

The Controversy of Fourth-wave feminism

**IF THEY'RE
NOT
LISTENING
SHOUT
LOUDER**

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Through the last decades, what is broadly known as ‘the digital revolution’ has changed our earlier analog society. A few examples are the digitalization of music, movies and photos and the replacement of printed roadmaps, with GPSs. The use of cash appears to be dying out and payments are done with plastic cards or mobile phones. Newspaper businesses are in crises, due to the competition from online news sites and so on.

‘The digital revolution’ has marked the beginning of the Information Age and along with the internet, came the possibility to get instant information on multiple subjects. Search Engines as Google has realized the fictional Woodchuck’s Book, from the Donald Duck comic book stories, which Huey, Dewey and Louie frequently consulted when in trouble, and which appeared to have information and advice on every thinkable subject.

Today computers and smartphones are common property and millions use the Internet every day. With *Web 2.0*, Social Networking Sites (SNS) as facebook, Twitter, YouTube etc., has infiltrated the daily life of internet users, as a platform for computer-mediated communication. SNS are currently the world’s fastest developing personal networking tool and most of Internet users have a profile on at least one kind of Social Media (Lin & Lu, 2011). At June 27th this year, facebook announced that the number of monthly active facebook users reached 2 billion (newsroom.fb.com); to comparison, that is more than the entire world population was 100 years ago, when the Age of Industrialization declined (un.org).

Per definition, SNS offers a new way of communicating, where computers are the ‘employed collaborative tool’ we use to create group networks and to influence each other with (Lin & Lu, 2011). Rogers (2009) define SNS “(...) as sites where users can create a profile and connect that profile to other profiles for the purpose of making an explicit personal network” (Rogers, 2009, 24). Social Media allow the individual to share texts, images and to link to other profiles or articles, and furthermore SNS combine the opportunity to communicate personally (user-to-user) with the opportunity to communicate to the public media, where communication is shared with no one in particular (public sharing) (Lin & Lu, 2011), (Fuchs, 2014).

SNS has also become a platform for celebrities and politicians to reach people directly with



Picture 1.1: screenshot from Twitter

their meanings and messages, e.g. Donald Trump's (in)famous tweets. With Web 2.0, new forms of social activism have become possible, as users connect independently of their geographical or ideological differences and their position in society (Harlow, 2012). Social activism is highly influential and there are several

stories to be found, where people's life has been affected by the internet. This includes negative stories, as so so-called *shit storms* towards people or organizations and positive stories, where e.g. private collections have helped unfortunate people in need.

About three years ago, I started to notice an escalation in blogs and posts about gender and feminism. The posts were frequent and increasing through 2013-2014, concerning big and small subjects, ranging from discussing whether women should shave their armpits or not, equal pay to domestic violence and sexual abuse. People disagreed on relatively simple questions as; what does it mean to be a feminist, is equal pay obtained and is feminism still necessary? Both men and women, both the average user, celebrities and politicians from the West, appeared to have a meaning of these subjects and some began to declare themselves feminists, here a few examples:



Picture 1.2: Three male politicians, declaring themselves feminists (screenshots from Social

Unmistakably, feminism and calling oneself a feminist was becoming modern again and the internet was used by feminists, for both discussions and activism. And, while I was wondering if we were entering a new era of feminism, played out and caused by the internet and Social Media, I suddenly found myself in the middle of one. In 2015-2016, it seemed to have been accepted in general that a *fourth wave of feminism* had been firmly established and the question of gender equality began to spread from the internet, to other societal platforms and institutions.

Contemporary Feminism and the Internet

The postdoctoral researcher at Glasgow University, Ealasaid Munro discusses contemporary feminism in the article *Feminism: A Fourth Wave?* (2013). The article is written with offset in a Twitter-storm incidence where a woman, calling herself feminist, wrote an article concerning the female body ideal. She had a picture of a "*Brazilian Transsexual*" in the article and due to her choice of words and picture, she was accused of being transphobic. Eventually the woman had to close her twitter account because of so-called *haters*. As Munro (2013) state, this case initially looks like another media fight; nevertheless, it perfectly frames the issues of contemporary feminism, where 'old' feminists do not comprehend contemporary feminism. She further explains: "*Contemporary feminism is characterized by its diversity of purpose, and amid the cacophony of voices it is easy to overlook one of the main constants within the movement as it currently stands – its reliance on the internet*" (Munro, 2013, 22).

Why feminism (still) matters

Traditionally, literature define feminism's first wave occurring from 1849-1920s, the second wave in the 1960-1970s and third-wave in the 1990s, involving feminists who were born after the 1960s. Before I elaborate on the issues of contemporary feminism, I will look into what some users claim - that gender equality already has been reached and feminism is outdated. Yes, we all know what the Danish Knowledge and Development Center for gender, KVINFO, write on their website; that the lives of women in the West have changed radically within the past 40 years. Women have moved their working sphere from the private home to the public labor market, and even the most 'rigid men's fortresses' as the police force and the military is now open for women (kvinfo.dk). Nevertheless, in accordance to the Ministry of Employment, males do still earn 17-21% more than females and these numbers have been steady for the

past ten years (ligelon.dk). Furthermore, does research show that women do most part of the house work and they still take the main part of leaves in relation to having children, though a more open-minded role for men and fathers are beginning to show (kvinfor.dk).

More disturbing statistics show how women worldwide are continuingly physically suppressed. According to United Nations:

“It is estimated that 35 percent of women worldwide have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or sexual violence by a non-partner at some point in their lives. However, some national studies show that up to 70 per cent of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner in their lifetime” (unwomen.org).

Additionally, almost half of the women murdered worldwide in 2012, were killed by intimate partners or family members, where the same happened for less than 6 % of men the same year. One of 10 women worldwide, has experienced rape or forced sexual actions and more than 200 million females alive today, has suffered female genital mutilation. The list goes on, about child marriages, human trafficking, etc.

UN also mention women as a main target for *cyber-harassment*. Women, who state their opinions in public, e.g. politically, experience hateful comments, specifically aimed at their gender. In November 2014, four Danish female politicians Astrid Krag (S), Zenia Stampe (R), Özlem Cekic (SF) and Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen (EL) participated in a nation-wide documentary called: “Be quiet Woman!¹”, where they broke the silence surrounding these threats and abominations from facebook-users. They have to put up with threats of violent rapes and are called terms synonymous with their sex, and if they express disparagement, they are judged as “*prudes, that cannot take a joke*” (Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen in Jensen, dr.dk, my translation).

Another form of cyber-harassment is *Revenge Porn Sites*, where private sex recordings or nude pictures are shared in public, without consent from the girl/woman. In 2014, the young woman Emma Holten (born in 1991), broke the taboo around this, as one of the first. She stood forward after she in 2011 experienced that her ex-boyfriend had shared photos and videos of

¹The first of three programs with the original title: “Ti stille Kvinde!”, aired on DR 2, November 6th, 2014.

her, recorded from 2008-2010 (Holten, 2014). Since then, she has become an important character in the new feminism and in the fight against Revenge Porn.

Other examples of why feminism still is important, are the continuous underrepresentation of women in leader positions and in politics and how women are generally represented in public media. The English professors and researchers in subjects of politics, gender and media (Ross et. al), examine this issue in a research article, specifically referring to the English election in 2010. The background for the article was that experts had predicted that women would be particularly targeted by all political parties in this election and it was supposed to be an election *“where women’s issues (masquerading as “gender” issues) would at last be taken seriously, where women voters would be specifically courted and where parties which had poor records in selecting women candidates would be fielding more women PCs and putting them in winnable seats”* (Ross et al., 2010, 16). But, on the contrary, Ross et al. (2010) found that gender was not in the media’s interest and that female journalists were just as under-represented as the politicians. Those women who did appear during the campaign, were for most part attending as first-ladies, as a symbol of family or as other moral supporters. And not as competent political actors.

As an example, did the press coverage of Amal Clooney’s speech at United Nations Statistical



Picture 1.3: Twitter screenshot

Commission in March this year, have the same sound. The internationally well-known and highly educated Human Rights lawyer (who before marrying Hollywood Actor George Clooney in 2014, were Amal Alamuddin), gave a heartfelt speech about sexual slavery and ISIS, critically addressing UN as an organization. But, instead of focusing on the message of her speech, her status as wife and mother are now being highlighted and many news sites chose to make her appearance, her outfit and her ‘baby bump’ the focal point – as the tweet here from

TIME demonstrates (businessinsider.com).

These examples of differences between genders are numerous, but whether they show if feminism is important, appears to be subjective. Some holds on to biological explanations and see DNA as a natural reason for the imbalance, where e.g. poststructuralists argue that

whether we prefer dolls or cars as toys, pink or blue, or growing up to be tech-experts or nurses is a matter of constructed cultural influence and not biology.

Regardless of personal opinions, gender equality is important. As explained by KVINFO, in their 'Strategic Direction for KVINFO 2015-2017', gender equality is essential in order "(...) *for the individual person's opportunities to fully realize their potential as well as to a modern society that insists on everyone's potential being realized*" (kvinfo.dk). KVINFO recognizes, that gender equality is a topic that evokes feelings and that the discussion is burdened with stereotypes and oversimplified and caricatured concrete examples, which deludes the debate. That is why we need knowledge, analyses, and research. De facto gender equality is not only a question of gender, but one of human rights, including ethnicity, sexuality, rights for LGBTs² and can only be accomplished if both men and women, participate (kvinfo.dk)

Problem area - Contemporary feminism as a Controversy

With these few examples, I have highlighted two significant areas of contemporary feminism; First, how it has originated and continually is played out on Social Media and second, the essence of diversity between users and the lack of a mutual agenda. The internet has created room for a 'call-out' culture, in which sexism or misogyny can be challenged (Munro, 2013), but feminists, men and women does not only fight sexism, but also each other, which - from my perspective – only can complicate or even prevent equality goals from being reached.

However, when taking the perspective of a Techno-Anthropologist it became clear that this debate is not a rational discussion, but a scuffle - and these people probably do not want to agree. These internet discussions appear as a social phenomenon in form of a Controversy. As the researcher in Digital Methods and Controversy Mapping, Tommaso Venturini explain:

"In a few words, when you look for controversies, search where collective life gets most complex: where the largest and most diverse assortment of actors is involved; where alliances and opposition transform recklessly; where nothing is as simple as it seems; where everyone is shouting and quarreling; where conflicts grow harshest. There, you will find the object of the cartography of controversies" (Venturini, 2009, 262).

² LGBT is the international acronym and common term for 'Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender' (lgbt.dk)

In the article *Diving in magma: how to explore controversies with actor-network theory* (2009), Venturini explain that cartography of controversies is the exercise of to observe and describe social debates. It was introduced by Bruno Latour at the *École des Mines de Paris* in the late 1990s and it is currently taught in several European and American universities (Venturini, 2009). Birkbak & Munk (2017) explain that mapping controversies with the use of Digital Methods, involves an ambition to say something about social- and cultural processes outside the internet, and thus it has two purposes; One to use data and tools shaped by new digital possibilities and two; to say something about the world as a whole. In contrast to established internet research, which have foundation in media studies and communication, digital methods are based on a mixture of professional traditions with different Intellectual interests and science theory. Therefore Digital Methods should be understood as a pragmatic perspective to practical problems (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

In accordance to this, Venturini (2009) state that the cartography of controversies is an educational version of Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT is associated with Michel Callon, John Law and Bruno Latour. The term were devised by Callon around 1982 and describe their particular approach to scientific and technical innovation. As formulated by Law (2009) ANT is a disparate family of material-semiotic tools, affecting each other in webs of relation in the network in which they are located (Law, 2009). In ANT, networks involve all kind of actors, not only human beings and human groups, but also e.g. scientific and technical artifacts and all these being are referred to as 'actors' - defined as "*anything doing something*" (Venturini, 2009, 266).

The claim of contemporary feminism's reliance of the internet, also involve the question of *technological determinism*. In *Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts* (1992), Bruno Latour explain how technology appears to determine or compel certain actions. His exploration of the relationship between technology and users, reveals how certain values and political goals can be achieved through the construction and employment of technologies. Latour argues, that in order to understand how society works, we must understand of how technologies shape our everyday lives.

As I will elaborate later in this thesis, the Web 2.0 is a platform that empowers activism, democracy and user-engagement and with the perspective of the internet as an

anthropological field, it is therefore an obvious place for Techno-Anthropologist to go and analyze the essence of the socio-technical phenomenon a controversy is. By mapping controversies, a visual representation of its complexity of issues and actors are presented. Mapping is about being descriptive, about democracy and the voice of the common person, and in order to creating a more 'agreeable world' we must find out where to proceed and act.

Research Question

2.0

My argument is, in adherence to my observations and Munro (2013) that we are experiencing a fourth-wave feminism, with social media as a central key. Within the last few years, online discussions that earlier appeared invisible for many, has extended from the Internet and now influence 'the real world'. Sexism and lack of gender equality is once more on the political and societal agenda in the West. The debate take form of a controversy, with its many conflicting agendas.

In this Master's Thesis, I will with the example of Fourth-wave Feminism, through Controversy Mapping and ANT, show how controversies can arise through social media. Furthermore, I will through exploration and visualization find the actors and subjects in the discussions in order to identify find out where to intervene, in order to create a more agreeable world.

According to this, I will with the use of digital methods, conduct my own anthropological research of the internet. Perceiving it as my anthropological 'field' I will map the discussions in fourth wave feminism. This leads me to the following research question:

How does the role of Social Media, perceived as an anthropological field, affect Fourth-wave feminism? How can I, by the use of Digital Methods and ANT, map the Controversy and find the actors and issues of the controversy and contribute to a more agreeable world?

Background and Conceptual Classifications

3.0

Before I begin to unravel the controversy of contemporary feminism, I will in the following sections introduce the history of both the Internet and feminism. I find it essential to present which underlying ideas, motivations and causes affected both the development of Social Media and the feminism debate, into what they are today.

Delimitation: Denmark, the West or the World?

I will focus this project upon the history and current situation in the West, all though I recognize that feminism and human rights are equally important in Non-Western societies. However, Non-Western societies have had a considerably different process of modernization and have a noticeably different conception of the individual. Additionally, the perception of human dignity and the claim of human rights comes along with a certain economic security and material comfort; a security that stands in evidently opposition to Non-Western societies (Peterson, 1990). For the same reason, it would not make sense to focus on the development in Denmark alone, as we are, and always have been, highly influenced by the process of modernization in Europe and North America as a whole. Yet, sometimes I will mention Denmark in particular, to show or explain occurrences in our near environment.

Others more tangible reasons to concentrate on the west, are the low representation Facebook users from Africa, the Middle East and Asia. According to Internet World Stats, were 49,5% of the world population internet users on June 30th, 2016 and 22,9% were users of facebook, which corresponds the 1,8 billion. Of the total inhabitants of Africa, were 12,4% on facebook, versus 62,1% of the North American inhabitants and 39,5% of Europeans. Asia had the largest number of profiles with 33.3% of the total facebook profiles due to the large population, still only 13,8% of the Asians were users (internetworldstats.com).

Another reason to concentrate on the West is that several Non-Western countries are known for having limited freedom of speech and bans on e.g. SNS and video sharing sites as YouTube. As my project concentrates on the common user, limited freedom of speech and bans could bias my fieldwork.

The internet, the World Wide Web and Social Media

3.1

The internet has rapidly changed from being a new technology in the mid 90s that only a few comprehended, to a daily instrument so widespread that most cannot imagine a life without it. The internet connects the entire world and allows us to share and acquire information like never before. However, in daily life concepts are used unspecific and according to Munk (2012), for many, the everyday perception is that the internet and the World Wide Web (WWW) is the same. Likewise, the term 'Web 2.0' has become the normal phrase for describing platforms where blogging and user-interaction is happening.

In order to understand, clarify and differentiate terminologies, I will give an introduction to the most important 'internet features'. Therefore, I will in this section present how the concepts of the internet, WWW and Social Media are used in relations to digital methods, with a basic understanding for in what way it functions. Additionally, I will introduce the development of the internet from the beginning until today, to understand how the internet became a daily tool and a platform for activism.

My perspective will be Techno-Anthropological, and thereby socio-technical, and what I find important in this context, when researching and dealing with empirical data on the internet. I believe, some technical understanding is necessary when using digital methods, yet thorough technical explanations lie outside the framework of this project, and my purpose is to introduce them and give a general understanding. My approach is inspired by Anders Munk's article *The digital natives* (2012) and the book *Digitale Metoder* (2017) by Anders Birkebæk & Anders Munk, and their view of which infrastructures and technological practices that are attractive in the use of Digital Methods.

The World Wide Web

In the 1990s, technology really unfolded. The globalization of market and production, combined computer technology and tele communication into 'Information Technology'. Digitalization was rapidly progressing everywhere and the capacity of computers were doubled every other year, allowing communication through sound, images and movies.

3.1.a

In 1991, the Internet – the NFSNET – now began to separate themselves from the other nets and started to develop new functions, which turned the Internet from just being an electronic provider, into a source of information, available for commercial use and soon allowing search in documents. In 1993, the last piece of the modern internet was placed; the World Wide Web (WWW) is a so-called ‘hypertext’-programme, which can combine sound, text and images, and made the access to websites more user-friendly. It was developed by Tim Berners-Lee in the European Nuclear Research Center - CERN - in Switzerland. The idea of hypertext was not new at the time, but not until 1993 it was possible to realize (Christensen, 1997). WWW got its own protocol: Hypertext Transfer Protocol (http) and with this; the recognized address on the Internet: <http://www>. Http indicates that it is a collection of hypertext documents, hence a website. Other protocols, as the earlier mentioned smtp, could also be used if one wanted to transfer files or send e-mails, but in digital methods the primary use is http-addresses (Birkbak & Munk, 2017). Thus; the Internet and the WWW is not the same, as WWW is a programme running on the Internet. When one uses e.g. Netflix or Skype, they do not use WWW, but ‘only’ the Internet.

Another development that promoted ease of use, was when the first browser – or search engine - ‘WAIS’ was developed and gave people the opportunity to search for documents and information. It was soon replaced by a better browser, ‘Gopher’ and then ‘Mosaic’ in 1994, which positively showed people, what the Internet could do. In 1998, Google was developed and within a few years the term ‘to Google’ became a verb, basically describing what it means to search the Internet (Christensen, 1997), (Sena, 2011).

When one of the first websites was created in 1993 with assistance from HTML (Hypertext Markup Language), representing Bill Clinton and Al Gore, it was possible because of WWW. In the year 1995 WWW was dominating the Internet and NFSNET outsourced the administration of backbones to private companies, which resulted in an increase in backbones and made the Internet a large intermixed net (Christensen, 1997).

The internet from year 2000

The Internet still uses the TCP/IP technology, although it has been updated several times and the current version is called Pv6 (w3.org). In the original form, IP-addresses had 12 ciphers, which meant that 4.294.967.296 various addresses were available. But as early as in the mid

1990s it was clear that it would be insufficient in the future and a new system was implemented, the IPv6, where the addresses are four times as long (Birkbak & Munk, 2017). Browsers now use complex algorithms to produce their results, generated among other, by the frequency of search terms, number of user clicks and the personal browsing history (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009). The HTML-code was developed around 1991 and originally had 20 tags and is used to structure a website. It has, almost since the beginning of websites, been one of the main languages used to communicate information, particularly for the creation of websites and the current version of HTML is 5.01. Today many websites are using *Content Management Systems* (CMS), which is very user friendly. For private blogging, free systems as Wix and Blogger are easy to use, but professionals use more advanced CMS as Joomla and Drupal. CMS are popular, as one can make a website without knowing how to code in HTML (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

Web 2.0

The new Internet

After the rapid development in the 90s, the Internet economy reached a point where the inflow of financial capital had driven the value of many Internet Companies up to extreme heights and profits could not correspond to the expected market values. In 2000, this resulted in a crisis; the burst of the so-called 'dotcom bubble' and many Internet Companies went bankrupt, because they were built on the promise of future profits. In the years that followed the burst, it was very difficult to get Investors to start up new companies (Fuchs, 2014).

