying to export gender equality to other countries' military forces. The idea behind this is that equality leads to more peaceful communities, as confirmed by anthropological research.

During the Cold War, Sweden was one of the world's most fortified countries. This little security-loving country wanted to assure its "non-alignment during

peace aimed at neutrality in war”, for example by digging a large number of underground military facilities including a secret reserve capital known as the “The Zone” in an unknown location in the country.

Sweden is full of bizarrely fortified sites, like the old Tingstäde citadel in northern Gotland, buried in the field, covered by reinforced concrete, protected by cannons that could circle 360 degrees, where the total food and money supply of the entire island could be stored. Due to the swift development of technology, these paranoid fortifications were often obsolete even before they were operational.



The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the disappearance of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact was the biggest change in European security politics in modern times. And it took place peacefully, without violence. In light of this and of technical progress, in the 90s the Swedish government realized that ground defences were hopelessly outdated and began dismantling them. Gotland’s four regiments were shut down. Underground aerodromes were abandoned, bunkers were boxed up, tanks were scrapped, ancient heavy khaki green bikes, ribbed underwear and itchy pull-overs were sold out to teenagers.

The new approach was to focus on high tech, monitoring and programming to meet the threats of the new worldview. But the money never came. We were said to live in an unusually peaceful time, and the state went on to search for new menaces, known as “internal threats” in the form of more or less militant small far right or left wing groups, which were busily mapped by Säpo, the security police.

The military alliance NATO, which was started after World War II as a counterforce against the Soviet Union, did not retire after the fall of the Warsaw Pact, but instead began to expand and embark on the former East. NATO has continued to grow, currently has 28 member states, and has become an active military force on a global scale. During the 1999 Balkan War, NATO attacked Serbia without a mandate from the United Nations, and has since then been commissioned by the United Nations in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Libya 2011. Today, the NATO countries represent 70 percent of the world’s total military spending.

In Sweden, the slimming of the defense rolled on, until one day in March 2014 when Russia annexed the Ukrainian Crimean Peninsula on the Black Sea. The UN General Assembly condemned the aggression. The old fear of the Russian woke again around the Baltic Sea and NATO stepped up their exercises. In October 2014 there was submarine hunting in the Stockholm archipelago again and memories of the Cold War were revived. Six months later, Defense Minister Peter Hultqvist ordered two new submarines of the privately owned weapons producer Saab for the price of 9 billion Swedish krona.

Suddenly, a strong rush for rearmament rose in Sweden. Many argued that the neglect of the defense over the past 25 years had been naive. In April 2015, a new defense agreement added 13.7 billion for the period 2016-20. The Armed Forces began re-militarizing Gotland. A brand new facility is now being built on the huge Tofta shooting range south of Visby, at a cost of one billion kronor. It is the first new establishment of a garrison in Sweden since the 80’s, and will soon host 300 soldiers.

During the Baltops exercise in the Baltic Sea in the summer of 2015; 17 nations, 5 600 men, 60 ships and 50 combat aircrafts participated, led by the United States. American Marine Corps disembarked on the Baltic shore of Österlen. The Center Party and the Christian Democrats changed their view in favour of a NATO membership and the right alliance parties wanted an examination of a possible entry into NATO. At the same time, an alternative Nato study was organized by disarmament experts Hans Blix and Rolf Ekeus. In May 2016, after a parliamentary decision, Sweden signed the Memorandum of Understanding, that makes it the country closest to NATO without being a member. This led many to question our neutral status in the event of a conflict.

Swedish foreign policy’s swing against feminism and peace work coincides with an opposite movement in favour of increased militarization. Militarization is growing not only in Sweden but throughout the world. UNHCR reported last year that more people than ever find themselves in flight from conflicts and persecutions, about 60 million people. In recent years, total defense spending increased worldwide. At the same time, nationalism is on the rise in European

countries such as Hungary, Poland, Greece, Finland and Turkey.

