Aleksandra Ålund and Carl Ulrik Schierup

THE ROLE OF CULTURAL MEMORY IN CONTEMPORARY MIGRANT ACTIVISM: STAGING GENDER IN A TRANSFORMING WELFARE STATE

Abstract: *Contemporary scientific and media debates about cultural conflict and gender relations have consolidated stereotypical categorisations of female migrants as passive victims of traditional cultural values. This risks veiling agency against ethnic, gender and other kinds of discrimination inherent in contemporary transformation of Swedish welfare state. In the light of a critical review of the current debate on gender and culture, the authors discuss an alternative understanding of past memories in contemporary activism for gender equality and social inclusion. They illustrate how civic agency echoes a dynamic interplay between the past and the present.*

Keywords: *migration, citizenship, gender, activism, culturalism*

Introduction

Activism targeting ethnic discrimination in Sweden has not, until recently, received sufficient attention in Swedish research and politics due to widely held cultural stereotypes on the persistence of cultural traditionalism within 'immigrant associations' (Ålund et al 2008.; Ålund and Alinia 2011.). In times of a shrinking welfare state, when social exclusion of ethnic minorities tends to increase, emergence of different kinds of activism among organisation founded on ethnic grounds in Sweden, have been in addressed in recent research (Schierup, Ålund and Kings 2013). Emergence of both an organised extreme right wing political party, now present in the Swedish government, as well as expressions of everyday racism and populism, often articulate demands for cultural homogenisation, referring to the problems of cultural traditionalism, not least regarding gender relations in migrant families, which tend to be categorically regarded as a threat to democratic values of society.

The present article addresses these issues, in particular related to dominant discourses on so-called 'honour-related violence', and how this problem is per-

ceived from the perspective of gender activists within migrant associations in Sweden. In this connection the article provides a detailed account of one activist, Selma, with origin in the Middle East, and discusses how activism concerning issues of gender equality interconnects forms of rebellions inherent in the memories of past experience in the formulation of contemporary activist strategies.

In association life the issue of gender equality has been confronted squarely but also with ambivalence. Many activists that we have interviewed in the course of a research project on Civic Agency among organisation and movements founded on ethnic grounds in Sweden (Ålund and Reichel, 2007.) feel that focusing on the issue of culture in relation to gender equality entails a number of problems. For one, the question targets Muslims in particular, who are often perceived as a homogeneous group and are stigmatised as a cultural collective.

It is against this background that the present article aims to put forward a broader understanding of complexity regarding both issues of belonging – and its connection to the diaspora related complexity of migrant identities - and civic agency for social inclusion. The article's offers a critical discussion of the prevailing view of the relationship between tradition/modernity, cultural conflicts, and generational relations reflected in research, the mass media, and political rhetoric. We argue that in order to avoid a stigmatising culturalism, issues of subjectivity, identity and belonging should be related to a dynamic interplay between the past and the present. This interplay can be helpful in understanding individual inducement in the context of civil agency.

Before returning to these discussion we will, in the following session, ground the context of activism among migrants with a short presentation of the Swedish version of multiculturalism and its transformation.

Swedish multiculturalism, changing welfare state and the contemporary debate on cultural cohesion

Swedish experience on the reception and accommodation of migrants represents a specific Nordic version of a liberal multiculturalism that offered a ramified body of substantial rights of citizenship – civil, political, cultural, social, and labour rights - to 'newcomers'. This was based on a political programme formalised in the mid-1970s. It was for long coupled with a generous policy of asylum. However, we have, step by step, seen a disciplinary neo-liberalism emerging and consolidated, together with a budding neo-conservative moral rearmament and the gradual transformation and breaking up of a comprehensive pact of citizenship. The transformation of the Swedish welfare state, in the course of the country's neo liberal orientation, has been followed by social exclusion of 'immigrants' (a label that usually includes so-called 'immigrant youth', even children of foreign born, raised in Sweden), housing segregation in the major cities,