However, the Harvard Professor and founder of the publishing house *O'Reilly Media*, Tim O'Reilly, believed that the Internet industry was far from finished. On the contrary, he believed "(...) it was on its way to becoming a robust platform for a culture-changing generation of computer applications and services" (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009, 1). Together with Professor and CEO at *Standard Media International* John Battelle, O'Reilly studied why some companies had survived, and even prospered during the crisis, while others failed. The results made them understand the rules of 'the new internet'; the web 2.0, which thereby has its basis in the Internet crisis (Fuchs, 2014).

In 2004, O'Reilly and Battelle launched a conference: The Web 2.0 Conference, with the purpose to restore faith in the Internet Industry (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009). The conference was later known as *Web 2.0 Summit* and continued annually until 2011 and is not to be confused with the later *Web Summit*¹. According to Fuchs (2014) O'Reilly and Battelle coined the term 'Web 2.0', while Birckbak & Munk (2017) state that it is not clear who was the first to use the term. Nevertheless, web 2.0 embodies the transformation to a dynamic internet.

As O'Reilly and Battelle predicted, a change occurred in the use of the Internet from the 90s till the mid 2000s and the Internet changed from a static source of resource sharing, where users mainly went online to obtain information on diverse subjects. Web 2.0 is, contrary to 'web 1.0', user-centered and offers the possibility to interact online and allow participation in sharing of information (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009). Hence, web 2.0 does not refer to any specific technical update of the WWW, but to a large range of web applications with basic functions as Adobe Flash, RSS, AJAX and Java Script, that are necessary for the interactive function (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Web 2.0 has three important features: It is easy to use, it enables sociality and it gives users platforms, where they can publish (post) content in various forms, such as photos, videos, text or sharing hyperlinks, as opposed to the static Web 1.0 HTML based internet and without web 2.0 as a platform, the advancement of Social Media were not possible (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

Social Media

Because of these dynamic features, the use of Social Media has become almost synonymous with Web 2.0, while others argue that Social Media are not a Web 2.0 phenomenon, since the Internet even in its early days was a place for social interaction. One of the first settings for live communication were Chat Rooms. They allowed a new form of group interaction, where strangers would randomly 'meet' and exchange all sorts of information. Blogs, online private homepages, also existed in the end the 90s and were at the time called web-logs. Furthermore, the first wikis were released in 1995 and so was SNS as Classmates (1995) and the later MySpace (2003). However, these sites were not very popular at the time and the popularity of SNS came with Web 2.0 that offered the ideological and technological foundation for people to

¹ *Web Summit* has been annually held since 2009 and originally known as Dublin Web Summit (websummit.net)

make use of Social Media² (Fuchs, 2014).

Currently, Social Media exists in six forms: Collaborative projects, blogs, content communities, SNS, virtual game worlds and virtual social worlds (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). In the section of Methodology, I will elaborate on the different Social Media and their relevance for Digital Methods.

Abridgement

Today, Joseph Licklider's idea of an interactive symbiosis between humans and computers, has been realized and in the past ten years, the use of the internet has become more extensive than even O'Reilly imagined back in 2004 (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009). Additionally, the release of the first iPhone in June 2007, "(...) *has moved the Web from our desks to our pockets*" (O'Reilly & Battelle, 2009, 1). Consequently, the internet is instantly available and make connections and impacts possible, that could not be possible without it.

Social Media has also been developed in line with the original idea of the internet as a *peer-to-peer*-place, with network relations as the central point and from a digital methodical point of view, this gives excessive opportunities to reach the individual user (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

The idea with this introduction to the internet, the Web, Social Media and the ideas behind them, was to give an understanding for how and why the Web has become a place for discussing and for activism. In the Theory section, I will further elaborate of the socio-technical phenomenon the internet is, from a Techno-Anthropological perspective. However, before investigating what role the internet as a phenomenon has in fourth-wave feminism, I will present the ideology of feminism.

3.1.d

² MySpace had its peak in 2006 with 100 million devoted users. To comparison, in 2011 facebook (2004) had 500 million users (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).

The Waves of Feminism

It is fair to theorize that the conflicts of contemporary feminism abound in the earlier waves. Therefore, I will in this section look back to the occurrences that originated feminism and investigate why it was necessary to start a Women's Rights Movement in the first place. I will initially focus on the history of gender equality and outline the most important reasons for feminism to arise. Also, I want to sketch the tendencies that dictated each wave of feminism.

I chose to embrace the wave approach, although I recognize, as Mann & Huffman (2005), that individual and small-scale actions are risked being overseen and diversity overruled. However, I also believe that the wave approach has value when describing mass-based movements that rise and declines. Furthermore, the characterization of feminism occurring in waves, is well documented in a number of anthologies (Sanders, 2007).

I write this summary of waves, with main inspiration from Jytte Larsen and her history of women's equality through the centuries. I choose her viewpoint, as it positions the story of women's equality in the context of political history and not as a separate story itself, as many other sources do. I believe that the thought of women's liberation are connected to other theoretical, philosophical and political motivations in history and which begin in the 17th century and can be read in Appendix.

First-wave feminism, 1848-1920

England 1840

The groundwork for an actual Women's Movement, were formed in London 1840 during the *World Anti-Slavery Convention*; the first international convention against slavery. Anti-slavery originates from The French Revolution 1789 through the fight for human rights, where women took an important part in the resistance. Similarly, there were a growing resistance in USA (the Abolitionist Movement) against slavery and the American agriculture, which based their productions on slavery. Several women joined the Abolitionists and the *American Anti-Slavery Society* accepted men and women equally, also women organized separately. At the

Convention in London, the American delegation participated with a group of men and eight women (Larsen, 2010). However, the agenda of the Convention changed from issues of race to issues of gender, when the panel of arrangers refused the female delegated admittance. Instead, they were located on a balcony together with the wives and other women, and behind curtains. Consequently, the first point on the Convention's agenda was changed to whether women should be allowed participation or not. A vote was held, where most of the men voted against and caused great furor. It came to be a conference in the conference and the Women's Movement were born behind those curtains (Larsen, 2010).

Elisabeth Stanton

When the English Elisabeth Stanton (1815-1902) experienced this absurd scene, she got furious and instantly became a determined feminist. As the daughter of a lawyer, she was already familiar with unfortunate women, whose husbands had spent their entire family fortune, since they had no rights to what originally belonged to them. Previously, Stanton had invested her social time in the slavery cause, but in London she found a whole new world opening to her; a world of women engaged in female equality and feminism. Meanwhile in America, the colonist's ideal of freedom and equality sustained and political refugees continued to work for social reforms. Stanton had met the American Abolitionist and Women's Rights Activist, Lucretia Mott at the Anti-Slavery Convention and with heartfelt inspiration from America and the February Revolution in Paris, together the two women formed a *Feminist General Staff*, the 13th of July 1848 (Larsen, 2010). Inspired by Olympe de Gouges and Flora Tristan, Elisabeth Stanton wrote a combined Independence- and Declaration of rights: The *Declaration of Sentiments*, also called the *Seneca Falls Declaration*. It had the same nature as 'Declaration of Independence' and 'Declaration of the Rights of Woman' and Stanton simply added '*and all women*' to the sentence: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal*" (Larsen, 2010). She accused men of stealing women's rights with the same rhetorical sound, as the colonies accused the king for stealing their rights:

"He has taken from her all rights in property, even the wages she earns.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no

voice. As a teacher of theology, medicine or law, she is not known”.

(Stanton in Larsen, 2010, p. 47)

In this context, it is important to bear in mind that women were widely considered to be intellectually inferior, physically weak, emotional, intuitive, irrational and almost only suited for the roles of wives and mothers. A woman was expected to marry and to serve and obey her husband. They had no right to education and in the few jobs available for women, they were paid less than men were. In marriage, they became ‘*civilly dead*’, as Stanton formulated it. If divorced, they would lose their children. Simultaneously, men took away their opportunity to protest, by seeing it as inappropriate that women spoke in public (Larsen, 2010). On top of that, it meant that on a personally level, women were men’s possessions and they had no legal means that protected them from domestic violence and rape. Elizabeth Stanton expresses the psychology of suppression with this formulation: “*He has endeavored, in every way he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life*” (Stanton in Larsen 2010, p. 48). Based on the double standards for men and woman, Stanton demanded ‘*full equality now*’ (Larsen, 2010). The first *Women’s Rights Convention* were held at 19th-20th July 1848, with ca. 300 participants, whereof 40 were men. By combining the second American declaration of independence, with the third European revolution, Stanton sat the ground for an international women’s movement. The conference ended with 100 signatures (68 women’s, 32 men’s) on the *Declaration of Sentiments*, which led to the discussion and agreement of the Declaration of Women’s rights conferences all over USA. Two years after, a national network had been established (Larsen, 2010).

Denmark 1848

In ‘The year of revolution’ 1848, revolutions arose all over Europe, caused by effects of the growing cities, increasing trades and the beginning of the industrialization. New professions transpired, and owning land was no longer the only way of earning money. In 1848, Denmark also had its first political revolution. Encouraged by the February Revolution in Paris, citizens of Copenhagen demanded free constitution and after 6 months of groundworks, the *Constitution of the Danish Kingdom*, were put into practice on June 5, 1849 and meant the fall of the Danish

monocracy. The Constitution were formed by an assembly of old and new ministers, who had been appointed by King Frederik the 7th (Larsen, 2010).

The Danish Constitution included neither a human rights' declaration or a catalogue of rights. Political, civil and social rights were allocated under other chapters. Chapter seven ensured freedom of speech and religion and chapter eight settled classic civil rights, e.g. legal rights and right to property. These two chapters are formulated gender neutral, but in practice, women in Denmark were as just as *civilly dead* and were a subject to their husbands (Larsen, 2010).

Another point that were to be discussed by the ministers, was the claim for universal suffrage. The 'old' ministers – looking to France - feared 'tyranny of the majority' and 'mob rule' and one of their maneuvers were to decide, who should have voting rights. The ministers entrusted citizens with voting rights from a selection of gender, age, self-sufficiency, impeccability and citizenship (Larsen, 2010). But the real issue, as questioned by Larsen (2010), is: Why were women even mentioned in this context? They were only mentioned in the council's negotiations this one time, and no one remarked it. Women were discharged as potential voters first thing and universal suffrage became a discussion of which *men* should be allowed voting rights. Undeniable, women's suffrage was not unimaginable for men, as some historians according to Larsen (2010) claim, but simply unwanted.

The fight for Women's suffrage

In 1869, in the wake of the war between North and South states in America (1861-65), the slavery stood to fall and the feminists mistakenly presumed that women's suffrage would be a part of the 15th Amendment, that was to include the free slaves in the electorate. Elizabeth Stanton and other feminists saw it as alarming that an amendment would only grant black men to vote and not women, while other feminists saw it as a step in the right direction. But, after a few years of disagreeing, the two camps reconciled and founded the American National Women's Suffrage Association (ANWSA), with Elizabeth Stanton as chairman (Larsen, 2010), (harvard.edu). The formation of ANWSA was an important step in the fight for women's suffrage. However, in the absence of rights, it was still the state that controlled what elections should be held and whether women could participate. Consequently, most of the women's

work were done locally. By 1910 the struggle for women's right to vote, had become a mass movement with suffragist all over the Western society (harvard.edu).

In Denmark 1871, the Women's Movement and The Labor Movement were established as departments of international organizations. The founding of Danish Women's Society³ caused struggles with the authorities, just as they did in France, England and Germany. Nevertheless, in the 1900s a breakthrough finally came and Women's suffrage began to win ground in the West. With a constitutional amendment in 1915, women were granted voting rights in Denmark, following Norway in 1913. In 1918-1920 most of the European countries followed, including USA (ipu.org). (See Appendix I for full list over women's suffrage). With voting rights for women, many saw the fight for equality as won and done (Larsen, 2010), and with this victory the first wave of feminism diminished.

Summary and basic assumptions of first wave

In the previous chapters, I have chosen to outline the political and philosophical background of early feminism and show that women struggled in general for a mutual cause; suffrage, property ownership, and civil rights equal to white men's. Details about rights for e.g. prostituted and unmarried women are left out, as well as the story of the many other men and women who took part. Still, I have chosen to focus on the women mentioned above, as they gave significant contributions to women's liberation and equality, no matter their race or class, and in spite of their own personal costs.

International Women's Day (IWD) 8th of March



Succeeding the fights for suffrage, the first National Women's Days was held by the Socialist Party of America in USA from 1909-1913. The day was marked by mass meetings across the United States.

With encouragement from the German feminist, communist and activist Clara Zetkin (1857-1933), the International Socialist Congress arranged an international version of the celebration on the 19th of march, 1911. The first IWD held in Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Denmark, with more than one million attendants. In the following years, more countries followed and held IWD on various dates. In 1921, the day was officially changed to March 8 (global.britannica.com).

³ Dansk Kvindesamfund

Second-wave feminism, 1960s-1970s

The post-war years

After the first wave of feminism, a violent period followed in Europe and North America, with World War I, the great depression, and World War II. It was a dark period with Holocaust, nuclear bombs, Gulag and fascism. Built on the ruins of the civilizational break down, a new world order was created, striving for obligational international cooperation, peace, democracy and respect for human rights. The earlier mentioned *Universal Declaration of Human's Rights* (UDHR) were agreed in UN in 1948 and as chairman for UN's Woman Commission, the Danish Bodil Begtrup (1903-1987) was assigned a great deal of credit for the prohibition of gender discrimination in the UDHR (Larsen, 2015), where it in article 2 says: *"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."* (UDHR, article 2, un.gov).

This meant that legally, feminism had succeeded in 1948, along with rights for people of color and other minorities. Women could now vote and attend school and university. They could be divorced, rape and physical abuse within marriages were illegal, though, divorces were socially frowned upon and men were rarely convicted for domestic violence. Even though women had gained equality in law, there was a large gap to equality in life, where they were still treated as inferior, second-class citizens (Larsen, 2015).



The female sign with the fist is perhaps the most famous symbol of the new women's movement (Kvinfo.dk).

The 1960s and 1970s

According to Fraser (2012), second-wave feminism seems to have acted out as a *"drama of three acts"* (Fraser, 2012, 4). In first 'act', the *"movement for women's liberation"* emerged from the rebellious political movement *New Left* and opposed male domination in capitalist societies in the post-war era. In the 1960s, the west Europeans and North Americans were living in a period of economic prosperity with the nuclear family as an ideal. But, for many

women this felt like a prison, where they basically were domestic slaves. The American author and activist Betty Friedan (1921–2006) was one of the most famous second-wave feminists and authored the book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). The book is commonly credited for kick-starting second-wave feminism, by addressing ‘*the problem that has no name*’, which was the increasing feeling of unhappiness the American housewives had, in the post-war years. In 1966, Friedan co-founded the *National Organization for Women* (NOW) that wanted to narrow the equality gap between genders. Friedan was a firm believer of women’s rights and managed to get many male ‘allies’, using detailed rationalizations of how traditional gender roles limits women as well as men (Munro, 2013), (Fraser, 2012). Fused with other feminists, they increasingly turned their attention to women’s inequality in society. Their assumptions were that the society was patriarchal and they created the phrase ‘*the personal is political*’ to emphasize the power of the patriarchy had on every aspect of women’s private lives. Their overall goal was a complete and radical ‘renovation’ of society and culture, where women would be equal with men in all respects. But with time, the idealistic energies faded and the feminists turned towards identity politics (Fraser, 2012).

Redstockings Movement

In second ‘act’, the feminist movement turned their attention to cultural politics, when a growing neoliberalism was declaring war on social equality (Fraser, 2012). In 1969, some of the second-wave activists joined in a group they named the *Redstockings* to symbolize and unite the two traditions; the ‘Bluestockings’⁴ and ‘red’ for Revolution. The Redstockings were activists, who would spread awareness of women’s liberation theory and slogans as ‘sisterhood is powerful’ that would become known in largely every household. They would hold protests, e.g. the Miss America Protest in 1968, as a reaction to the growing objectification of women that grew in advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s and speak-outs that would break taboos around subjects as abortion (redstockings.org). Around 1970, the Danish version of the Redstockings Movement were also founded. The focus was upon individuality and society, as it

⁴ A ‘Bluestocking’ were a ridiculing name for a literary woman. The name originated around 1750, where Elizabeth Montagu, wanted to create an assembly with discussions of society in an intellectual and healthy tone, in contrary to playing cards and gossip. The term Bluestocking, refer to the plainness of their dresses and the blue worsted stockings they wore, instead of the usual and official black silk stockings, which men found ‘inappropriate’ (global.britannica.com).

was in the American sister group and likewise, their primary expression were demonstrations and happenings with themes of equal pay and free abortion. With massive demonstrations on the Town Square in Copenhagen, women burned their bras and trashed their wigs and make-up. These actions shaped the image of a feminist as being an 'angry female and a socialist' (kvinfo.dk).

The beginning of differentiation among feminists

Second-wave feminists fought for a mutual cause and largely perceived women as a homogenous group, without taking notice of the differences in the singular category of 'women'. In example, Betty Friedan was a white middle-class suburban housewife and unintentionally she thereby symbolized the underlying racism and classism of the second wave. She was a respected feminist, who made it clear that second wave was about breaking down gender stereotypes and a cause of just as great importance to men. Yet, her discourse acted as a catalyst to third-wave feminism, because of the lack of diversity (Munro, 2013).

That is why, according to Fraser (2012) 'act three' is still unfolding. In the article *The Decentering of Second Wave Feminism and the Rise of the Third Wave*, by Mann & Huffman (2005) the second-wave feminists shared a focus on differences, but ended up with two opposing political groups; "one that embraced identity politics as the key to liberation; and one that saw freedom in resistance to identity" (Mann & Huffman, 2005, 58). The first group, was mainly black and ethnic women, who criticized second-wave feminists for white solipsism and not seeing the multiple oppression they experienced. The second group were postmodernist and post-structuralist feminists who would make a distinction between gender and sex. While a person can be born male or female, he or she is taught to be feminine or masculine by culture and society. They are taught behaviors and therefore they can be changed - a key difference in what first-wave feminists believed (Mann & Huffman, 2005). The white second-wave feminist, the 'essentialist' women or the 'sisterhood', were evidently trying to create a unified women's movement, but failed to unite the two political camps. They were truly concerned about this, as they felt that they did not ignore differences. On contrary, most of these women had their background in the Civil Right Movements, the New Left and the anti-Vietnam War movement and were deeply aware of issues of race, class and imperialism. Nevertheless, they failed to interact socially with ethnic groups and their writing became theoretical and analytical. The

later conclusion from a second-wave feminist, Wini Breines, was that “*Without knowing one another they could not make a movement together*” (Breines in Mann & Huffman, 2005, 61) and in order to join, feminists need both a political and personal understanding. Consequently, viewing themselves as ‘outsiders’, the black and ethnic feminists started a movement of their own (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

Third-wave feminism, 1990s

According to Mann & Huffman (2005) it is commonly understood that third-wave feminism were started by young women in the 1990s who grew up during second wave. But, on contrary it was pioneered by women of color and ethnicity, who out-spoke one of the defining characteristics for the third wave with their critique of the white, middle-class biases of the second wave. Also, they were the first to use the term ‘third-wave’. With this in mind, third-wave feminism should be viewed as a new discourse or paradigm, rising from the second-wave, that was somewhat more *against* the second wave, than *after* (Mann & Huffman, 2005), (Sanders, 2007). However, in Gillis, Howie & Munford’s book ‘*Third Wave Feminism - A Critical Exploration*’ - a collection of academic discussions of third-wave feminism - see the third-wave agenda as “*neither incompatible nor opposed*” second wave (Sanders, 2007, 5). They argue, that it had the second wave critique of beauty culture, sexual abuse and power structures and also acknowledged the complex feelings of defining political and social issues and power structures, including the ongoing wage discrimination, access to education, domestic violence, eating disorders, globalization, racism and classicism - and therefore shortages a single definition (Sanders, 2007).