American Professor of Political Science Cynthia Enloe has researched militarization with a gender perspective since the 1970s and has published several books. In *Globalization & Militarism - feminists make the link*, she defines the concept of militarism as both a process and a set of values that include; Trust in a commanding hierarchy, the valuation of physical strength, the notion of a protector and someone who needs to be protected, the belief that it is natural to have enemies and the idea that a state without an army is no real state.

War makes men out of boys. In Ingmar Bergman's film *Shame* from 1968, about a fictitious civil war which takes place on Gotland, the male protagonist transforms from a crying, sensitive person into a ruthless man who takes control and kills. The making of a man through the collapse of society and its civil institutions, into a hobbesian natural state where brutal force prevails, is a common story told by male directors. But militarism also produces femininity. Mourning mothers, waiting girlfriends, wives who manage the household alone while their soldiers are away. Women cooking, sewing uniforms, providing pornography and sexual services to military bases, and eroticized entertainment for the troops at the front.

According to Cynthia Enloe, militarization works well with globalized capitalism, often at the expense of women. Since the 1970s, when major western companies have been looking for labour made cheap, they found it in young women native to military dictatorships. First Korea, then Indonesia, Vietnam and China. Swedish H&M recently opened a factory in the dictatorship of Ethiopia. The local military regimes ensure that the young female workers who make our clothes can not strike for better conditions. The consumption of tourist trips to Thailand is another example. In 2014, a military coup was carried out in the country, but well off Europeans continue to travel there unconcerned, not to mention the sexual exploitation of Thai women in which Western men participate.

In the same neo-colonial spirit, the largest exporters of weapons are situated on the northern, richer part of the globe, while buyers are in the South, especially in poor countries in Africa. A prosperous country such as Sweden enriches itself at the expense of more vulnerable people's security. Sweden's latest arms deal in February 2016 went to United Arab Emirates, a country where sharia law prevails, women's rights are severely reduced, and the majority of residents are Philippine maids, as well as Indian and Pakistani guest workers who struggle in bad working conditions and without civic rights.

Once upon a time, it was a male privilege to work for the state. Government jobs were well paid, well-considered and safe. With the breakthrough of

neoliberalism in the 1980s, there has been a shift of status and power away from the public sector to the private sector. Underfinanced government armies create a need for more "professional" alternatives. In combination with a global market, it has led to the emergence of private security companies. States outsource the worst assignments to poorer and more desperate workers through staffing companies. One of the best-known examples is Blackwater International, a company with a pronounced macho image, that was hired by the Pentagon to do the dirtiest jobs during the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Blackwater received criticism for their appearance when in 2004 they were hired to keep order on the streets in New Orleans after the chaos that followed hurricane Katrina. An assignment they performed in a nearly paramilitary manner, patrolling in SUVs with tinted windows, dressed in full combat wear, waving automatic weapons at ordinary citizens. After Blackwater's contract workers were convicted in US court for killing 17 civilians in Baghdad in 2007, the company changed its name and appearance.



The example of Blackwater shows how militarization and masculinization coincide, and how manhood is often constructed in direct relation to violence. The phenomenon has given rise to the concept of hypermasculinity. The Lego soldier as an invincible cowboy, a lone warrior, or the Japanese drifting samurai, ronin, who has been romanticized ad nauseam among teenage boys all over the world. This may seem like a bizarre macho culture that is far from the renowned Swedish equality. The action plan for feminist foreign policy even states the goal to counteract "destructive masculinities". But from Scandinavia comes one of the more hardcore propagandists for hypermasculinity.

In Anders Behring Breivik's *A European Declaration of Independence* mani-

fest, emailed out on the day of his terrorist acts in Norway in 2011, there is a lot of interesting things to read about manliness and feminism. Breivik himself wanted to become more aggressive and took anabolic steroids for the purpose. His role model is the Crusader, who goes to war to protect his culture. "A soft society is not sustainable," he writes. "It will be crushed as soon as it is confronted with more traditional aggressive societies." And: "radical feminism has been one of the most important reasons for the current weakness of Western civilization." Because western societies have been "feminized" it is necessary to "restore patriarchy". Anyone who reads the comments under news articles about feminist foreign policy realizes that a considerable group of Swedish men agree with him.