Postfeminism

While studying third-wave feminism, the term *postfeminism* show up occasionally, sometimes associated with third-wave feminism, sometimes as a discourse itself and sometimes as describing the “*death of the women’s movement*” (Lotz, 2007, 76), hence anti-feminism. According to Lotz (2007) ‘postfeminism’ are inconsistently used in the media, media studies and in feminist studies. However, the media-defined concept of postfeminism, which often uses it as synonym with third-wave, should be seen different to the academic-defined idea, which describes that the ‘post’ is not meant to be interpreted as an *after*, but more as connecting

feminism to postmodernism, post-structuralism and post-colonialism and does not indicate the death of women's movement (Munford, 2007).

According to Lotz (2007), the term emerged in the 1980s and dissimilar to the diverse third-wave feminism, postfeminism is linked to second-wave feminism and the incorporation of many of the central goals in second-wave feminism and the image of empowered women in the violent patriarchy, which among critics assumes postfeminism to be white, bourgeois and radical. On contrary, Sanders (2007) define a postfeminist as a young, conservative feminist, who is openly against feminists of the second wave.

Four perspectives of third-wave feminism

Mann & Huffman (2005) argue that four main perspectives contributed to third-wave feminism, which I will introduce here.

1. Intersectionality theory as developed by women of color and ethnicity

The first two perspectives Mann & Huffman (2005) presents, are the two 'camps' who ended up disagreeing during the late second wave; the first was the intersectional feminists who embraced identity politics. In the early third wave, women of color and ethnicity denounced white middle-class feminism, as they felt oppressed in multiple ways and not just in relation to their gender. They had a macro-structural and relational perspective on oppression the women of color and ethnicity joined together. Since their fight was rooted in their identity as ethnic women or their social position, it is often referred to as *identity politics* (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

However, they did not succeed in acknowledging their own diversity in ethnicity, class, sexual orientation and race and the coalition experienced the same 'tribalism' as they criticized in second wave. In the 1980s groups gathered under names as 'Africana Feminists' and 'Black Feminist Thought', but they largely succeeded in ignoring their differences and it was rarely mentioned (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

2. Postmodernist and poststructuralist feminist approaches

The other 'camp', were the postmodernist and poststructuralist, who based their analysis on French philosophers as e.g. Foucault, "who argued that all group categories could and should

be deconstructed as essentialist" (Foucault in Mann & Huffman, 2005, 62). In contrast to the Intersectional feminist, this group used multiplicity to deconstruct all group categories. This deconstruction stood in sharp contrast to identity politics – a non-identity. With the notion of identity as a construction of language, discourse and cultural practice, the repeating confirmation of identity can be prevented. And by deconstruction, identity and behavior can be known and thereby changed. A number of feminists embraced this Foucauldian idea and perceived identity as restraining, dissimilar to liberating. The fluid and unstable concept of identity, seemed to present more opportunities than limitations (Mann & Huffman, 2005). Even though there are excessive differences, intersectional theory and postmodernist and poststructuralist theory have common ground and share the same epistemological approaches. They both embrace the thought of knowledge and gender roles as socially constructed and both call for polyvocality of the multiple existences (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

3. Feminist postcolonial theory

The postcolonial feminism, often referred to as global feminism, draw on both theories of postmodernism/post-structuralism, and intersectional theory (Mann & Huffman, 2005). They agree with the postmodernists and poststructuralists perception of identity as constructed, but in contrast to intersectional theory, the postcolonial feminists focus on micro-level concerns. They investigated the relation between the local and the global and how both external and internal restrictions affect women's lives across the world. Where second-wave feminists perceived a nation or a society as their macro-unit, the feminist Postcolonial theory lifted it to a global level. The thought was, that in a world where everyday lives are increasingly affected by global economy, and a constant flow of people and information moves over international borders, studies must reflect these realities. Postcolonial feminists used disparity, deconstruction and decentering to provide new understandings of these global developments (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

An example of a postcolonial feminist perspective, is seen in the paper *Whose Rights?* by V. Spike Peterson (1990) who criticize the human discourse for being "*Western, liberal, and individualist*" (Peterson, 1990, 308) and asks where the outrage of sexual slavery, sex tourism, bride burning and genital mutilation is. Postcolonial feminists were e.g. criticized for their micro-level perspectives and for portraying third world women as "*ignorant, tradition-bounded,*

and victimized” (Mann & Huffman, 2005, 68), opposed to Western women as well-educated, up-to-date and with the ability to control their bodies and lives in general.

4. The new generation of young feminists

Even though young women did not initiate third-wave feminism, they did make the most visually strong contribution. In the 1990s, young white western women were nearer to equality



The Spice Girls, 1996. An example of the contrasting visual expression of the 90s (billboard.com).

with men than ever before. They grew up believing they ‘could do anything a boy could do’, had the same educational opportunities and, as the economic female disparity comes later in life and usually with motherhood, they were also economically equal (Sanders, 2007). So, while second-wave feminist burned their bras and tossed their make-up, young women in the 1990s

embraced everything “*bright, beautiful and girly*” (Spencer, 2007, 300). They claimed the word *Girl* and distanced themselves from the agenda of second-wave feminism by promoting ‘Girl Power’ as a new philosophy, in example as the 90s girls band ‘The Spice Girls’ did. In their autobiography from 1997, “*Girl Power!*” they explain: “*Feminism has become a dirty word. Girl Power is just a nineties way of saying it. We can give feminism a kick up the arse*” (The Spice Girls in Munford, 2007, 267). Feminism was a ‘dirty word’ because it had become synonym with an angry, man-hating and non-feminine woman, and these ‘90s girls’ celebrated femininity – even tabooed symbols as Barbie Dolls, high heels and fashion magazines (Munford, 2007). The limits between the patriarchal ‘good girl’ and the postfeminist ‘bad girl’ was no longer clearly defined and 90s girls were contrasting in their expression; They wore miniskirts with military boots, combined with a ‘Hello Kitty’ t-shirt and a lot of eyeliner - still claiming male privileges. At the same time, one could show their own individual defined femininity, also symbolized by the five Spice Girls’ styles and personality: Scary, Sporty, Baby, Ginger and Posh (Munford, 2007).

Though the 90s girls were criticized by older feminists for being a mischievous media generation and stamped their expression as “*babe feminism*” or “*lipstick feminism*” (Mann &

Huffman, 2005, 73), Girl Power represented an embracement of individuality, a new control of feminism and the triumph of 'image power' over 'political power' (Munford, 2007, 274). It mirrored the postmodernist fondness for localized mini-narratives, but also the deconstruction of the second-wave image and celebrated contradictions in resistance of identity (Mann & Huffman, 2005).

Abridgement

While first- and second-wave feminists fought for a mutual cause, third-wave is challenging to define, with its themes of class variance, racial diversity and the multiplicities of gender and - female identity. As Spencer (2007) résumés in the afterword to *Third Wave Feminism - A Critical Exploration*' the many contributors, have their own thought of what the essence of third wave was. Even within the four main perspectives to third-wave feminism that Mann & Huffman (2005) outline, there are plenty of discussions, contradictions and criticisms, and some even devalue the term 'feminist'. These women's different agendas all play a part in the foundation for the controversy of the contemporary fourth-wave feminism.

The overall aim for this thesis, is to find the actors of fourth-wave feminism, unravel the issues and through deconstruction and reorganization of facts, in close attention to ‘matters of concern’, show the way towards a more agreeable world, than the one formed in the Controversy.

In this section I will elaborate on the theories and concepts, which are relevant for Controversy Mapping; which mainly are ANT and the methods developed from ANT.

A fundamental figure and source of inspiration throughout my thesis, is the French sociologist and anthropologist Bruno Latour, who is known for his innovative and critical work in the study of Science and Technology Studies (STS) and I will also mention his thoughts of ‘why critique has run out of steam’.

Actor-Network Theory

ANT was developed in the 1980s, mainly by the scholars of STS, Michel Callon, John Law and Bruno Latour. It describes their particular approach to social theory, science and technical innovation, based on the contemporary perception of scientific and social order, which they saw as obvious asymmetric and homogeneous. An example, are sociologists’ attempt to analyze explanations and interpretations of scientific and technological content, without neither reason or scientific method, but in accordance to existing social forces such as classes, organizations or professions (Callon, 1986). Instead, ANT enquire that we, instead of thinking in terms of two- and three dimensions, think “*in terms of nodes that have as many dimensions as they have connections*” (Latour, 1996, 370).

ANT perceive all objects; humans, things, technologies, ideas, texts etc. as heterogeneous relational parts a network, where they affect each other and nothing exist nor have a reality outside the network. This describe the remarkable about ANT; it does not add more importance to either human or nonhuman, society or nature, micro- or macro level perspectives, knowledge or power etc. They are all nodes in a socio-technical network of material-semiotics, affecting each other and ANT is a method to describe the simultaneous

relation between things - *material*, and the relation between concepts - *semiotic* (Latour, 1996), (Law, 2009).

The network and the actor

Latour (1996) stresses that the 'network' is not a thing and should not to be associated with the common technical understanding, in the sense of a telephone-, train- or sewage network. In ANT, the network is a recorded movement of a thing and it was in order to point out this crucial aspect that the word 'actor' was added. Likewise, are the term 'actor' not to be confused with the dictionary definition of an actor, as always being a human. In ANT, an actor is in accordance to the semiotic definition – an *actant* – someone or something that acts with no relation to humans in specific, but as anything that acts or receives activity from others (Latour, 1996).

Three principles of ANT

ANT is perceived as much as a method as a theory and is "*about a network-tracing activity*" (Latour, 1996, 378). In accordance to this and in order to avoid the difficulties concerning the traditional approach, ANT obey to three methodological principles.

The first is *agnosticism*, which according to Callon (1986) favor the abandonment of any prior assumption to a network, i.e. causal conditions or the accuracy of actant's accounts. ANT inflicts impartiality and require that all interpretations happen through descriptions and examinations, as blind empiricism and high theorizing has no value is for ANT (Latour, 1996).

The second principle are *generalized symmetry* and is comparable to David Bloor's Principle of Symmetry¹, related to 'Sociology of Scientific Knowledge' (SSK). However, in ANT the principle has been significantly extended. The aim in ANT, is not only to explain conflicting viewpoints and arguments in a controversy in the same terms, but the researcher must choose what seems best adapted to the specific task and then convince "*his colleagues that he made the right choice*" (Callon, 1986, 199). In this way, generalized symmetry applies not to what is true or false, nor to epistemology, but to ontology and to the different kinds of actors in the world (Law, 2007).

¹ David Bloor co-established 'The Strong Programme', as a sociological research model used within 'Sociology of Scientific Knowledge' (SSK). The purpose was to develop an equal approach to both false and true beliefs amongst sociologists (Pinch & Bijker, 1987).

The third is *free association*, which commend the abandoning of any of the researcher's presumed elements, between natural and social events. The researcher must cast aside hypothesizes concerning any boundary and consider that the chosen collection of categories, the mobilized objects and the relationship between them, are all topics from actors' perspective. This means that researchers cannot start investigating objects and topics, even if they seem relevant. Instead we must '*follow the actors*' in order to explain their world perspective and identify different issues (Callon, 1986). In example, can modern societies only be understood if they are recognized as a part of a network of enactments between heterogeneous relations, in where the social, technical and conceptual are unraveled and reorganized (translated).

Inscription

With background in the study *Laboratory Life* (1979), by Latour and Woolgar, concerning the construction of scientific facts, Latour also refer to the term *inscription*. I will not elaborate on the *Laboratory Studies*, but in very short present the term: Inscriptions are what is behind written scientific work, which are constructed through even more texts and articles. Behind those articles are inscriptions; graphs, labels, tables, maps etc., obtained through *inscription devices*. Latour define inscription devices as an instrument, independent of size and cost, that "*provides a visual display of any sort in a scientific text*" (Latour, 1987, 68).

Translation

With the purpose to explain how a creation or re-creation of a relation between two entities are ensured, ANT theorists have developed a number of terms. *Translation* is one and also one of the core concepts of ANT. As noted by Callon (1986), to translate is to 'displace' and translation is a process and never a completed accomplishment (and it may fail). Translation is therefore both a practice and an outcome. Law (2007) explains that translation is about shifting and making equivalent and with the movement of terms, linking and changing them. Callon (1986) describe *four 'moments' of translation* with the examples of the classic case, regarding a drop in the stock of scallops in northern France, where biologists bring new knowledge to local fishermen, about how to rise the stock. Callon (1986) note that displacement can happen in all phases:

1. Problematization

With diverse written documents (inscriptions) the biologists convinced the actors that their problems would be solved by following the researcher's strategy. In this way, the three biologists displayed themselves as indispensable in network. This example shows how problematization, by a single question, can involve a series of actors by demonstrating identities and the links between them and in that way illustrate identities and what the different actors 'want'.

Through the 'obligatory passage point' (OPP) alliances can be created. OPP can be seen as a phase where actors through displacement, reach a shared understanding of a topic and the OPP becomes a crucial factor in the (re)formation of a network.

2. Interessement

This term explain how certain entities accomplish the process of persuading others to undergo translations and telling them what they 'really want to be', as when the biologists retain the other actors in the certain position or 'role' that were proposed for them in the programme. Furthermore, the mechanisms of Interessement, produce a favorable balance of power, where power-relations can be negotiated and changed, however this can be a long and complicated process. Success is obtained, if an entity accepts the interessement, and successful interessement necessary before enrollment can occur (Callon, 1986).

3. Enrollment

In the process of enrollment, roles are defined and connected independent of pre-established roles. When entities enroll in a network, they contribute to strengthen patterns in the network, associated with the actors who accept them. The essence of enrolment is "*multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the interessements and enable them to succeed*" (Callon, 1986, 205).

4. Mobilization

Before translation can be obtained, actors must find out who speaks in the name of whom and who represents whom. These questions is, according to Callon (1986), important to find answers to, if a project is to succeed. As in the processes of Interessement and Enrollment, typically only a few actors are involved; in Callon's (1986) example, they are scallops, fishermen

and scientific biologists. But, as scallops are non-human, they can only represent themselves through their acting and in this case, the three researchers negotiate to represent the scallops. As the word indicates, to mobilize is to make entities mobile, who was not already mobile. Through the choosing of spokesmen the involved actors are first displaced and then reassembled and if consensus is achieved, the *"margins of manoeuvre of each entity will then be tightly delimited"* (Callon, 1998, 210).

Latour (1987) list the steps of translation with these headlines: Translation one: *I want what you want*. Translation two: *I want it, why don't you?* Translation three: *If you just make a short detour ...* Translation four: *Reshuffling interests and goals*. Translation five: *becoming indispensable*. These headlines are slightly different from Callon's (1986) 'moments of translation', nevertheless they embrace the same meaning; displacements of goals, inventing new goals, inventing new groups and winning cases. The point is that translation is achieved when one entity has replaced another. What started out as problematization, has unraveled a series of negotiable hypotheses and founded of an obligatory passage points, they are reorganized and a new network of relationships has been built. Nevertheless, the obtained consensus and the new alliances, can be questioned and renegotiated any moment (Callon,1986). By participating in the process of translation, the specific entity lets itself enroll in the network and one thing can change into another and through the model of translation, the power-relation in a network can change. This means, that micro-level actors can expand and grow, through relations they have managed to create and *black-boxed*.

Black-box

According to Latour (1987), the term black-box refers to a verbal expression from 'cyberneticians', used whenever a piece of machinery or a set of commands is too complex to explain. Instead, they drew a box - which they know nothing about - except that it has an input and an output.

In ANT, a black-box contain matters, we do not have to reflect upon anymore, or, as Latour (1987) phrase: *"a well-established fact or an unproblematic object"* (Latour 197, 313). That being things which meaning are given and which affects we do not have to continuously consider and question, e.g. 'scientific facts'. However, this could also be thoughts, habits,

objects etc. and the more an actor can place in a black-box, the more relations he or she can build.

Even though macro-level actors can act as it is, a black-box is never permanently closed, but can be opened and negotiated. But, as Latour (1987) state, the only way for new undisputed facts can be mobilized, is by turning it into another black-box (Latour, 1987).

From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern

In the essay “*Why Has Critique Run out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern*”, Latour (2004) is taking base in the many wars defining our time, science wars, wars against terrorism etc. He asks, if scholars and intellectuals as himself, also should be in war, as he is worried because traditional assumptions about critical thinking, now too often is abandoned, which threatens our planet.

Latour (2004) refers to an article in New York Times, that questions whether global warming is human related and caused by CO₂, and thereby urges people to make the lack of scientific facts, a primary issue. The article result in some soul-searching from Latour, as he bear in mind, that he has spent quite some time in the past, trying to display the lack of scientific certainty, rooted in the ‘construction of facts’. However, even though he “*intended to emancipate the public from prematurely naturalized objectified facts*” (Latour, 2004, 227), he finds it troubling that the public now so easily question scientific facts. That is, to a point where he as a supporter of scientific facts, is found naïve, when he does not immediately accept conspiracy theories, as that the attack against Twin Towers should have been performed by CIA.

He further resonate, that he and other intellectuals made the mistake to believe that there was no efficient way to criticize matters of fact, except by moving away from them and directing one's attention toward the conditions that made them possible. This meant, accepting much too uncritically what matters of fact were. He explains: *Critique has not been critical enough in spite of all its sore-scratching. Reality is not defined by matters of fact* (Latour, 2004, 232). From Latour’s perspective, a part of the problem is that contemporary academics, have taught their students how to bypass traditional appeals to critical thinking and evidence, and by taking a critical position, means that you are always right. On that basis, Latour (2004) argues that the critical mind must renew itself through realism and be relevant again, but through a realism

dealing with matters of concern, not matters of fact. The renewal is, that instead of taking one of the two positions critics can take: 'the fairy position' or 'the fact position', Latour advocate for 'the fair position', one that is positioned as neither fetishes or facts and is not asking epistemological questions as 'how do we know it?' Instead, we should ask ontological questions as 'why do we know it?' Critics should not remove rugs from under the feet of naïve believers, but be the ones who offer arenas for the participants to gather in (Latour, 2004).

things and Things

In other words; instead of invalidate other people's arguments, people should gather around them and things must become *Things* again. According to Latour (2004), when he opens the newspaper, *Things* have become *things*, like the case of Global Warming. Where 'things' refer to material objects, Things are the socio-material collective, that requires a place where conflicts can be negotiated, motivated by diversity of perspectives, concerns and interests.

Latour continues his arguments in 'compositionist manifesto' (2010), where he ask us all to engage in *cosmopolitics*; which is based on the ideology that all people are entitled to equal respect and consideration, no matter their citizenship status or what other affiliations there happen to be (global.brittanica.com). This acquirement from Latour, demand that we instead of debunking facts, reassembles them in close attention to 'matters of concern' and create a more agreeable world.

The Cartography of Controversies

How to approach WWW

The mapping of controversies is the exercise of observing and describing social debates and as an extension of ANT, it is faithful to the principles of reflexivity and objectivity.

As noted, Controversies are a mess of disputes, arguments and actors and a complicated network to access and networks are infinite, with no ending or beginning, bottom or top (Latour, 1996) Gerbaudo (2012) warns, that there is a danger when approaching the field of social media; a possibility of being overwhelmed by the sheer abundance and diversity of the communicative practices the social media convey. In accordance to this, Munk (2013) explain, that this is why we need a 'field guide' - in resemblance to those ethnographers had, when

visiting an unknown native tribe in a foreign territory. Munk (2013) states, that without a field guide, WWW is just a channel from which one can observe and collect material to a research field already framed off-line. *“With it, on the other hand, a range of new possibilities open up for delineating relevant communities, identifying interesting field sites, locating informants and following exchanges based on the associative work of actors online”* (Munk, 2013, 294).

On basis of these arguments I will outline a ‘field guide’, mainly based on Venturini’s article *“Building on faults: how to represent controversies with digital methods”* (2010), but my approach to Mapping Controversies are also highly inspired by Birkbak & Munk (2017).

Why map?

By mapping, the actors and disputes are visualized and become open interpretation. As Venturini (2010) explain, the task of unfolding the complexity, should never be separated from the task of *ordering such complexity*. Exploration and representation always come together in cartography and description alone takes us no nowhere. Hence, we map in order to *describe* and *interpret*, however, these should not be confused (Venturini, 2010).

In accordance to ANT, both Latour (1996) and Venturini (2010) express that the social cartographer must own the same objectivity as if they were to draw the map of a coastline, and will right from the start, deal with maps. Though, such maps in the beginning, will be rough outlines and unspecific (Venturini, 2010). But, if the maps should be of any use, the social cartographer must present maps, which are less confusing and complex, than the collective dispute portrayed. This means, that the cartographer should not just mirror the dispute, but make it readable with an adjustment of observations and descriptions (Venturini, 2010).

How to map?

Venturini (2010) suggests that three precautions are taken, when moving in the field of Controversy Mapping; *Adaptation, Redundancy* and *Flexibility*. By adaptation, Venturini (2010) mean, to do the tasks by covering up as many layers as possible, without interpretation. With Redundancy the field is covered and maps are made and usually, one map does not cover the field. Flexibility, is the possibility to move through the chain of actors and issues and allows other scholars to inspect each link of the chain and propose corrections or alternatives. In the process of making the map readable, it should never be done in a way,

that prevent the possibility of getting back to the original complexity and proposing alternative simplifications (Venturini, 2010).

Furthermore Venturini (2010) list the following commandments of social cartography:

- 1. you shall listen to actors' voices more than to your own presumptions;*
- 2. you shall observe from as many viewpoints as possible;*
- 3. you shall not restrict your observation to any single theory or methodology;*
- 4. you shall adjust your descriptions and observations recursively;*
- 5. you shall simplify complexity respectfully;*
- 6. you shall attribute to each actor a visibility proportional to its weight;*
- 7. you shall provide descriptions that are adapted, redundant and flexible.*

(Venturini, 2010, 200)

I will not go deeper into explaining these recommendations for now, as they cover what already has been put in writing. In the section of Methodology, I will return to and elaborate some of the points.

Methodology

5.0

My fieldwork will be a systematic way to study actors and issues, through Digital Methods. As Marres (2015) point out, digital sources are likely to have been organized and structured in ways that make them highly suitable for controversy analysis. Online information make it possible to unravel controversies across different sites and through time (Marres, 2015).

As the Cartographer of this Controversy, I expect to find what is on the respective actors' minds and which issues they tend to care about. The mapping will be done in order to locate these issues and list the actors, but also with the purpose to find actors in form of 'spokespersons' of the 'disagreeing minorities'. Furthermore, I expect to find actors, who are taking action 'offline' and finally, I *hope* to find actors, who are creating *arenas for the participants to gather in* (Latour, 2004).

In order to answer my research questions in accordance to readability, I present my fieldwork as done in 'acts'.

Act One - Follow the (Social) Media

5.1

Social Media as an actor

It seems to be indisputable by researchers that the most obvious actor in contemporary feminism, is the Internet and Social Media and it is a therefore a natural choice of investigating and discover more actors and locate issues. Following Latour (1992), it is equally important to investigate the social structures in the relationship humans in between, and the relationship between humans and nonhumans.

In the Background Section, I introduced the concept of Social Media and as noted, Social Media currently exists in six forms. I will present these six categories in short, based on the general concept, but listed by Kaplan & Haenlein (2010). I will add explanation related details to the Social Media I found relevant for this thesis and discuss their strengths and weaknesses in short, from a methodological perspective and the view of ANT.

Classification of six forms of Social Media

1. Collaborative projects

Examples of collaborative projects are databases called Wikis and Social Bookmarking Applications, which facilitate group-based collection and rating of Internet links or media content. Collaborative projects are founded on the highly democratic idea, that a shared effort between users result in a better outcome, than a single person's effort could accomplish. *Wikipedia* is a collaborative project and with its size and engagement from users, it is an obvious choice for use in Digital Methods and I will elaborate on Wikipedia later in this section.

2. Blogs

Blogs are the Social Media's parallel to the personal website, usually managed by a single person. As noted earlier, blogs existed already in the early days of the Internet and come in various variations, from personal diaries to journalistic perspectives, concerning more or less serious topics. Blogs are open for interaction with readers in form of comments below. Most recently, have vlogs (video-blogging) become popular among the youngest users e.g. on YouTube Channels. In this thesis, some actors found, perform as bloggers.

3. Content Communities

In Content Communities, content as texts, photos, videos etc. are shared between users. A few examples of Content Communities, are YouTube, Flickr, Pinterest and Slideshare. In Content Communities, users are not required to create a personal profile, but usually it gives access to more features on the site. I have chosen not to include Content Communities in my fieldwork, although I recognize that YouTube, with its one billion monthly users and tradition for documenting episodes of e.g. police brutality, could be an attractive place to investigate. However, I do not believe that video material are suitable in this thesis.

4. Social Networking Sites (SNS)

As I outlined in the main Introduction, SNS are applications that allow users to connect with each other and share content both publically and personally. SNS are extremely popular and include Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat etc., which make them an obvious choice in the search for user-data.

Below, I will elaborate on the most popular SNS and why they are imperative my fieldwork.

5. Virtual Game Worlds

These platforms consist of a three-dimensional environment, where users appear in the form of personalized avatars. Avatars can interact as they would in the real world, according to a set of strict rules. Virtual Game Worlds include online multiplayer role-playing games as 'World of Warcraft', but also private game consoles as Sony's PlayStation and Microsoft's X-box.

6. Virtual Social Worlds

In this second group of virtual worlds, users also have a personalized avatar, but they are allowed to behave more freely. Users, who preferred to be called 'residents', can interact with other avatars, take a walk or enjoy the virtual sunshine. They can also design their own furniture or clothes. An example of a Virtual Social World are 'Second Life' and 'The Sims Social'. These two last platforms has no relevance to my thesis and I will not go further into discussing them.

Wikipedia

Wikipedia is one of the online encyclopedias, that goes under the term Wikis. The word 'Wiki' is Hawaiian and means 'quick' or 'fast' and the first Wiki – WikiWikiWeb – was launched in 1994 (Birkbak & Munk, 2017). Wikipedia was established in 2001, where a group of editors and volunteers engaged in the development of an online encyclopedia. As a Collaborative Project, Wikipedia invites everybody to contribute and articles are open for everybody to edit, but exist of a large number of volunteers, so-called 'Wikipedians', who contribute to the online encyclopedia. With its global network it has become exceptional "*in scale and scope*" (Niederer & van Dijck, 2010, 1369) and is available in 275 languages and read by 365 million people around the world. This make Wikipedia the 6th biggest website in the world (Ford & Wajcman, 2016).

The Human Factor

Despite that, the many contributors and the fact that it is open for everyone to edit, commentators question the quality, accuracy and liability of Wikipedia. However, according to Niederer & van Dijck (2010) and Birkbak & Munk (2017), Wikipedia is constantly checked and edited. It has several automated editing systems, as well as emerging tracking tools



(WikiScanner). Furthermore, Wikipedia has a hierarchical structure where the contributing administrators, registered users, anonymous users and 'bots' (short for 'software robots') are used to evaluate the ability of the encyclopedia to meet standards of neutrality and accuracy and to prevent public bias and vandalism. In addition, several researchers has intentionally added incorrect information to existing articles, expecting that most of the errors would remain. But, surprisingly all the errors were corrected within few hours (Niederer & van Dijck, 2010). Niederer & van Dijck (2010) find that the focus on Wikipedia's human liability, overlook the role of technology and Wikipedia should be perceived as a sociotechnical system, a complex collaboration between human users and automated content agents. They argue that Wikipedia's nature and quality should be evaluated in terms of collaborative qualities, and not only of its human users.

Birkbak & Munk (2017) further explain that there is a category for articles without references, called 'articles lacking sources', which the Wikipedians use to give note to each other, when an article are without reference, which are about 205.000 in august 2017.

Putting this dispute on reliability aside, and taking a digital methodological perspective, the access to the user is significant in opposite to an organization or a private person, which for the most part concerns one-way communication. Wikipedia articles links to each other and Wikipedia receive links from all over the world, and according to Birkbak & Munk, (2017) this alone should put Wikipedia in a high relevant category for Digital Methods.

Biases in Wikipedia search

Wikipedia differentiates from other encyclopedias, with the many national versions that are not translated from the same original (Birkbak & Munk, 2017). Because of this, there are differences between how subjects are presented nationally. An example is the difference from the Danish Wikipedia and the English, when searching for 'fourth-wave feminism (fjerde bølge feminisme)'. On the Danish site, there are no notes of a fourth wave, but only information on 'feminism' as a general term, which mostly concerns the first and second wave. Furthermore, is the neutrality of the site questioned, when searching for gender equality (ligestilling). Hence, geographical differences can affect research done with Wikipedia, which is important to have in mind.

An explanation of the lack of feminism in the Danish Wikipedia, can have reason in Birkbak & Munk's (2017) notion of Wikipedia's volunteer culture, which they describe as dominated by young, white men with IT-skills. Additionally, Ford & Wajcman (2016) state that Wikipedia has a gender problem. They argue, that exact numbers are difficult to estimate, but no one disputes that the majority of contributors are male and co-founder of Wikipedia, Jimmy Wales, has recently acknowledged that the Wikipedia Foundation had 'completely failed' to meet its goal of female Wikipedians to 25% by 2015. Ford & Wajcman (2016) find this important, as Wikipedia has emerged from what they call 'the collaborative utopia': a world model of free, decentralized participatory democracy and now is one of the biggest websites in the world. Nevertheless, when studying the gender gap in Wikipedia, they found that even with the rich tradition of feminist STS, the very identity of a Wikipedian, still reflects the history of techno-science as an almost exclusively male province (Ford & Wajcman, 2016).

Social Networking Sites

As noted in the Introduction, SNS are currently the world's fastest developing personal networking tool and according to Lin & Lu (2011), the majority of Internet users has a profile on at least one kind of Social Media. To discuss the reason for the popularity of SNS, lies outside the framework of this thesis, however Lin & Lu (2011) find in their study: 'Why people use social networking sites' that *"(...) enjoyment is the most important factor affecting the behavior of SNS users (...) and by enhancing users' posting photos, films, and weblogs, and sharing links on their profiles, SNS service providers will be able to make users and their friends feel interested and have fun"* (Lin & Lu, 2011, 1159).

By taking offset in the most popular SNS, I will in this section briefly elaborate on the obvious similarities and differences between them. Naturally, there will be a difference in what most users choose to share either public or private, but there are also cultural variances between the SNS; an obvious example presented by Birkbak & Munk (2017), is the difference between LinkedIn and Snapchat. However, the special culture, were easier to identify in the 'early' days, where SNS had more distinguished features. Now, they have somewhat adopted many of each other's qualities. In example, had Instagram originally no function for status updating, but now it is possible to share a daily 'story', which are positioned at the top of the display. Likewise,

5.1.b

had Twitter no 'like' function until November 2015, where the original star-shaped 'favorite'-button, was replaced with the current heart-shaped 'like'-button (blog.twitter.com).

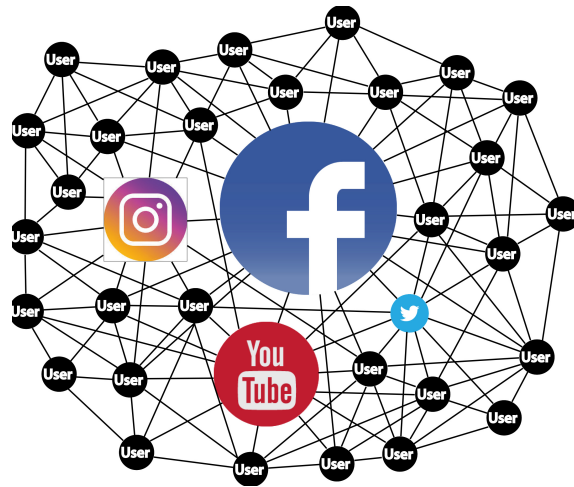
Facebook

Facebook is the most popular SNS with 2 billion users and at June 22nd this year, the first 'Facebook Community Summit' was held. Here, CEO and inventor of Facebook, Mark Zuckerberg, announced: "*Our full mission statement is: give people the power to build community and bring the world closer together*" (Zuckerberg, facebook.com, 2017). On Facebook, users can 'follow' public persons or organizations or connect through approved 'friendships'. Following

means, that a user gets new posts and updates from the person they follow, if publically shared. What is special for Facebook is the group formation culture. Any user can create a group, concerning any random topic and as Zuckerberg (2017) explain, people does not participate in groups on facebook, because it looks good on their resume, but because they want to. As an example, he mentions the Nigerian-born woman Lola Omolola, who created a secret group called *Female IN*, with the purpose to give women a safe place to talk about serious issues, as e.g. domestic violence. In their real life, they were silenced by family members, but the group gave them a place to speak up (Zuckerberg, facebook.com, 2017).

Twitter

With its 328.000.000 monthly active users, Twitter is the fourth most popular SNS. Twitter is known as a 'microblogging service' and was launched as early as 2006. On Twitter, users can follow others or be followed, without approval or friendship. The messages delivered are called 'tweets' and what is characteristic for Twitter (and other microblogging sites) are the limitation of 140 characters in one tweet. The limitation caused that Twitter-users developed shorteners for usernames (@) and the hashtag #, which Twitter-workers turned into clickable URLs. In that way, user can easily connect to another user (tag) with the @, while the hashtag # are used to



Picture 5.1: The human-nonhuman network and main actors of Social Networking Sites. The visual comparison are measured with the digital tool Bubble Lines and edited in Adobe Illustrator. The numbers are from august 2nd 2017 (dreamgrove.com)

emphasize a subject. These markers are a form of hyperlinking, which make it easy to follow subjects in subject-networks. Users also can 'retweet', which means sharing other users' tweets, with the RT-button and with few clicks, users can share information of their own choice (Birkbak & Munk, 2017), (about.twitter.com).

Instagram

The third most popular SNS is Instagram, with 700.000.000 monthly active users and was launched in October 2010. It is the most popular photo (and now video) capturing and sharing application and offers users, with use of their smart phone, to share their - filter manipulated - life moments instantaneously. Instagram requires a profile and users can choose to either share photos in public or within an approved network of 'followers'. Like Twitter, it allows users to describe their pictures and videos, using the # symbol, and tag other users with the @ symbol, before posting them. Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati (2014) have, by crawling the API of Instagram, found eight major categories of pictures: Self-portraits (now known as selfies), friends, activities, photos with embedded text, food, gadgets, fashion and pets (Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati, 2014).

The Nonhuman factor

Where Niederer & van Dijck (2010) questioned the many commentator's focus on the human-factor, Facebook has been called out for not doing enough to optimize the technology factor. This abounds in a revelation of U.S Marines, who had shared naked photos of women, without their consent. As a consequence, Facebook took down thousands of materials related to Revenge Porn and on April 5th, Facebook announced the development of new tools to prevent this (Chokchi, nytimes.com, 2017).

From a Latour (1992) perspective, this incidence can be explained with 'prescription', which "*is the moral and ethical dimension of mechanisms*" (Latour, 1992, 157). With the basic example of the invention of a door, it is when technology fail – or with accidents – we hear "*what the machines silently did*" (Latour, 1992, 158). Comparing this to Social Media, the easy enablement of facebook-groups also has a 'dark side'. Latour (1992) argues that humans behave ethically and with moral, because of centuries with dictation of values, duties and ethics. When programming technical artefacts, humans try to resemble their learning through programming, yet, it is when accidents happen, we discover their limitations. When accidents happen – e.g.

when a space shuttle explodes, to use Latour's own example - thousands of transcripts and descriptions are made in order to uncover the failure (Latour, 1992).

Zuckerberg's announcement of new tools for Facebook, helping to prevent revenge porn, is an attempt to correct 'the accident of technology'. What else is new, is that groups and admins will be able to remove 'bad actors' from groups. Whether or not these tools are adequate, will time show. However, Zuckerberg has – as he mentions in his speech - realized that he has a responsibility to do more than just connect people (Zuckerberg, facebook.com, 2017).

Following Latour (1992), technologies shape our mind and relationships with the world and that is why, neither technology nor humans can be overseen in a network. No matter the good intention behind a technology, even a door, it will discriminate against some people, because of their prescriptions.

Abridgement

Social Media enable interpersonal connections across distance, including Facebook's secret or public group formation and establishes strong or superficial connections.

From a methodological point of view, user activity reveals cultural significance. Liking a page or following a political party, is not just a click, but allows deeper examining into culture. Users does not only share content, write messages and organize their profiles, *"they also click, watch, read, navigate, and so forth, thereby providing additional data points that are stored and analyzed"* (Rieder, 2013, 2). Furthermore, does the hashtag present promising instruments for controversy analysis, as key-words in social media discussions or themes are easily identified (Marres, 2015).