When in late 2014, Swedish Public Radio broadcast a programme about the new feminist foreign policy, with an all female group of invited guests, the reaction from these men was noisy. A self-appointed defense expert spoke of "world record in naivety". The show had to make a follow-up with only men invited, where Johan Westerholm, Social Democratic blogger and former military, recounted from his personal perspective: "When I was a cadet, if someone had told me: "you will not drive a robot boat or a coastal corvette in fifteen years from now, you're going to work with gender issues, I had turned around and walked away immediately!"

These protesting men expressed a fear that machoism would disappear from the Swedish armed forces. That the transformation that has started towards peacekeeping and conflict resolution threatens to scare off so called "manly" men. Older generations of Swedish men have, at an early age, been indoc-

trinated by military service in a militarized, masculinized ideology. Given how feminism has stepped forward in Sweden over the last 15 years, these men's fear is not difficult to understand. They have not been able to keep up with the rapid change.

It is sufficient to step into a regular newsstand to realize how strong the nostalgia of 20th century militarism is. Many lack the male community that the recurring military exercises meant for their identity as men. But even younger boys who do not find themselves in the dissolved gender roles consume war romanticism. World War II books sell in volume, surprisingly many read demanding heavy books about Poltava and publish their own websites about excursions to abandoned military areas. Not to mention the plethora of computer games whose only purpose is to kill as many as possible of "the others".

Growing up during the decades of the Cold War meant a mass medial drill in hyperpatriarchal thinking. On television, war films were displayed, where the Germans were evil and the Americans fair; women were young helpless victims whose sole purpose was to be conquered by English-speaking agents with nine lives who incessantly killed Russian, Chinese or just plain dark-haired villains. The films were called Goldfinger, Octopussy, Where Eagles Dare and Top Gun. All the little boys sat in front of the television set and shouted "I'm him! I'm him!" each time a white anglo-man showed his violent potential and megalomaniac control. With a licence to kill, as it were.

These male heroes were always rational and never exposed weakness. War was depicted as a motivated violence where the good win over the bad. The last expression of that paradigm was perhaps when George W. Bush made the phrase "just wars" known to the public. Righteous wars are wielded by those who have the power to define what is rational.

This rationality, and absurdly enough also the availability of weapons, is in most parts of the world still a prerequisite for access to the negotiating table in peace processes. Women who speak of peace, on the other hand, are defined as naive, a word commonly used by men to discredit and feminize their opponents.

For those present during the days of Cold War, the change that is now taking place in questions of security and defense, and of masculine and feminine, is epoch-making. In the Swedish debate, we may be experiencing a paradigm shift in the struggle between "rationality" versus "naivety". After decades of feminists analyzing, naming, criticizing and making visible the suppression techniques used to master women and subordinates, it is no longer possible to silence a woman with the label "naive". However, attempts are sometimes made. In October 2014, Feminist party spokeswoman Gudrun Schyman wrote

an article entitled "Christmas Eve for Patriarchal Defense Romantics" in the evening paper Expressen. In her text she criticised the rearmament rush that followed the submarine hunt. She was answered by the Liberal feminist Birgitta Ohlsson, who, under the heading "Gender theory does not touch Putin", smacked her opponent with the small but oh so efficient word "naive".

Another recent spokesman for the rational front is the "terrorism expert" Magnus Ranstorp, with the monopoly of expressing himself on "hard" issues in national media. He has also declared himself to be skeptical about the feminist foreign policy.

In this gender battle between the alleged rational and irrational, Swedish diplomacy plays an important role. Margot Wallström could never have realized her program without her high status international background. Her political experience as EU Commissioner between 1999 and 2010, as the UN's first representative on conflict-related sexual violence 2010-2012, as well as several former ministerial posts, she has the greatest political experience in the government.