5.1.c

Act Two - Using Digital Tools

5.2

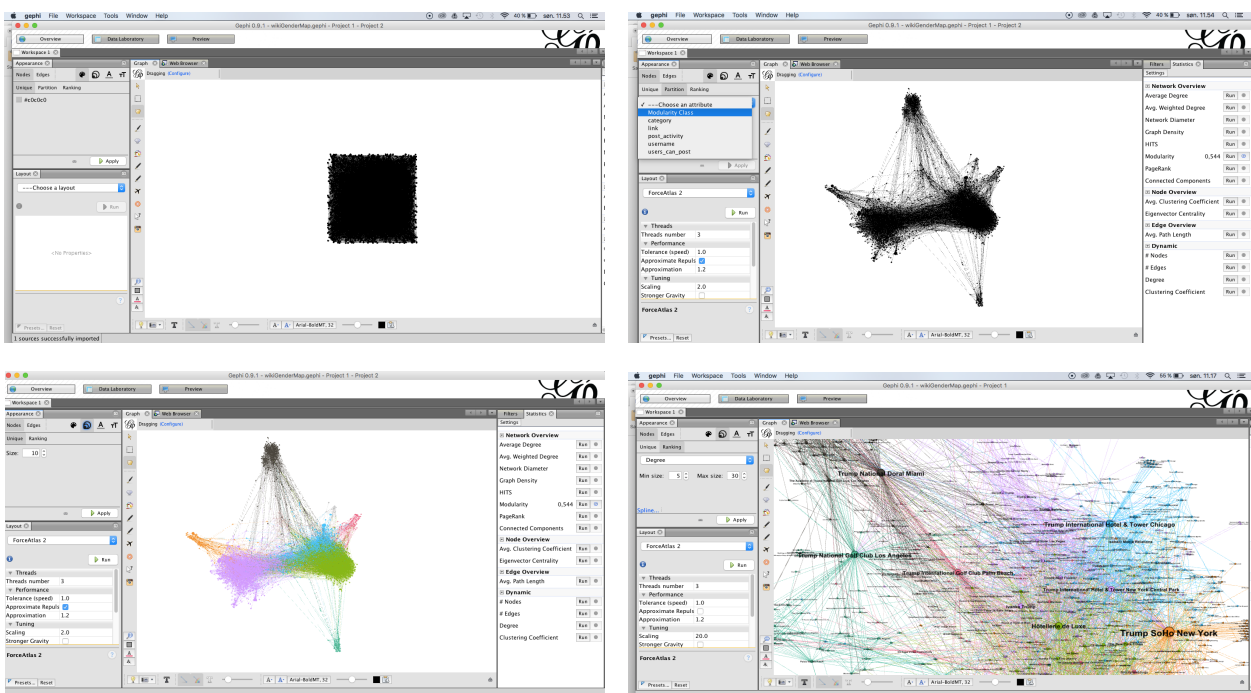
Marres (2015) state that the ‘digital data explosion’ has been followed by the development of digital instrument for visualization of collected data, which is suitable for Controversy Mapping. The tools are a variation of Web-based tools, which for most part can be accessed online. The tools are meant to facilitate the digital implementation of ANT and issue mapping.

In this section I present the most important Digital Tools I have used to map the Controversy. Other less comprehensive tools as e.g. *Top-Hashtags*, *Google Trends* and *Newsmap.jp* are also used and will be mentioned occasionally.

Gephi

5.2.a

The maps made in this thesis are made in Gephi; an open-source software for network visualization and analysis, that reveals patterns and trends. It uses a 3D render engine to display large graphs in real-time and combines built-in functionalities and flexible architecture, for the cartographer to explore, analyze, spatialize and cluster all types of networks (gephi.org).



Picture 5.2: Illustration of how to make a map in Gephi with data from Facebook.

The Network presented is a page-like network from Donald Trump’s Facebook page, which only showed a dead end.

When data is exported to Gephi, the first illustrated is the black square of nodes and edges, here is 824 nodes and 6709 edges. Then a lay-out is selected, which means an algorithm that brings 'chaos in order'. The maps made in this thesis, is all made with Force Atlas 2, which is a so-called 'spring based algorithm', that pushes the nodes apart, unless they are connected (edges). The distance between the nodes can be scaled and by adding Modularity, clusters or communities are created, in this example were 9 communities found. Modularity is an algorithm that seeks to divide the network into communities, which mean they are connected in categories. By adding color, it becomes more visually readable. In this map, the nodes are different Facebook pages and their size illustrates how many edges are connected, i.e. Facebook sites, 'liking' each other. Here, the name of the node is shown, in scale to the size of the node.

Netvizz

Netvizz is an application that extracts data from groups and pages on Facebook, through *scraping* of the *Application Programming Interfaces* (API). In very short, the API is a set of instructions, protocols and tools for application software, which enables communication between the components in a software. It therefore complies with the license agreement between the user and the distributor, e.g. Facebook, who own the data. A scraper can do the same as anyone can do manually in a browser, but it automatically harvest data, by reading the HTML from a website (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

The Netvizz application was developed by Bernard Rieder in 2009, as a practical attempt to study Facebook as a new media, through its API. It requires the use of an existing Facebook account and that the researcher is logged in. It extracts data; posts, comments and 'likes' and the data can be used to explore cultural phenomenon and behavioral traces from sometimes very large numbers of individuals, pages or groups (Rieder, 2013). A Facebook Page is always public, where a groups can be either public, closed or secret, and will not be visible in a search. The data result is an output in a .gdf to explore in Gephi and 'posts and comments' listed in a .csv to process in Excel (or Google Sheets).

Birkbak & Munk (2017) note that crawling data from Facebook is not without problems for researchers, which is due to Facebook's constant change of privacy policies. In example can private profiles unfortunately not be crawled. Furthermore, has there been numerous



restrictions added, since Rieder wrote the article in 2013, and posts and comments are not easily accessible.

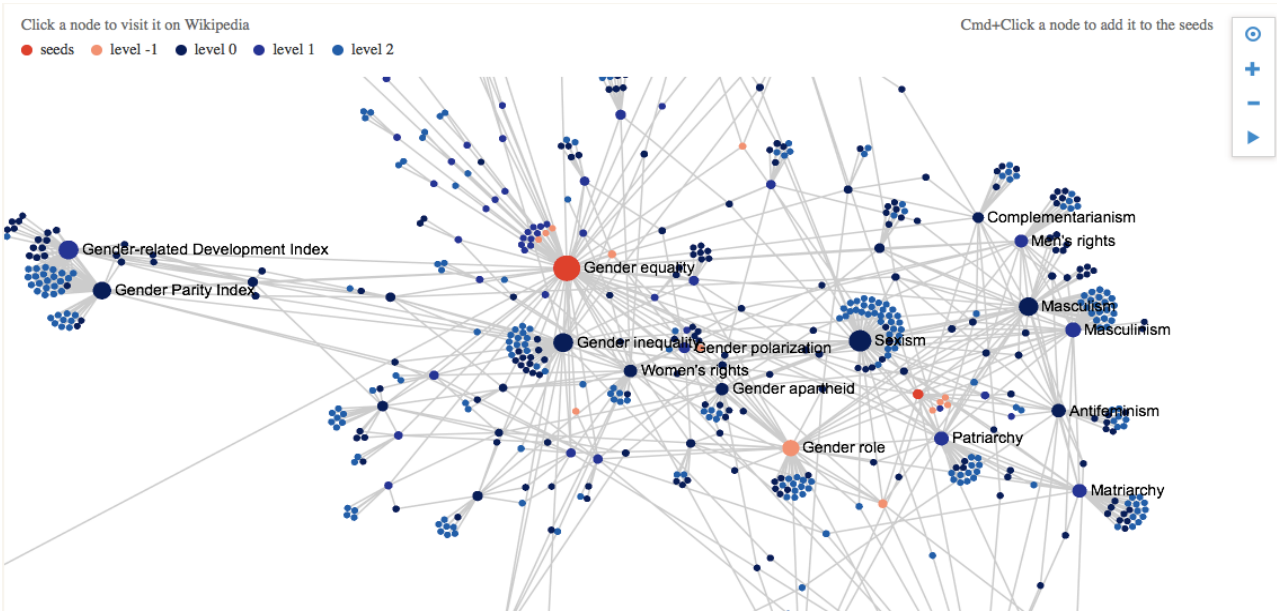
In the next acts, I will elaborate and interpret on the data I found with Netvizz and used for Mapping.

Seealsology

5.2.c

Seealsology, is a tool designed for Wikipedia. Wikipedia articles is always written with links to sources and to other articles, and many words in the article are already made into a hyperlink. When an article is written, the editors of Wikipedia also create a See Also section, which is as collection of topics, hyperlinked to other Wikipedia articles. The Digital Tool –Seealsology – is a crawler, which means it automatically follows links (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

Seealsology follows URLs from the See Also section in the Wikipedia article and show the network between them. In order to avoid going to e.g. lists with no links, these have to be excluded from the harvest and the crawl-distance must be decided. If the distance is 1, the result will be a network with links to the links in the specific See Also section. If the crawl-distance is set to 2, it will show the network, regarding the See Also section from the next layer. It is possible to add more URLs in one search, which make sense, if there are several topics within an issue, which I will demonstrate here.



Picture 5.3: WikiMap 1: The visualized network between 'feminism', 'fourth-wave feminism' and 'gender equality'

The first map made, is the one above. It is made from the combination of the URLs on Wikipedia articles of: 'feminism', 'fourth-wave feminism' and 'gender equality'. I chose to start with these 'headline-issues' in order to get a visual line up, on the topics related. In short: to get the 'big picture'.

The color of the nodes, indicate the layer of my search, however the size of the node show how many links that are combined to one node. The size of the nodes should also be seen in it context of time, which would initially explain the size of fourth wave feminism. However, it also represent what Wikipedians have found relevant, which could explain why the node 'masculism' are larger than 'woman's rights', that put in historical perspective, would have earned a larger node.

By exporting the map to Gephi, it can be explored in details and I will elaborate on the full map in the Analysis.

Abridgement

I will briefly explain, that many of the tools and websites I tried to use, were outdated. According to Birkbak & Munk (2017), this is the same reason for, why there are no technical guide in their book, as it would be outdated before finished. This has been a challenge for me, as I with my background as Midwife, is not a technical expert. So, I believe I could have used many other Digital Tools to use, and I tried many of them –the *Issue Crawler*, *Instagram Hashtag Explorer* and *Twitter Capture and Analysis Toolset*. But, because of changes in policy, these have not been accessible since June 1st, 2016. The programme ANTA (Actor Network Text Analyzer), which I had put my trust in to help me in my comment analysis, does not exist anymore and the website for Mapping Controversies, MACOSPOL, look like it has not been updated in the past two and a half years.

Nevertheless, as Controversy Mapping is not a primary technical task, I believe the tools I have in hand are adequate for mapping the fourth-wave feminism-controversy.

In correspondence to Venturini's (2010) field guide, I have made several maps, but I will only present a few in this thesis, in order to follow the claim of readability. Before listing the actors, I will elaborate on Venturini's (2010) thoughts on locating actors.

When finding the actors, Venturini (2010) argue that cartographers should take position of *second-degree objectivity*, which unlike positivistic first-degree objectivity, is not interested in identifying 'matters of fact', but in the full range of the disparity around 'matters of concern'. Second-degree objectivity is not to be confused with plain impartiality, but means that the cartographer should take a 'fair' position and treat both sides of a controversy the same respectful way, as Latour (2004) suggested. Venturini (2010) describe it as being *proportional*, which means that equal visibility should be given to different viewpoints, according to their *representativeness*, their *influence* and their *interest*.

1. Representativeness

First, Venturini (2010) argue that the representativeness of a perspective, should be accordingly to how many actors, who are accepting the specific perspective/argument. Hence, an argument that many actors agree on, deserves more visibility than a negligible perspective. Naturally, this does not mean, that e.g. sceptics of Global Warming should be overlooked, even though they are outnumbered by their opponents. The aim for Controversy Mapping, is still to represent as many viewpoints as possible and it will be up to the cartographer to find the balance between mirroring the public controversy and bring fairness to representatives (Venturini, 2010).

2. Influence

Controversies have centers and edges and not all positions are equal in a network. Actors struggle to build influential positions, which provide them with power to affect other actors and behavior. Although the only way to decide if a viewpoint is relevant, is not by the number of supporters, but the number of supporters will affect the chances to become influential in a network.

In that account, it is important not just to look at the viewpoint of e.g. national leaders, but also the perspective from the most influential NGOs and Transnational Corporations. Therefore, can influence not be overlooked, when mapping a controversy.

3. Interest

However, Controversies is about disputes and if there were no *disagreeing minorities* represented, there would be no controversy to map. The disagreeing minorities are the ones who open black-boxes and refuse to follow the mainstream. So, no matter the small an actor is, they should not be overlooked, as they question what other takes for granted. Venturini (2010) compares it to treasure hunting, when looking for what is barely visible in a map. Venturini (2010) adds, that “*Cartographers may legitimately choose to map the proportionality of interest instead of size*” and concentrate on the most influential or marginal viewpoints, “*as long as they can justify their choice*” (Venturini, 2010, 3+4).

Act Four – listing the Issues

5.4

Controversies always involve a wide variety of different enquiries and only a few of them, can be answered with a simple yes or no. No controversy can be divided into two conflicting perspectives and the position of actors are always complex and nuanced. The task of the cartographer is not to give up in tracing these arguments, as limiting them will block the way for other issues. Venturini (2010) suggests that they are represented in what he name as *The tree of disagreement*. He argue that hierarchical trees with its branching structures, perfectly fit the revealing of the tiniest disagreement between actors and often is linked to the broadest opponents in social networks (Venturini, 2010).

In this thesis, I will let the maps do the reflection of a tree and branches. After interpreting the maps and when the issues and actors are located, they will be listed in a scheme in the analysis.

Analysis

6.0

Built on the foundation of the data I have collected and the maps I have made, I will in this section examine the actors and issues that are defining fourth-wave feminism. The first part of my analysis will be exploration and interpretation of maps, illustration of the conflicting tendencies of fourth-wave feminism, concerning both actors and issues.

In the second part of the analysis, I will list my findings of actors and Issues and from this, select the most characteristic themes of fourth-wave feminism.

The third part, will be a deeper analysis of these themes, related to this Controversy. I will as Venturini (2010) recommend, return to the scientific literature, in order to address the issue properly.

The last section, will be in relation to the claims from scholars I presented in the Introduction, who state that fourth-wave feminism has proliferated through social media and that the Internet has become a place for activism.

To illustrate my findings, I use the maps I have produced and when necessary supply with screenshots from Social Media or photos I took offline. I will use them, when I believe a photo or illustration will support the understanding to my examples, or when they describe them better than words.

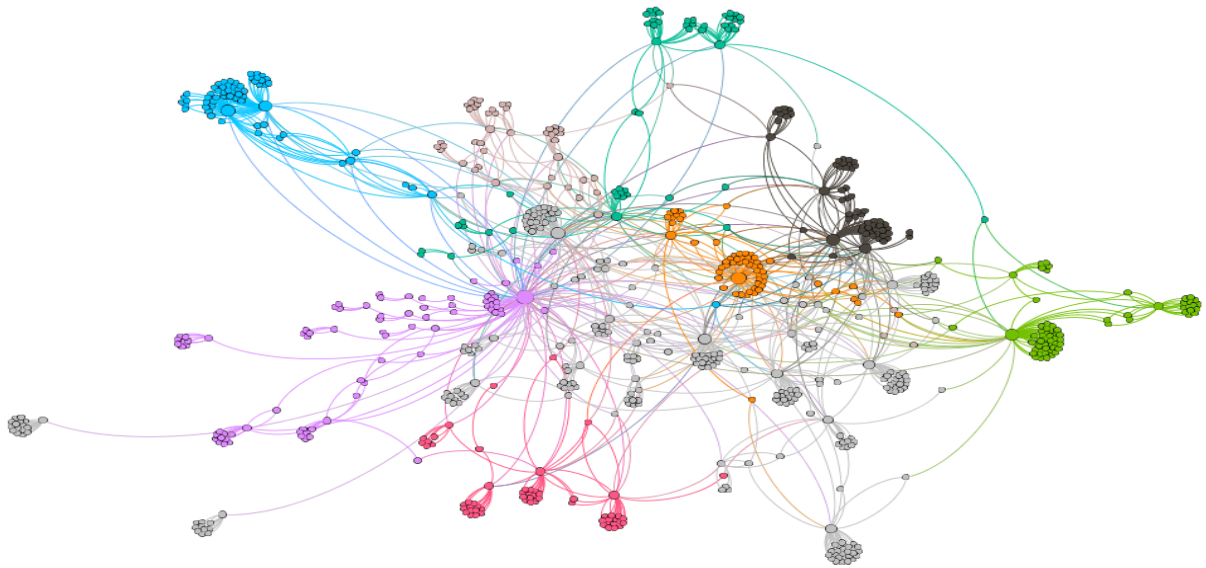
Reading and Interpretation the Social Media Maps

6.1

WikiMap 1 - Fourth-wave feminism, Feminism and Gender Equality

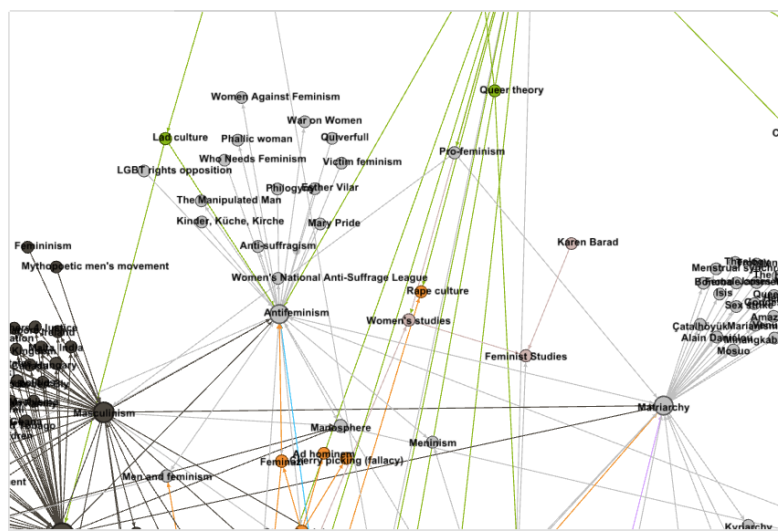
6.1.a

The Wikipedia map I used for demonstration in the section of Methodology, has here been exported to Gephi. In Gephi, the network was processed and 17 communities were found among the 755 nodes and 1213 edges. By adding color, the communities were visualized (See Picture X). As seen on the map, some nodes are more central and larger than others, which in this case means that there are more articles written on these subjects in Wikipedia. Also, in this case, the size of the node reflect topic in a 'headline' – and unspecific perspective. The smaller



Picture 6.1. WikiMap 1, processed in Gephi

clusters attached, are sub-matters, connected to the over-all theme, e.g. ‘Gender Equality’, which obviously represent the equality of all genders. As noted in Methodology, the node of ‘Masculism’ are larger than the node of ‘Women’s Rights’, which I indicated not necessarily reflect the ‘size’ of the dispute, nor that there are more masculinists, than pro-women’s rights actors. It is a reflection of the Wikipedian’s choice of article writing. Nevertheless, this also implies something. According to Marres (2015), the level of ‘substantive disagreement’ in Wikipedia, has been investigated by academics, whom found that controversies like Global Warming, had a high ranking of articles in the number of Wikipedia articles and this could be the same for feminism; that Wikipedians are equally interested in presenting both sides of a Controversy. Or it could basically mean, that they in accordance to the Gender Gap discussed by Ford & Wajcman (2016) earlier, find it of more interest to write about men. A third possibility, is that the subject of Women’s Right are so established that it is less interesting to write about and easy for others to get information



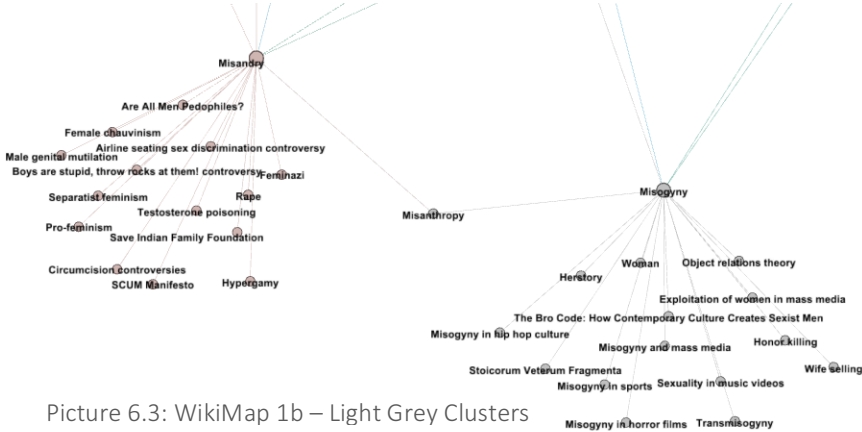
Picture 6.2: WikiMap 1a – Grey Clusters

about. However the reason, it does not necessarily reflect the representation of actors in the Controversy.