A deserter from the masculine rational camp whose contribution has an impact on the debate is Robert Egnell. His title as a professor of "war science", position as an advisor to the Pentagon and visually acceptable heteromascular appearance combines male rationality with radical feminist views. An invaluable combination. Even rational men can nod approvingly when Robert Egnell in a debate article in Dagens Nyheter October 15, 2014, of course with support of academic research, claims that gender perspective increases the effectiveness in conflict resolution. That is how the Swedish mainstreaming feminism creates credibility.

The struggle between feminization and masculinization simultaneously goes on at an international level, where Sweden is often ridiculed for its feminine weakness. When the Swedish commander-in-chief Sverker Göranson in November 2014 confirmed that a submarine had violated Swedish waters, Russia's Deputy Prime Minister, Arkadij Dvorkovitj, called Swedish military "unmanly".

The diplomatic crisis that arose after Foreign minister Wallström criticized Saudi Arabia's regime for crimes against humanity also has aspects of gender war. Saudi Arabia's response was unusually strong, calling home its ambassador, cancelling visas for Swedes and declaring that Sweden should not interfere in other countries' internal affairs.

This fierceness led Maysam Behraves, a doctoral student in political science at Malmö University, to consider whether states can have gender roles. In his

article "Gender Clash: Why is Saudi Arabia so angry at Sweden?" published in YourMiddleEast.com, Behraves argues that Saudi Arabia is a patriarchal country whose leadership can not tolerate being reprimanded by a woman from a supposedly feminine country such as Sweden.

Even within NATO there are state gender roles. In both the first and second world war, the popular narrative is that United States stepped in as the great masculine strength of arms that saved Europe, the helpless woman in need. Today, NATO builds on an imbalance in which European countries rely on the US army. The US accounts for 3/4 of NATO's military force, investing 3.6 per cent of its GDP on its defense budget, while most European countries invest 0.5-1.5 per cent. This means that Europe is outsourcing its dirty soldier-work to poor American youth who are forced to fight for their livelihood in the United States professional army.

MILITARIST VALUES:

trust in a commanding hierarchy

valuation of physical strength

notion of protector and protected

belief that it is natural to have enemies

a state without an army is no real state



In return, Europe accepts US military bases and huge submarines carrying nuclear weapons that travel our seas. But within the EU today forces exist that are tired of being seen as the woman in the relationship. Rearmament winds blow within this organization too, whose purpose from the outset was to maintain peace through trade. The Union is developing a common military and police force, European Security and Defense Policy.

Militarism requires a thinking where there are protectors and those who need to be protected. Stories related to gender are a common way of justifying war. When the US decided to attack Afghanistan in 2001, it was said that the

aim was to save women from oppression and burqas, although it was really about revenge against the Taliban after the terrorist attack on the World Trade Center. Feminist researchers draw parallels to the ancient Greek myth of the innocent beautiful Helena, whose abduction was used as the pretext for the Trojan war.

The tale of Sweden as a defenseless woman, engaged in naive feminism, not able to comprehend the gravity of being threatened by the macho man Putin, is often told in the debate. Russian journalist Masha Gessen describes in her biography of Vladimir Putin how he has used violence in every little conflict possible since his youth. A man with a black belt in Judo, trained in the KGB, responsible for several murders of opponents and a heavy military rearmament in recent years. Right now he is in the process of setting up three new divisions with 45'000 soldiers along the west and south boundaries of Russia. With such a threatening man at close range, is not the woman entitled to a feminist self-defense? To fight back?



Here the question of feminist defense strategy is posed at its peak. The core is violence. Aggression is something that exists in human societies, albeit to varying degrees. Should we just accept it as natural? But violence is always carried out by someone who has power. By someone who has financial, numerical, physical, or armed superiority. The poor, minorities and women will always be losers in violent conflict. Therefore, physical violence can never be a solution based on a feminist approach.