When zooming into the grey clusters of WikiMap 1, the nodes ‘Masculinism’ and ‘Anti-feminism’ are closely connected, which mean that they also are closely connected in the Controversy, as they share many links (edges). When reading the labels, it seems that Anti-feminists are both men and women, who are defending the old gender roles and could in general, be advocating against LGBT-rights.

Zooming in the light grey clusters, term as ‘Misandry’ and ‘Misogyny’ are visualized on the nodes. In brief, Misandry, is hatred and contempt towards men, where Misogyny in opposite is the hate and contempt towards women.

Following Venturini (2010), clusters that represent a small part of the map, can represent a much larger part in the actual Controversy. In this example it means that



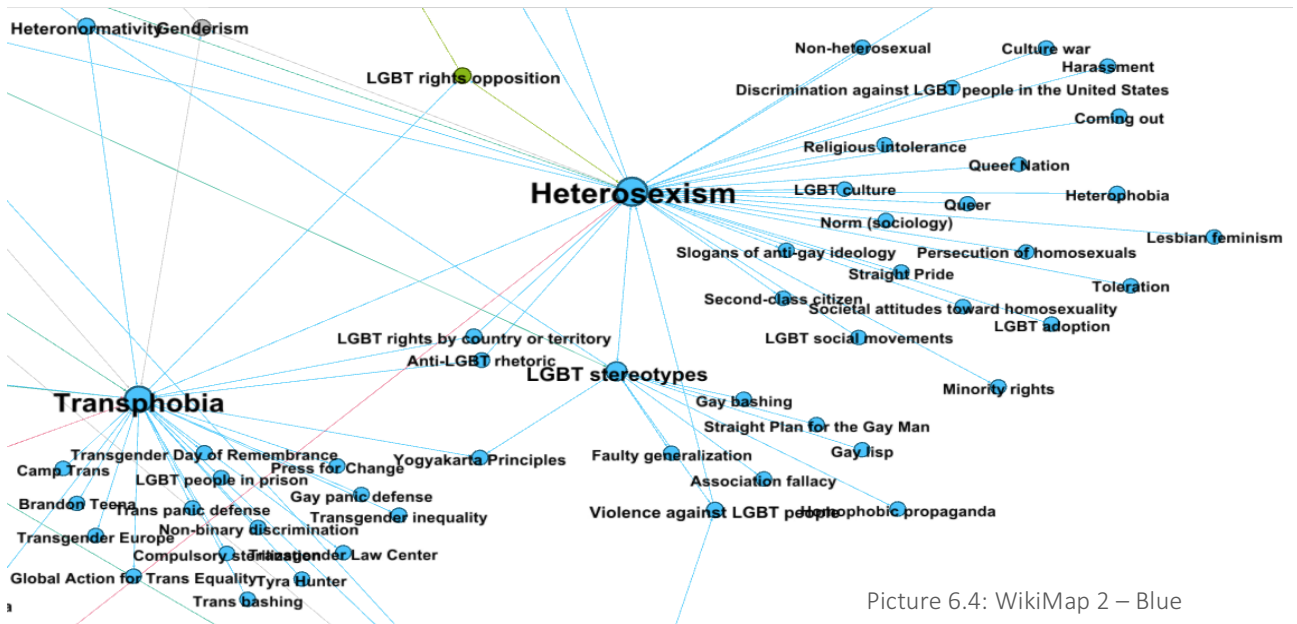
Picture 6.3: WikiMap 1b – Light Grey Clusters

even though this cluster of hatred is small and peripheral in the map, it can still play a large part in the Controversy. In the Introduction I referred to KVINFO’s statement, concerning their perspective of the gender discussion, which they saw as ‘burdened by the image of stereotypes’. In line with this, I believe some of those stereotype, could be found in this category. Therefore, I ‘followed these actors’ and made another Wikipedia map, based on the search of ‘Misogyny’, ‘Misandry’ and ‘Sexism’.

WikiMap 2 – Misogyny, Misandry and Sexism

This Wikipedia map resulted in a more issue-detailed map, yet the only new node attached to ‘Misandry’ is ‘Rape of males’. Therefore, I have selected two subjects connected to ‘Misogyny’ that I find most related to the Controversy, illustrated in picture 6.4. The first node in the blue cluster are labeled ‘heterosexism’; a form of homophobia where the heterosexist believe that

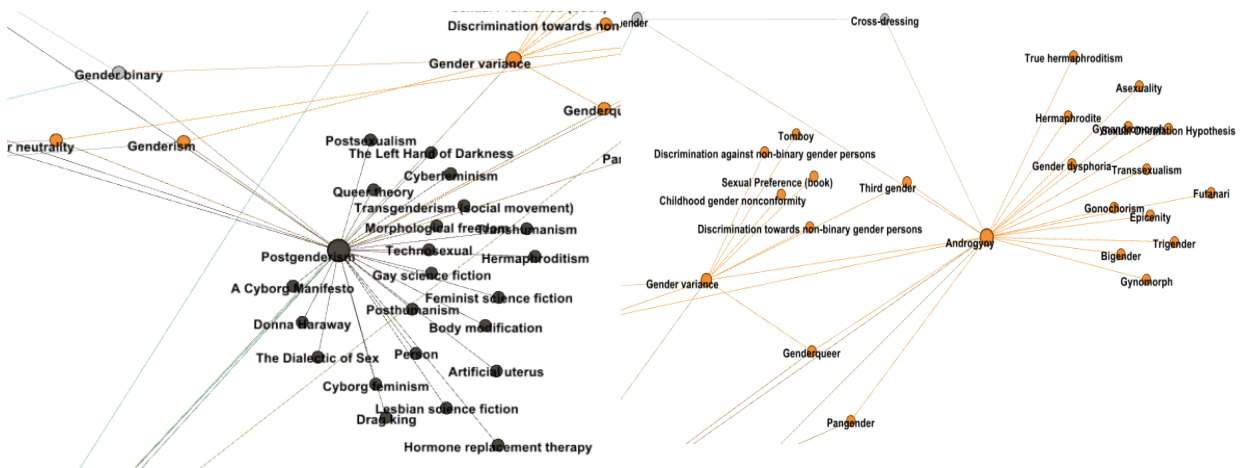




Picture 6.4: WikiMap 2 – Blue

heterosexuality, is the only correct and natural sexual orientation. The other node is labeled ‘transphobia’; the irrational and negative reaction to transgender and intersex people, including gender-benders and gender non-conformities. The nodes labeled ‘hate crime’, ‘gay bashing’ and ‘trans bashing’, visualize the issues concerning being LGBTQ etc.

Another cluster in this map shows the more supportive side of gender- and sexuality issues and when zooming day in to the orange cluster, it is clear that the conventional perception of the binary gender system, are no longer sufficient and it takes up a large part of fourth-wave feminism.

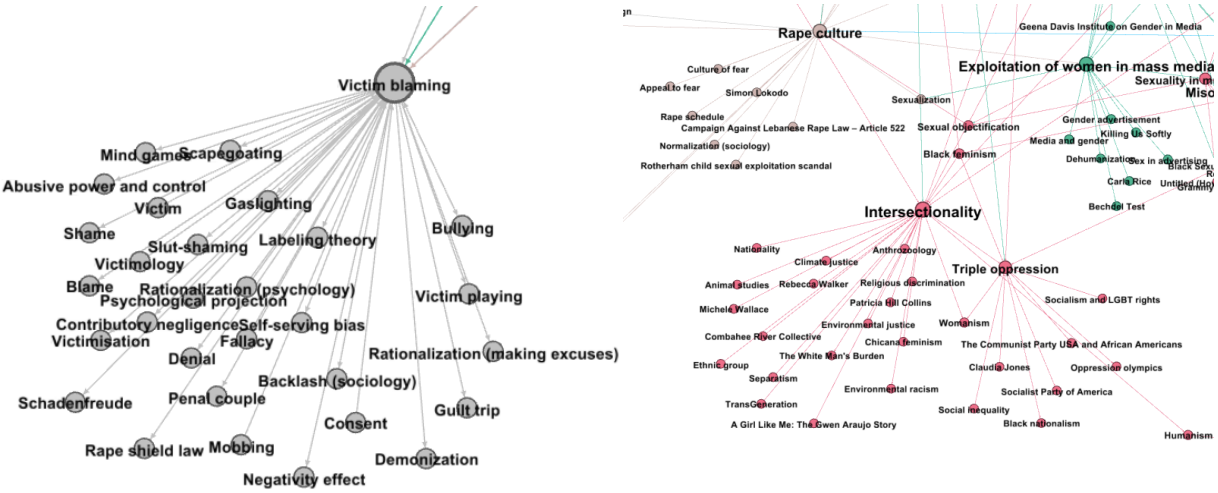


Picture 6.5 and 6.6: WikiMap 2 – Clusters concerning Gender types

This is also illustrated in dark gray cluster, where the node ‘postgenderism’ is connected to several nodes, concerning alternate genders and I will elaborate on this later in the analysis.

With a few words, I will present two more clusters from WikiMap 2, which I find characteristic for fourth-wave feminism. The node labeled ‘victim blaming’ is connected to both ‘Rape Culture’ and ‘Intersectionality’. Victim blaming is, when a victim of a crime, is blamed for causing it.

The term Intersectionality, was introduced by the American professor Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. The thought behind is, that oppression is not related to gender, race or class alone, but they overlap (intersect). They are in that way mutual components, rather than isolated components (merriam-webster.com).



Picture 6.7 and 6.8: WikiMap 2 – Clusters concerning conflicting subjects

The InstaMap

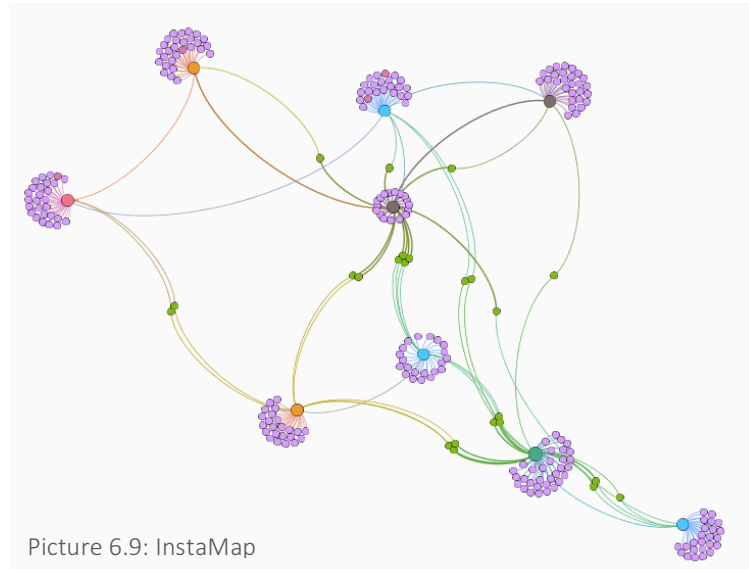
As the access to Instagram Hashtag Explorer is no longer available, I have used a less wide-ranging tool; top-hashtag.com to investigate Instagram. The site shows the most popular hashtags, which currently on Instagram are: #love (1.136 B), #instagood (635.4 M) and #photooftheday (444.5 M).

One can also make a search on a hashtag of own choice and see, how many times the hashtag has been used. At the same time, are hashtags used in the same picture, also shown. I made searches on #feminism (5.169 M), #fourthwavefeminism (1.013 K), #genderequality (621.8 K) and #gender (931.0K). The hashtags, that were most related to my search, which subsequently also searched on, were the following: #transgender (4.968 M), #genderfluid (2.836 M), #agender (1.432 M) and #genderqueer (1.323 M).



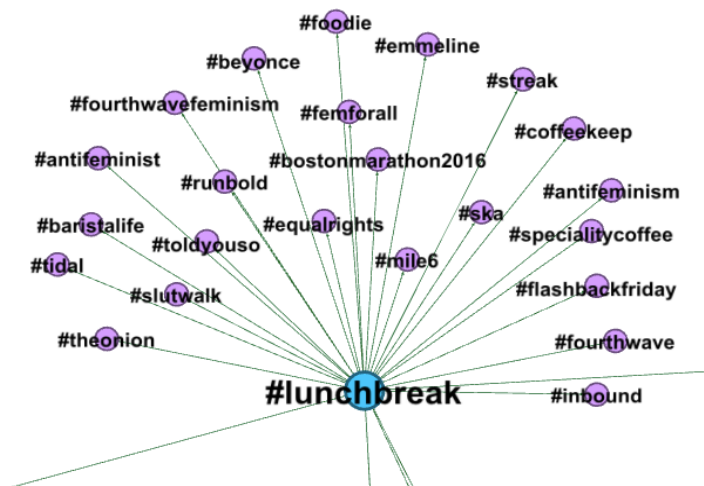
I copied the hashtags to Excel, and exported the data in Gephi. The result was picture X, a rather simple map, but divided in communities.

Concerning transgender, gender fluid etc., I will let the numbers above, speak for themselves and zoom into a few the other nodes, i.e. hashtags that were



Picture 6.9: InstaMap

mentioned enough times, to become a part of the map. Many of the clusters are in accordance



Picture 6.10: InstaMap – Lunch break Instagramming

to Hu, Manikonda & Kambhampati's (2014) research of Instagram pictures, related to e.g. food as seen in the cluster in picture 6.10. However, a node labeled #slutwalk is worth to notice and I will return to this, in the section of Implications. In the InstaMap are nodes labeled #wagegap, #beyonce and #trump also visualized.

Abridgement

In the process of reading and interpreting maps, I have found actors and issues of the Controversy and elaborated on a few of the less obvious and peripheral clusters. What I have not elaborated on, are all the large nodes and clusters. Many of these issues are related to second- and third-wave feminism and are in line with Fraser's (2012) statement; third act of second-wave feminism is still unfolding. The issues from the previous waves, have already been presented in the background section, and lists of actors and issues, can as well as the networks, be infinite. On that account, I will not elaborate or discuss further on these matters, even

though they are still relevant and a part of the Controversy. Furthermore, by following Venturini’s (2010) image of treasure hunting, I wish to find what is recently developed, when portraying fourth-wave feminism.

Actors and Issues

The two following lists are my interpretation of who the actors are and what the issues are. I have grouped them into over-all categories, recognizing by doing so, I do not mention individual actors by name, as such a list would be very long. However, in the section Implications, I will give a few examples of actors by name and their position of ‘spokesperson’. Many of the ideologies of the grouped actors overlap and is difficult to entirely separate. I will discuss these actors in the rest of the analysis and in the section of Implications.

List One: The actors

Internet Actors	Anti-feminism Actors	Pro-feminism Actors	Pro Gender Equality
Facebook	Ecofeminist	Second-wave feminists	Lesbians
Wikipedia	Masculinist	Third-wave feminists	Gays
Instagram	Heterosexists	Fourth-Wave Feminists	Transgender
Twitter	Transphobias	Intersectional feminists	Queers
Blogs	Homophobic	Girl power feminist	Gender Benders
Online Newspapers	Misogynists	Black feminists	Girls Who Code
		Global Feminists	Women in Tech
		White feminists	
		Ethnic Feminists	
		Lesbian Feminism	
		Radical feminists	
		Misandrists	
		Cyberfeminism	

List Two: Issues and examples of Activism

The second list, is a list of issues and various examples of activism, I noticed, during the fieldwork and when reading the maps.

Like the case with List One, I might have missed a few issues, although I am confident I got the most frequent discussed matters.

In accordance to the delimitation, global matters and third-world issues as ‘wife-burning’, ‘child marriages’ etc. are not on my list.

Issues	Activism
Gender Gap in Tech	Women’s March
Wage Gap	Slut Walk
Rights for LGBTQs	Free Bleeding Movement
Biological essentialism vs. Social Constructivism	Pussy Hat Project
Gender roles	Free the nipple
Domestic Violence	Gay Pride
Rape and Consent	Top freedom
Victim Blaming and Slut Shaming	Breastfeeding Events
The binary Gender system	
Female Body Ideal	
Breast feeding in public	
Porn Industry	
Revenge Porn	
Misogyny in hip-hop And media in general	
Sexual Objectification Vs. Sexual Liberation	
Misogyny in Sport	
Prostitution And Trafficking	
Cyber harassment	
Stay-home mothers Vs. Career Women	
Every Day Sexism	
Sexual assaults and harassments	

The main issues of Fourth-wave feminism

After listing the actors and the issues, I have found three over-all headlines for that, after my interpretation, characterize fourth-wave feminism:

First; what has been impossible to overlook in this controversy, is the subject of the gender binary and rights for LGBTQs and other forms of intersexuality. These matters were clearly represented in every map I made.

Second, with the visualization of the Controversy, nodes related to activism also appeared and is listed in the scheme. I will investigate if activism a part of fourth-wave feminism, as it was in second-wave.

The third headline is, the fight against Every Day Sexism, which in short refers to the issues women frequently experience, as a consequence of their gender.

Issue One: Beyond the Gender Binary

The far most prominent issue in fourth-wave feminism, is the confrontation with the binary gender system, in example transgenderism. Google Trends show, how the search for Transgender has markedly escalated in the past few years, topping in July, 2017:



Picture 6.11: Google Trends search on 'Transgender'

A search on 'Gender', made in Newsmap.jp; a digital tool in form of an application that visually reflects the scenery of the Google News news-aggregator, showed that Transgenderism were a

highly newsworthy topic in USA. This search is a result of a row of unsystematic searches, which all resembles this, although I in other found headlines related to feminism in Game of Thrones. The point is, that the News Map show that Gender and Feminism News topic as well as a Social Media topic. The collage of headlines illustrated on picture 6.12, reveals actors like Donald



Picture 6.12: newsmap.jp search on 'Gender' in U.S, September 4., 2017.

Trump and Chelsea Manning, but also the 'Google-memo-case' are to be found in several of the rubrics. It concerns the – now fired - Google engineer, James Damore, who recently wrote an Internal Memo, claiming that biological differences are the reason for the shortage of women in tech and in leadership positions and I will return the discussing this later on.

Traditionally, the human mind has divided gender and sexual behavior in dichotomies; normal or abnormal, hetero- or homo sexual, man or woman. Biological gender dimorphism has been the most basic power dynamic in the patriarchal society; allowing men to constrain women with their stronger bodies and dominance-driven behavior. But, since the 1970s has the perception of the biologically gendered brain, increasingly been replaced with theories concerning social influence as a cause of heteronormativity and gender roles. *Postgenderism* confronts these prior limits of gender and sexuality (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008).

Since the first male-to-female and female-to-male surgical and hormonal experiments begun after World War II, and the first sex-change operation made headlines in the West in 1952, after had been performed in Denmark in 1952 (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008), transgenders are now

more visible in the media than ever. In 2014 the transgender Conchita Wurst won the Euro Vision Contest and in 2015, the 65-year-old former OL-winner, Bruce Jenner became Caitlyn Jenner and posed on the front page of Vanity Fair. Recently, the former U.S. soldier Chelsea Manning has caused disputes in USA, concerning Trump's Military Ban.

Towards a postgender society

Through the 1980s, the binary mindset began to break down, as radicalized gays, lesbians and transgendered people challenged the assumption that a person had to be either a woman who desired men, or vice versa. Nor, should transgendered people be limited to be transitioning into one end of the gender binary, but, intermediate gender expressions and bodies, should also be possible. In example, biological males not seeking genital surgery, but dressing and living as women and have with breast implants (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008).