The link between peace activism and feminism goes far back. A well-known example is the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, a tent camp

outside of an English nuclear weapons base where women protested between the years 1981 and 2000. Women's dominance in the peace movement is not evidence of peacefulness by nature, but due to the fact that the experience of war and militarism is gendered. Women are assigned different roles and are afflicted in different ways than men.

Feminist researchers have noted how rape is used as a strategic, efficient and cheap weapon in many wars. A woman who has been subjected to rape will never confide to a male soldier, even if he is wearing a light blue UN beret. This is one of the reasons why the Swedish armed forces aims to bring in more women as soldiers in their peacekeeping relations to address the situation of women in conflict zones. One risk with this strategy is that the colonial story of "white man saves brown woman from brown man" is only replaced by "white woman saves brown woman from brown man". Thus, the Swedish self-image as humanitarian superpower remains intact.

The zeal to hire women can also be a way to legitimize the rearmament. Another problematic aspect can be read about in the Foreign Ministry's action plan; That the feminist foreign policy is part of the "Sweden image", that is, the promotion of national identity, which takes place together with the powerful capitalist corporations of Swedish commercial and industrial life. Feminism reduced to a nationalist trade mark to make money on.

When Professor of Political Science Annica Kronsell recently examined the changes in the Swedish defence strategy, it became apparant it has been easier to implant gender perspective among male soldiers than it has been to attract women to the army. And no wonder that women are hesitant to join up. Within the US Army, which has more women soldiers, rape committed by male soldiers against female is common.

In 2014, Sweden celebrated 200 years of peace. The fact that Sweden was involved in the war in Afghanistan does not count, as questioned by Professor Emerita in Political Science Maud Eduards. We like to think that the boundary between war and peace is clear. But that has never been the case, and is even less so today, when security is not just about armed conflict between states, but about international terrorism, internal armed conflicts between different groups, and conflicts in families where war traumas feeds gendered domestic violence. National states are tied together by arms exports, multilateral military alliances and streams of refugees. In globalization, war is present everywhere.

The traditional way of talking about security in terms territory of nation states began to change during the 1990s. The term "human security" was coined in the UN in 1994 and involves a shift from state security to that of people, from strength of arms to preventive democratic work. Today, researchers hold

climate change, terrorism, diseases and the situations for refugees as major security threats.

WHO has found that more than a third of all women on earth have been subjected to violence by men. This means that the men who practice violence against 1 billion women are the biggest security problem in the world. A paradox lies in the fact that armies like the Swedish one are trained for battle, but are in charge of peacekeeping. If this government's feminist policy is serious, greater changes should be made. The entire Armed Forces should be redeployed. Sweden should have peace exercises instead of fight exercises.

Annica Kronsell describes in her book *Gender, Sex and the Postnational Defense* from 2012 how the Swedish defense changed in the postnational situation. But that direction was changed again in 2015, when Defense Minister Peter Hultqvist declared: "The Swedish defense capability should be strengthened, in the light of world-wide development" and "national defense is prioritized". Not a word about feminism, human security or preventive peace work there.

So the "gender war" between feminism and militarization in Swedish politics continues. This is illustrated by the double moral fact that Sweden per capita is EU's largest humanitarian aid donor, with almost 1 percent of our GDP, while still per capita being the EU's largest arms exporter, and one of the world's largest.

The Swedish government defends this situation with the importance of maintaining a high technology level in its defense research and being at the forefront of innovations such as JAS Gripen and the Erieye radar system. Because of this it is necessary to produce more military equipment than our army needs. That is, to export. Debate about Swedish arms exports has long been surprisingly absent. But the issue arose in the wake of the Saudi affair, which led to the appointment of a Military Material Export Review Committee, KEX. The KEX investigation proposed in its final report 2015 to tighten rules for arms exports based on a democracy criterion. The problem is that even if arms are exported to so-called democracies, which in itself is a stretchable concept, they are resold to other countries or groups at war. According to the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, Swedish weapons have been used in several armed conflicts in recent years.