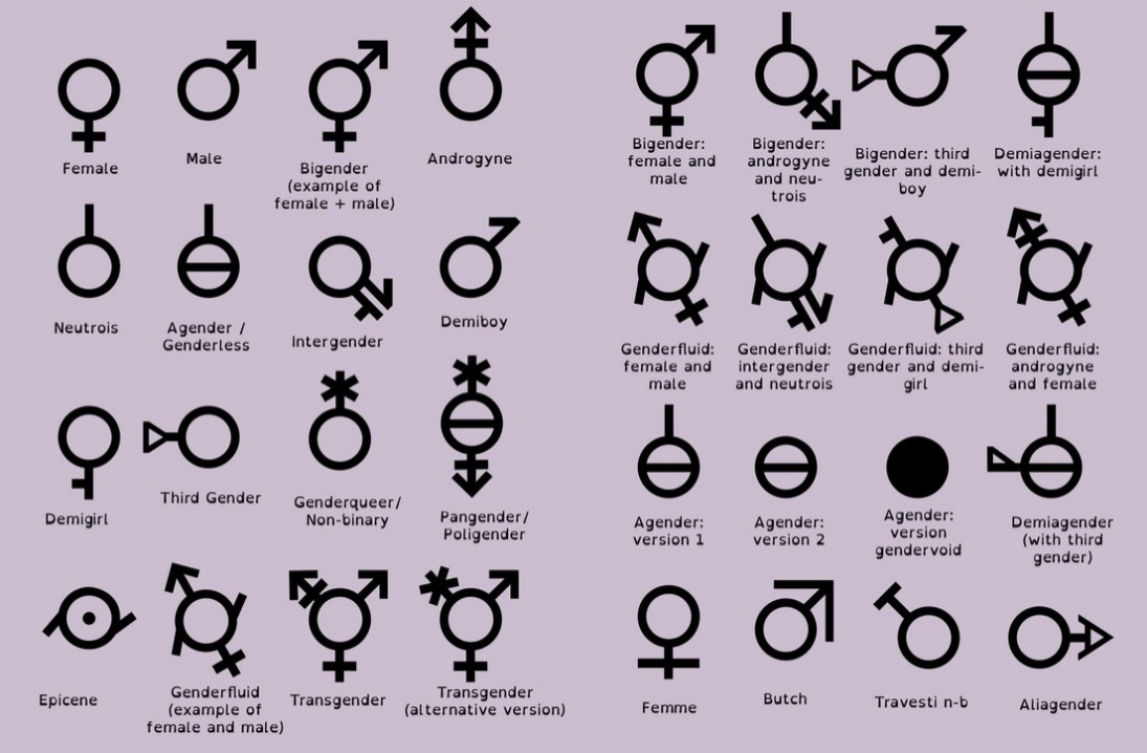
Androgyny became a more explicit visual expression in the 1980s and were represented with pop musicians as Annie Lennox and Michael Jackson. According to Dvorsky & Hughes (2008), androgyny was adopted by e.g. the New Age movement, who merged it with pre-existing cultural and religious ideas about 'spiritual transcendence of gender'; the idea that the inner spiritual being is both male and female. Becoming androgynous, were superior to ordinary life and these perspectives influenced the postgenderist movement.

In the 1990s, bisexuals had emerged as their own sexual identity within the Western Queer Culture and acknowledged as a separate orientation.

From the beginning of the 21st Century, posthumanist's and transhumanist's discourses began to rise, concerning the use of technologies to intentionally rise above the biological limitations of gender in cybernetic or virtual form.

"Today's transgender movement is a roiling, radical critique of the limits of gender roles, with folks living in totally new categories, such as non-op transsexual, TG butch, femme queen, cross-dresser, third gender, drag king or queen and transboi. These genderqueer activists and theorists advocate postgender attitudes, such as promoting the use of gender-neutral pronouns such as "ze", "per", and "zir," or the terms pansexual or omnisequal instead of the binary "bisexual" (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008, 7).

An example of how this has influenced the western society, is when Sweden in 2015, applied the use of gender-neutral pronouns.



Picture 6.13: 32 different genders and their sign.

Furthermore, has many social media as e.g. Facebook also implemented a various number of gender options, one can choose to represent themselves with (facebook.com). Picture 6.13 show some of the genders and sexualities, one can identify with.

Feminism and the Gender Binary

To sum up: Postgenderism is a basic translation of the feminist critique of patriarchy and gender and how the binary gender, limits individual’s potential. Technologies has made it possible to free some from the constraints of binary gender and allow individuals to decide for themselves, which biological and psychological gender traits they wish to keep or reject.

Issue Two: Activism, Social Media and fourth-wave feminism

In the Introduction, I mentioned that Munro (2013) state that the internet itself, has enabled the shift to fourth-wave feminism and the Internet have become a place for online activism. I will look into if the Internet is a place for activism and investigate if online activism affects offline activism.



Is online activism invisible?

Julie Schuster (2013), point out one problem with online activism; it is only visible for those



Picture 6.14: A user's Facebook post (screenshot)

who see it. She argues, that cyberactivism causes a 'digital divide', which means that users of the internet are mainly "(...) *concentrated among the young and privileged*" (Schuster, 2013, 11).

Consequently, it contrasts the preference of older generations, who blame the young for being a non-political group. Schuster (2013)

concludes that online activism is for younger feminist and therefore are older generations of feminists, not aware of their activism (Schuster, 2013).

In opposite to this perspective, Harlow (2012) state that Web 2.0 is an exceptional place for one to study gender, as it allows a shift from the private to the public sphere. Historically, have women acted in the private sphere and men in the public. It has often been argued among academics, that this separation has been unfavorable for women's capability to obtain equality, as they were denied a public voice. Instead, they turned to journal writing, which traditionally has been a site for feminist expression. With the Web 2.0, this tradition for journal writing can be moved to the public sphere through e.g. blogging (Harlow, 2012). In line with this, Gerbaudo (2012) argue, that SNS are the contemporary equivalent of the newspaper, the poster or the leaflet, used by e.g. the labor movement. SNS are not just simple means to express intangible opinions, but shape the way in which people act together and strategize collective actions (Gerbaudo, 2012).

One example of activism, is the Women's March; a global protest held January 21st this year, which came immediately after the inauguration of Donald Trump. According to political scientist, it was the largest single-day demonstration in the history of USA (independent.co.uk). The purpose was to advocate for human rights, including women's rights, the immigration reform, reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights, racial equality, freedom of religion etc. – in short; all nationalistic, racist and misogynistic trends (womensmarch.com).

The Women’s March were a global project and held in Copenhagen as well. A good deal of the protests were aimed directly at Donald Trump, in the wake of his many statements during the presidential campaign, which were considered anti-woman or defensive in other ways.



Picture 6.15: Women’s March, January 2017 – Washington (huffingtonpost.com). The many Pussy Hats, were also a part of a global project, to symbolize of support and solidarity for women's rights and political resistance. The knitting pattern is available on pussyhatproject.com (pussyhatproject.com)

I will bring the woman asking about Slut Walk, some justification. Since 2013, Slut Walk has become an event in many countries. According to their Facebook page, the mission is to reclaim the word ‘slut’ and demonstrate against *slut shaming, victim blaming and sexist double standards* (SlutWalkCph, facebook.com).

I believe that this group of feminists belong to that group of younger feminist, Shuster (2013) refers to. These young men and women are obviously inspired by third-wave feminists, who also reclaimed the word ‘slut’ and ‘girl power’. Nevertheless, the examples show how activism started online, can engage millions of people and the Social Media, empower global connections between users and without the internet a knitting pattern could not have gone global.



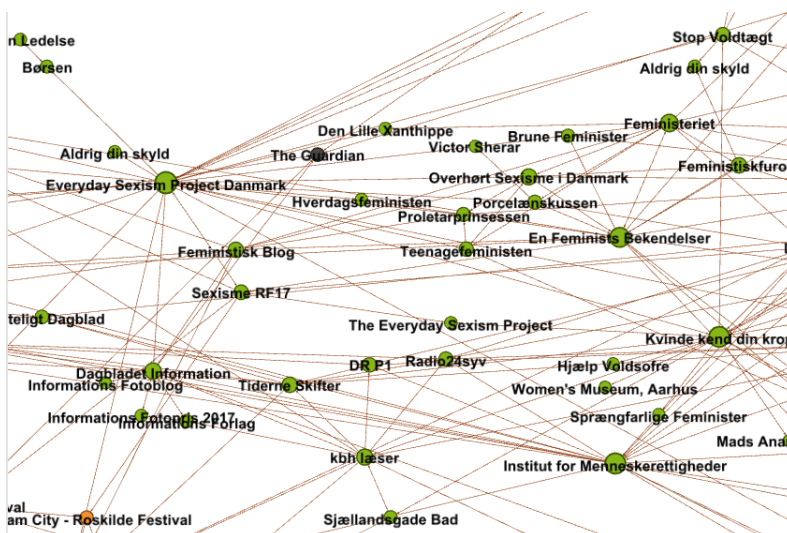
Picture 6.16: Slut Walk 2017 – Chicago.

Issue Three: The fight against Everyday Sexism

I name the third headline of fourth-wave feminism, ‘the fight against Everyday Sexism’, which are related to the lack of de-fact equality. In example; women has obtain equal pay bay law, but the wage gap still exist. The military and the police force is open for women, homosexuals and Trangenders, but is does not mean that they are accepted there. Perhaps, the social construction of how boys and girls are treated differently, are to blame. Perhaps, many are subconsciously still dictated by the before mentioned biological gender dimorphism, which allow men to constrain women. I will here give a few examples of Everyday sexism and at the same time, show how these matters can be changed, with the Internet as a mean.

My first example, is regarding a dispute on the Internet, where women draw attention to the lack of female emojis – which were not a bride, a princess or one going to the hairdresser. A female blogger on New York Times, wrote after she failed to express to congratulate a friend on her exam: *“Where was the lawyer? The accountant? The surgeon? How was there space for both a bento box and a single fried coconut shrimp, and yet women were restricted to a smattering of tired, beauty-centric roles?”* (Butcher, nytimes.com, 2016). This caused many reactions from men, neglecting this by claiming it was first world problems.

I will not go further into this discussion, but at August 1st, 2016, Apple announced that they, after working closely with the Unicom Consortium, wanted to ensure that the popular emoji characters reflect the diversity of people everywhere (apple.com). Every emojis are now to find in both a male and a female version, from the hair-dresser-emoji to the police worker.



Picture 6.16: The page-like network from ESP

Narrowing down to Denmark, I will highlight a few important actors: The NGO Everyday Sexism Project Denmark (ESP), which’s mission is to change the culture and make Everyday Sexism non-acceptable. They collect stories concerning women’s experiences, including sexual harassment in

public transporting, digital violations as Revenge Porn and victim blaming in cases of rape. As seen on the map, they have connections to Roskilde Festival, which also has been an important actor in the fight against Everyday Sexism, as they have cooperated with both KVINFO and ESP. When mapping the posts of KVINFO's Facebook page, the connection is visualized:



Picture 6.17: A post from KVINFO's Facebook page.

In early summer 2017, Roskilde Festival also cooperated with the Danish newspaper Politiken, who through a series of articles with the headline “Roskilde without Consent”, focused on Everyday Sexism. According to Politiken, the purpose of the articles was to focus on everything from rape to sexual violations and violation of ‘minor’ character, such as sexism, shout downs and groping. Politiken stresses that violations are different, but they all leave feelings as guilt, shame and doubts with the victim and this is the reason why women often remain silence about the violations done towards them. Politiken offered space for these women, to tell their story.

Abridgement

In the section of analysis I have presented my fieldwork, and through examination and interpretation of the maps, I have listed the main actors and issues. The Controversy of fourth-wave feminism is large and complex and I have selected three issues, that after my interpretation characterizes what is new and prominent. In the section of Implications, I will discuss the Controversy in a more overall context.

Implications and discussion

As Venturini (2010) argue, reading maps and interpreting them, goes hand in hand, and I have already discussed many of the actors and issues in the Analysis. In this section I will return to the thought of controversies as heterogeneous and complex and I will discuss the complexity of the Controversy of fourth-wave feminism in an overall context.

As mentioned, this controversy is bounded in second- and third wave, and many of the issues related to earlier, are ongoing.

I will in this section discuss, why translation fail and Controversies emerge, with the example of fourth-wave feminism. In order to do that, I have appointed a few spokespersons (without their consent) and I shall again stress, that this is my interpretation and with these implications, I might contribute to the already stereotyped debate.

Actor One: The Social Media. Represented by Mark Zuckerberg



Social Media
Represented by
Mark Zuckerberg

The Social media has been both a tool for activism, for journal writing and a mean for a global collaboration of feminists. However, it has also been criticized for not doing enough to prevent the spreading of e.g. Revenge Porn. As Social Media is a technology, I have chosen Mark Zuckerberg as an important actor and spokesperson, as he by developing new technology, tries to prevent this.

By adding various genders opportunities, Facebook also represents the postgender ideology, which allows the individual to express themselves in the way they relate to.

Furthermore, in other of his Facebook posts, he state that he believes that maternity and paternity leaves are important and all employees in Facebook, has equal opportunities for taking leaves in connection to child birth.

Actor Two – The Misogynist. Represented by Donald Trump.

Donald Trump represents the misogynist, the transphobia and the heterosexual. He started his presidential period, by trying to implement restrictions for refugees, Women’s reproductive rights and lately, he has banned transgender from the military. I will note that this is not a discussion of Trump’s politics, I



The Misogynist
Represented by
Donald Trump

have just used him as 'spokesperson' for the trends that also appear to be a part of the Controversy.

Actor Three – The Misandrist/radical feminist. Represented by?



The Radical Feminist

The radical feminist/the misandrist, has been hard to locate in my maps, especially by image. Therefore, I have chosen the ghost to represent her as I believe she is very present in the real Controversy and in two forms. One, as the stereotyped image and ghost-like image of the angry, manhating, non-feminine woman, which I believe, only represents a minority of feminists. Second, as the online feminist, who in writing beats other women sticks, if they do anything that can be interpreted as a result of the male dominated perspective of women, as the sexual objects. In example, if an actress undress in a movie or is half-naked in a photo shoot. The radical feminist represents one of the 'disagreeing minorities' in the network, who constantly tries to open black-boxes (Venturini, 2010).

Actor Four – The Ecofeminist/the anti-feminist



The Ecofeminist

As I have not elaborated on this group before, I will briefly introduce it now. Ecofeminism, came as a counter movement against Michel Foucault's theories of sex and gender as social constructed. They turned towards the idea of 'biological gender essentialism' and integrated naturalism and ecology into their framework and celebrated the gender binary. Some saw technologies as birth control and abortions as suppressive. The over-all narrative of the Ecofeminists is that women are more nurturing and men are violent and testosterone-prisoned rapists (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008). The anti-feminists in general represents both genders and believe that men's rights are as important as women's, e.g. does men also experience domestic violence and rape.

Actor five – The fourth wave feminist



Fourth wave feminists, Emma Watson and Beyoncé

The fourth-wave feminist is a new feminist and therefore yet hard to define. However, I believe that she is represented by young women, who like the then young third-wave feminists, embrace the feminine and most of all give their *consent* if being sexual objectified. The fourth-wave feminist seem to be intersectional and

fight not only for women's rights, but for race, gender and class. She is the modern woman, who can both have a career and be a good mom, while being sexy and a feminist.

Actor Six – The LGBTQs



Chelsea Manning Changed the Course of History. Now She's ...
After releasing thousands of government documents, Chelsea Manning became one of the most talked-about people on the planet.

The Transgender
Represented by
Chelsea Manning

As I have already elaborated on the issue of Gender Binary and Postgenderism, I will only mention in short, that in the fight for a genderless society, is a part of this controversy and wave as well and the homosexuals, transgender and other gender benders is important actors.

Lost in Translation?

In 1990, a woman, Judith Butler, criticized feminists and argued that by insisting that biology was not a destiny they kept on reify the gender binary. Instead, she advocated for a new 'genderqueer' politics, which challenged all gender binaries. Her point was, that feminism would only truly become liberatory, if it attempted to deconstruct the heritage from "*biological sex, performative gender, and heterosexual desire*" (Dvorsky & Hughes, 2008, 7), hence rise above the gender binary. The Women's March are a very obvious example of the fusion of feminism and the Intersectional ideology and combined with Butler's request this explain, why Gender Binary has such a large place of the Controversy.

The purpose of translation, is to create or re-create a relation between two entities. As Callon (1986) explain, translation is a process and it may fail. In the case with fourth-wave feminism, it has both failed and succeeded and I will briefly discuss why, by going through Callon's (1986) *four 'moments' of translation*.

1. Problematization

Callon (1986) state that through the 'obligatory passage point' (OPP) alliances can be created. In the Controversy of fourth-wave feminism, I can see cases where the OPP is reached and where it is not. In example, the overall claim of postgenderism seems to generally accepted by many feminists, male or female. In opposite, does other actors not seem to accept this claim an already here, the possibility for Interessement are limited.

2. Interessement

Again, in some of the groups, Interessement has occurred. If we in example take the stand of the Transgender, they tell other groups, that they 'really want' a postgender society. As the phase of Interessement also is a phase where power relations can be negotiated, this could explain why LGBTQs, has such a big part of the Controversy. Somehow, they have changed their power relation, form being a minority to now have a large place in the dispute.

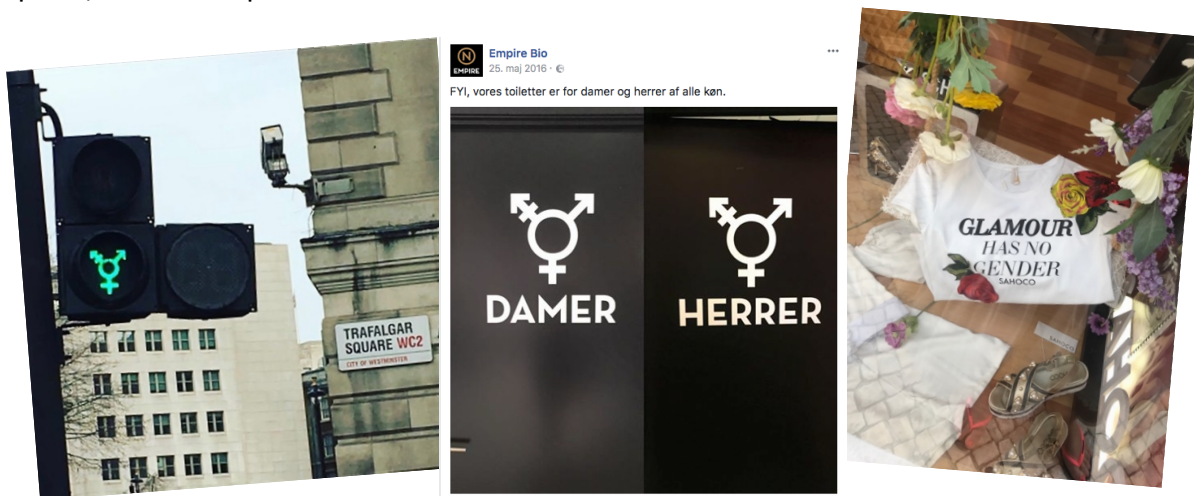
3. Enrollment

The enrollment of this controversy, represent the sides that has made alliances. Many of the counter-groups has not reached this phase. However, when obtained, enrollment strengthens patterns in the network, associated with the actors who accept them, as seen in e.g. the Women's March.

4. Mobilization

In the Controversy, there is an infinite lists of 'spokespersons' and that is why I have chosen to list six of them, and appointed those 'spokespersons' I have seen acting on the Internet. In smaller Controversies, certain actors would have been represented more thoroughly, but as this is bounded many years back, there are so many actors, that if I had chosen a few, they would not cover much. Therefore, I have been bound to grouping them.

Finally, I will claim that the Controversy has already moved from the Internet to the real world and I see many who 'offers arenas for participation' tries to make the world a more agreeable place, as seen on picture 7.1.



Picture 7.1 Pictures taken at Trafalgar Square, in the Movie Theater Empire in Copenhagen and a T-shirt seen in Portugal

Conclusion

With the example of Fourth-wave Feminism, this Thesis show how controversies can arise and play out on social media. Through Controversy Mapping and ANT, I have explored and visualized who the actors are and what the issues of fourth-wave feminism are, and thereby presented the opportunity for intervention, in order to create a more agreeable world.

The Internet consists of both a technological infrastructure and interacting humans, a network that generate social relations. The TCP/IP protocol is the mean for human activity and together these two parts form a socio-technical network. Through the technological structure, the network produces and reproduces human actions, and social networks is produced and reproduced by such practices and by the influence of technology. By taking perspective from ANT, I have showed that the Internet is not just a tangible technological structure that by using the TCP/IP protocol, transmit and format data, hence in a matter of fact-perspective, a *thing*. On contrary, it is a *Thing* – a collaborative of material-semiotics, which technological structure enables and constrains human behavior.

I have highlighted three main headlines for this Controversy and what characterizes and separates fourth-wave feminism from the previous waves, however many elements from these waves are still present-day issues.

The most outstanding matter of this Controversy, is the movement towards a society beyond the Gender Binary. Men and woman in the West have spent almost two hundred years, deconstructing the legacy from the patriarchal power, culture and thought. The burden of the patriarchal oppression on women has been reduced and women does not only function in the private sphere or men only in the public sphere. Dvorsky & Hughes (2008), argue that the decline of the patriarchy, advantages men as well as women, as social roles traditionally has led men to have shorter life expectancies, due to e.g. accidents and health issues caused by activities and risk taking. However, this is a Marathon – not a sprint (as formulated on womensmarch.com).

Finally, I have shown that Social Media is a place for activism and for planning activism outside the Internet and I have demonstrated how the issues of the controversy, reaches beyond the Internet and many already offers 'arenas for participation'.

The journey through the Controversy of fourth-wave feminism, has fulfilled Venturini's (2010) comparison of 'diving into magma', as Birkbak & Munk (2017) state, Facebook users often comment in a mess of spelling mistakes, grammatical errors and with inconsistent arguments and insults and they do not seem interested in entering into a constructive dialogue. However, I believe Controversy Mapping is important and as Venturini (2010) argue: "*The cartography of controversies takes the strongest political stand: not just changing the world, but giving others the chance to do so*". (venturini, 2010, 269)

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The origin of the Internet

1950 to 2000

The internet has its origin back in the 1960s, where a group of visionary scientists asked themselves what to do with computer technology. Was it to be an advanced calculator or should it provide interactive connection between the computer and the human?

The promise of a future with advanced technology, called for innovative ideas of how to make its future use a common technology, ideas that at that time generally lacked (Christensen, 1997). Still, the American psychologist Joseph Licklider had the idea of an interactive symbiosis between human and the computer as early as the 1950s, and he was hired by the research unit in the American Defense Ministry ARPA (Advanced Research Project Agency) in 1962, to make this vision real. ARPA was established during The Cold War. When USSR in 1957 sent Sputnik I and II in circulation, the Americans invested enormous amounts of money in the development of technology, in order to win the technology-race, and ARPA was a part of this investment. Licklider established a network called 'Intergalactic Computer Network', a network for technological research projects. The vision was to replace 'stand-alone'-computers with new 'on-line'-computers and Licklider worked on the idea of connecting all computers that were separated both physically and technically (Christensen, 1997).

In 1962, the idea to solve this problem was invented; the so-called 'packet switching'. The revolutionizing idea was to divide a message into small digital packets, that would be transported through various routes and then be united with the receiver of the message. In order to further develop a distributed net, based on the idea of 'packet switching', permission to release the project from the military was granted in 1965 and it was offered to private companies. In the tendering rounds, the firm BBN (Bolt, Baranek and Newman) won the contract, while established companies like IBM, did not bid on the contract, as they found the project unrealistic. (Christensen, 1997).

1970s

In September 1969, the first host-computer from University of California were connected to the net. Hosts are Servers; computers where information is stored online. By the end of the year, four hosts from west to east America were connected, and so the net became trans-continental. The connected hosts were named 'nodes' and by the end of 1970 there were 15

nodes connected to the net (Christensen, 1997).

BNN made sure to coordinate and expand the technical groundwork of the net. In 1972, they presented 'Telnet', which ensured the technical communication between different systems (host-to-host protocol) and the important protocol to transfer documents, the FTP (File-Transfer Protocol) (Christensen, 1997).

As packet switching already was a well-established principle for data transmission, a new programme was further developed and approved in 1974. This new programme was named TCP (Transmission Control Protocol), which converted messages into data packets and delivered the bits to the receiver as readable messages. With TCP, the foundation for the Internet was established: The free communication between all plugged-up computers. In 1978, the protocol had found its complete form as TCP/IP, where the programme was divided in two: one to process data (TCP) and one to handle addressing (Internet Protocol (IP)).

How TCP/IP Works

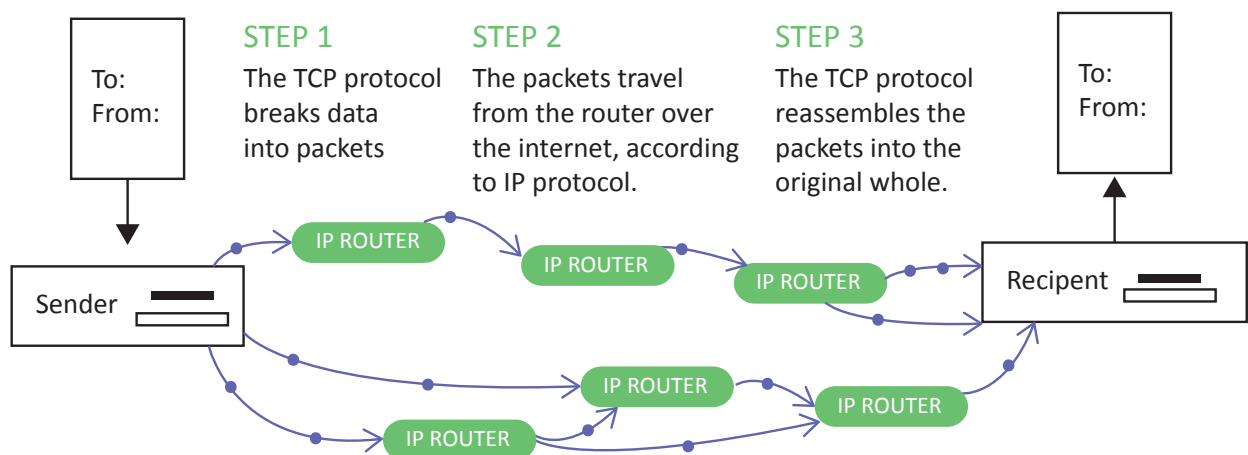


Illustration of TCP/IP technology, made in Illustrator with inspiration from technet.microsoft.com and chefuturo.it

IP-addresses are a unique series of numbers that identify hosts and computers on a network and all computers are assigned an IP-address, according to their physical location (Christensen, 1997). This means, that at its most basic level, the internet mail system consists of servers and IP-addresses. The idea of a IP-address is, that when a person sends an email or wishes to download a website, a given computer sends its own address along with the request for data. Also, the IP-address show what country you are in and it is with background in the IP-address, that certain websites can refuse you access in countries where they not have legal right to show

content (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

To distinguish between computer and user, Bob Tomblington - an employee at BBN, created a small program that could deliver electronic mail to persons and he added the @ in the e-mail address. Almost for fun, ARPA added it to the new FTP protocol in 1972 and surprisingly, it became exceptionally popular. As early as in 1973, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the communication in ARPA happened through e-mails. The programme got its own protocol and in 1975, e-mails were also used in private companies, who developed their own software (Christensen, 1997).

Usually, data transmission took place via tele communication, which had its limitations. But in 1977, ARPANET was connected to a satellite, a radio-net and a European net. This was as a part of a Trans-Atlantic research experiment, funded by the American military, who was very interested in the TCP/IP technology. Because of the increasing use in tele communication, it was predicted that the area of tele communication would need a radical change if it was to keep up with the demand of the users (Christensen, 1997).

1980s

The American military took the TCP/IP further and in 1983, the internet became reality. It was no longer an isolated net to use for research by the American military, but open to everybody. All the various nets represented along with ARPANET and NFSNET a triumphant new technology, but still, large computer firms as IBM and HP did not believe in the TCP/IP technology. The development of technology continued during the 80s, including satellite technology and the new fiber cables in tele communication. This made it possible to build a global computer net and a new e-mail programme SMTP (the Simple Mail Transfer Protocol) was developed in order to meet the increasing use of e-mailing (Christensen, 1997).

Many PCs had replaced the large Host-Computers and it became difficult to control the many addresses. In order to show a website, the personal computer has to download data. The data is stored at a server and the returned content goes through various centers of activities, that each need information of where to send it too, hence the IP-address. After a longer discussion, it was accepted to divide addresses in a structure, containing seven domains called DNS (Domain Name System). The seven domains agreed upon, were as follow: .com (commercial/private businesses), .gov (Government agencies), .edu (Educational institutions),

DARPA LAYERS

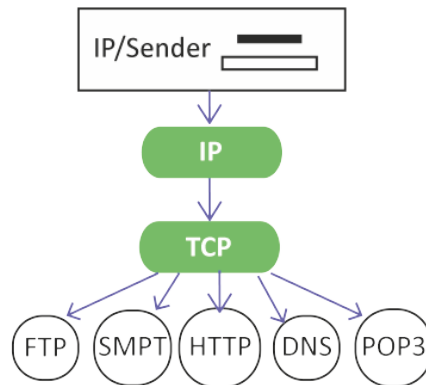
TCP/IP PROTOCOL

PHYSICAL LAYER

NETWORK LAYER

TRANSPORT LAYER

APPLICATION LAYER



The architecture of the TCP/IP protocol suite. Simplified illustration made with inspiration from technet.microsoft.com

.org (Non-Profit Organizations),
.mil (Military Units), .net
(Network organizations) and .int
(international organizations).

With this system, the internet
had got its principle of
organization. Countries besides
USA had to supply their domain
a national top domain to signal
that it was the military in New
Zealand (.mil.nz), however
many countries, among them

Denmark, chose to let go of the categories and only used the national top domain. Later, the DNS were given free and expanded. The domain name is basically an 'alias' for the IP address that translates the website to an IP-address. Likewise, is a *Uniform Resource Locator* (URL) the technical name for a web address, designed to avoid navigating on the internet with IP-addresses alone (Birkbak & Munk, 2017), (Christensen, 1997).

According to Birkbak & Munk (2017), important knowledge in digital methods is how to read an URL, as e.g. <http://www.dr.dk/nyheder>. It should be read from right to left, before the slash. The national top domain indicates that is a Danish website and the sub domain (.dr) defines where it belongs to. What is written after the slash, indicates connection to the subdomain. (Birkbak & Munk, 2017).

The derivation of Feminism seen in political context

Liberalism and Human Rights

The fight for gender equality hereditates in the thought of liberalism that originated in the 17th century and with the founding of the United States of America and the Declaration of Independence, it became a political settlement. The signing of the Declaration on the 4th July 1776, with Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) as the principal author, came after The Seven Year's War (1756-63) where one of the battles took place in North America. At that time, there were 13 British colonies who wanted independence from the British Monarchy, while the British King forced new taxes on the colonists, to pay for the expenses after The Seven Year's war. The 13 English colonies in North America already had a special model of colonization with extensive autonomy and the conflict ended with a break up between England and USA, decided that day in Philadelphia, the 4th of July 1776 (Larsen, 2010).

The taxes were an issue for the British colonies, as they originally were promised freedom from taxes, as an enticement to make people immigrate. Furthermore, half of the pilgrims who immigrated to America with the legendary ship *Mayflower* in 1620, were religious separatists, e.g. the Amish and the Puritans, who were oppressed and not wanted in Europe. Thereby outcasts, who felt no loyalty towards the English crown - on contrary they wanted a life, where they could live with freedom of religion.

The tendencies of the Declaration were liberal and sought freedom for individuals, including human rights, people sovereignty and societal pacts. The reasoning was that suffrage gives people influence on legislation, thus the enforcement of civil rights as the right to property – the essence of the liberal thinking – freedom of speech and legal certainty. A famous quote in the Declaration recites: *"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness"* (Declaration of Independence, archives.gov). The sentence 'all men' literally meant 'all men' or in fact; 'all white men' (Larsen, 2010), and were not replaced with 'all humans' until the United Nations General assembly adopted '*The Universal Declaration of Human's Rights* (UDHR) on December 10th, 1948 (un.org).

At the same time, The Declaration of Independence was a statement of war towards England, who were accused by the citizens of violation against autonomy, enforced taxation, violence and barbarity. *The American Revolution* broke out and brutal battles followed, but in 1783 England finally accepted the independence of The United States. In 1787, the Constitution of the United States were authored, with the promise of civil rights, suffrage and equality. Hereby, liberalism and the foundation for individual human rights, were established - for white males. Naturally, this discrimination led to protests from anti-slavery-people and women from day one and initiated women to involve in all layers of the American revolution (Larsen, 2010).

The French Revolution 1789-1799

In the wake of the American Revolution 1776, the first steps towards democracy in Europe were taken with *The French Revolution* in 1789. The citizens suffered under the monarchy, which they perceived as exploitation of power. With the National Assembly's formulation of *Declaration of human and citizen rights*¹ the 26th august 1789, the feudal society order was invalidated (Larsen, 2010). According to Larsen (2010), the French Declaration of Human Rights is the mother to all human rights declarations. It has 17 articles, concerning general principles and particular rights; freedom, equality, right to property, popular sovereignty etc., but also suffrage, legal rights, freedom of speech and religion. It positions, as the American Declaration of Independence, political rights over civil rights. Its liberal character is most clear with the stress of right to property and the only obligations for citizens, are the duty to obey the law and to pay taxes. But once again, women were overlooked in the Declaration (Larsen, 2010). In France, a large number of women had participated in the riot against the royal monarchy and had periodically even led the rebellion. Consequently, the protests from women seemed to be more noticeable and wide-ranging than in America. Larsen (2010) writes, that it can be discussed if there were a particular women's movement during the French Revolution, but it did put women's rights on the political agenda, and generated the first contributions towards feminism as a political ideology.

The most important contributions came from the philosopher and member of The National Assembly, J.A. Condorcet (1743-1794), the English born Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) and

¹ Original title: *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*

the French writer Olympe De Gouges (1748-93). Briefly told, they all concluded that Human's Rights, only could be human's rights, if it meant that only white males were humans. The National Assembly followed this idea about race and banned 'negro slavery' in the French colonies. They were also against the newly agreed constitution that secured human's rights, but only supported suffrage to men (Larsen, 2010). The English writer and passionate advocate of educational and social equality for women Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) wrote the revolutionizing work '*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*' (1792). She argued that the education system deliberately raised women to be irrational and incompetent. She also characterized marriage as "*legal prostitution*" (global.britannica.com).

Olympe De Gouges was a butcher's daughter and a self-educated writer of plays and pamphlets on subjects of slavery and woman's rights. She was married at the age of 17 and a widow the year after. She composed the *Declaration of the rights of Woman* (1791), a pamphlet parallel to the Declaration for men and criticized the National Assembly for having forgotten women. She emphasized that the women's liberation is not between state and woman only, but also between man and woman, regarding how women had no right to their income or assets (Larsen, 2010). She addressed the pamphlet to Queen Marie Antoinette and encouraged her to participate in the revolution, if she wanted the monarchy to maintain. In 1793, De Gouges was condemned as a counterrevolutionary and denounced as an 'unnatural woman' and was guillotined (chnm.edu.edu). Her Declaration of the Rights of Woman later became the symbol within Women's rights (Larsen, 2010).

Socialism and Feminism in France

A period with criticism of the Liberal idea then followed. After the Napoleonic Wars and the Conference of Peace in Vienna 1814-15, the development recoiled to a very conservative constitutional monarchy, but the June Revolution (1830) gave the Democracy Movement new energy. The movement criticized the liberals for creating social inequality and developed egalitarian strategies of modernism, through experimentation with collective childcare, house sharing and cohabitation. Parallel with the increasing demand of human rights among the population, came the demand of female rights. This was a pioneering attempt to create an ideological alternative to the Rightist Liberalism, with a feministic and socialistic foundation and

many women took this opportunity and became prominent in the political network (Larsen, 2010).

For the most part, it was the question of forced and arranged marriages that were on the political and philosophical agenda at that time. But in 1843, the penniless political activist and french born Flora Tristan (1803-1844) presented the idea that a social reform must come from the working class, not from the bourgeoisies. She recommended the Working Class joined in a centralized union, where they – if everybody paid a small fee – could create better terms for the workers and she formed the first step towards *The Worker's Union*. Flora Tristan was married into a violent marriage, from which she fled with her three children at the age of 22. She supported the liberal idea of human rights, but primarily she demanded Women's Rights. She argued that not before men's dominance of women ended, could the rebellion against class oppression really begin. Her work 'The Worker's Union' became her last and she died outworn at the age of 40 (Larsen, 2010).

Marx and Engels (England 1848)

As 'The American Declaration of Independence' stood as the liberal dogma of liberalism, socialism had found its stage in 1848, and with the *Communist Manifesto* the socialists got their dogma as well. It was published in London, two days after the February Revolution in Paris. The German writers and sociologists Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) were partakers in the European radical leftist environments. They had made themselves noticeable with their critical analysis of e.g. the English Working Class' living conditions and family as an institution. According to Larsen (2010) the Communist Manifesto was a commissioned work; a programme for the *Communist League*. The intention was to replace the Liberal story of *people against the monarchy, church and aristocracy* with a democratic society, with the socialist ideology of "*the workers against capitalism and a classless society*" - and with one of its key issues: The right to property annulled (Larsen, 2010).

Nevertheless, the Communist Manifesto stepped back in the matter of gender politics, as Female equality was not mentioned at all. Marx and Engels simply wrote politically active women out of the socialist remembrance community and women were only mentioned as wives and daughters, competitors of jobs and as prostitutes. When it comes to gender equality, the Communist Manifesto has the same wording as the American Declaration of Independence,

and according to Larsen (2010) they could be called “(...) *two of history's most influential men's movement texts*” (Larsen, 2010, p. 43, my translation²). Although later, in 1884, Engels published *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*; the only work with a gender political focus. He claimed that capitalism and the agricultural society changed the status of women, from being equal with men to being their property and a free workforce, also sexually. According to Larsen (2010), Engels believed that along with the alignment of class, the oppression of women would repeal. Marx and Engels voted for women in the first work organization and against the prohibition of women's right to work for contract work. Nevertheless, to the Swedish Marxism researcher Sven Ove Hansson, they still appear as anti-feminist, for example by rejecting the Women's Movement and by the sexist caricatures and jokes that were found in their archives. Furthermore, they did not support women's suffrage and Hansson concludes that they gender political-wise just were “*a couple of quite mediocre male socialists*” (Hansson in Larsen, 2010, p. 44, my translation³).

² Original quote: “*Man kunne kalde dem to af historiens vigtigste mandebævegelsestekster*”

³ Original quote: “*ett par ganska medelmåttiga manliga socialister*”