The fundamental question for this feminist government will be whether they dare challenge Swedish arms exports. Ever since the dawn of Social democracy in Sweden, the party has collaborated with and supported big capital. The Saab Group, which is the largest arms exporter, is owned by the Wallenberg family. When the Ministry of Defense ordered new submarines in 2015,



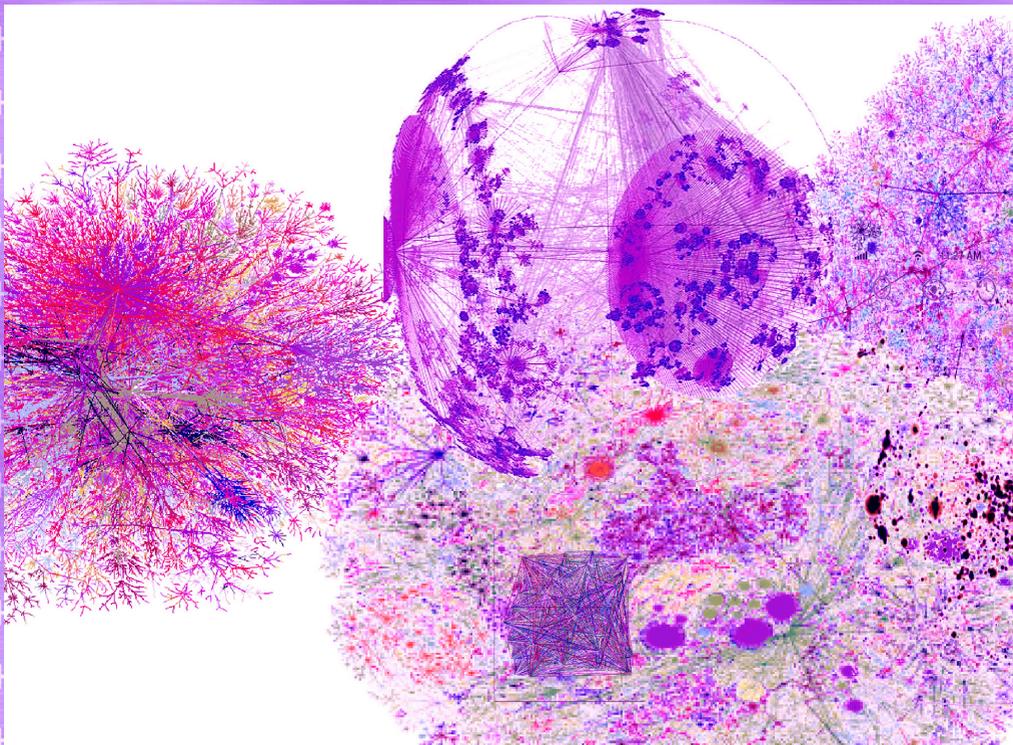
Saab's shares increased directly by 30 percent. And when exports to Saudi Arabia were threatened, Marcus Wallenberg and many other powerful capitalists protested in favour of what they with an embellishment called the "trade agreement". These are the same companies that secretly helped German corporations continue production of weapons for the Nazi regime during the second world war.

Does the feminist government dare to challenge SAAB, BAE Systems, Nammo, Aimpoint and the forty other Swedish based companies that produce and export military equipment?

Thoughts here go to Vilgot Sjöman's classic film *Curious Yellow* from 1967. One of the themes of the film is the non-violence defense. In fictional scenes, a converted defense force, consisting of both women and men practice methods from peace movements; such as blocking railroad tracks by linking arms to prevent the invading power from transporting its forces. Civilians exercise classical resistance techniques such as fraternization, non-cooperation and sabotage. The main character played by Lena Nyman is struggling with her own aggressions. She meditates, reads Gyllensten's alternative ten commands and talks with Martin Luther King in the sky about non-violence.



text/vo by sonia hedstrand



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