and the emergence of an ethnically divided labour market (Schierup et al. 2006.). Swedish immigrant ethnic minorities are characterised by higher levels of unemployment compared to "native" Swedes, which particularly hits young people of immigrant background. This polarization and the surfacing of a divided society seem to have accelerated since the 1990s. During that decade the level of employment among immigrants dropped drastically and unemployment raised dramatically, a development that has persisted until the present (see further in Schierup and Ålund, 2011.). Sweden is now well on its way to catch up with the erosion of citizenship and exclusionary policies of 'circular migration' across Europe. This development has been accompanied by a broad debate on social cohesion and core values, that both in official documents, popular discourses, and, mass media and scholarly research appears to lack complex understanding of the intersection of contemporary neoliberal politics and racism in the social construction of ethnicity. Today's structurally grounded ethnic/racial inequalities tend to be reduced to cultural stereotypes (Schierup and Ålund, 2011.). In Sweden, stereotypes produced by intellectuals and subsequently circulated and sanctioned in media and political discourse, had become the basis of popular common sense and institutional practice, integrated in technocratic rationalizing and organising of ethnic divisions of labour. Like in many of West European countries, politicians from both left and right have announced a 'failed integration', often seen as related to the problems of so-called cultural collisions.

This kind of 'harmonisation' of Swedish political discourse with currently dominating political discourse in the European Union includes, further on, academic interventions, official policy documents, political speeches and media reports. Taken together, this turn brings forward – more or less openly – that migration; multiculturalism and 'diversity' can become or is indeed a serious threat to our cultural unity, social cohesion, core values and equality.

Several international academic interventions have, commenting on the issues of integration and multiculturalism, put the blame on immigrants and their descendants across Europe for the lack of social cohesion, due to the deviancy of *their* culture (see debate in Goodhard, 2004.). Among the most influential interventions in this connection is the Neo-communitarian Network Paper (Etzioni et al, 2002.).

The Network Position Paper (Etzioni et al,, 2002.: 6) refers in particular to leading feminists, who are described as being 'correctly opposed to several group variances because they fear that these would entail losing whatever 'we' gained in terms of gender equality'. This intervention echoes liberal feminist Susan Moller Okin (1999.), addressing the issues of immigration and multiculturalism as a threat to the fundamental western values of gender equality. In her essay *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* Okin defines multiculturalism as fundamentally related to demands for specific rights among ethno-cultural groups, while ground-

239

ing feminism in women's rights to equality and dignity. She tackles the conflict between cultural group rights (which she argues are characteristically claimed by immigrant ethnic minority groups in the West) and individual rights (which are characteristically asserted by recipient societies). 'Most cultures are patriarchal, then', she argues, and many (though not all) of the cultural minorities that claim group rights are more patriarchal than the surrounding cultures' (Okin, 1999.:17). Okin's view has been subjected to several critical interventions, published in the same volume as her contribution. These have pointed to her narrow definition of culture, in which she categorises immigrants as largely cultural strangers who tend to be seen as a collective. Saskia Sassen (1999.), in her commentary on Okin, argues that if cultural studies are reduced to focusing merely on the gender order of minority groups, there is a risk that the collective oppression of ethnic minorities will remain invisible in the dominant society's cultural hierarchy. Several commentators argue that Okin tends to link culture with criminality, thereby contributing to the culturalisation of social problems and to the criminalisation of cultural collectives. This can lead to the creation of categorical differences that can entail a 'danger of producing the monolithic discourse of the cultural stereotype' (Bhahba, 1999.: 81) in which Western norms 'become at once the measure and mentor of minority cultures'(Bhabha, 1999.: 83).

Okin's intervention has had long-lasting influence on the contemporary academic – particularly feminist research - in Sweden and elsewhere (se for ex Siim, 2009.; Dustin and Phillips, 2008.), though, however, without a sufficient attention paid to the kind of critical remarks referred to above.

Multiculturalism, culturalism and gender

The social construction of gender regulates the positioning of men and women in the legal, political, economic and cultural spheres of society. When gender relations are disconnected from other dimensions of power, for example class and ethnicity, issues of hierarchy, marginalisation, social exclusion, citizenship and so forth become obscured or reduced to biological or cultural essentialism. Focusing on migrants in terms of culture but losing sight of the social dimension is among the problems that have been obviously present in contemporary research on for example honour-related violence in Sweden (Ålund & Alinia, 2011.; Ålund, 1999.).

This can result in stigmatising and categorically identifying ethnic minorities as posing a threat to the democratic achievements of, in particular, gender equality. '[G]ender relations are at the heart of cultural constructions of social identities and collectivities as well as the most cultural conflicts and contestations', as Nira Yuval-Davis points out (1997.: 39). In the ongoing process of culturally re-

lated debates in Sweden, the issue of gender has become central to the emergence of an exclusionary agenda.

The following section will present a brief review of the debate about cultural differences, which has come to revolve around 'honour-related violence' in Sweden. The current debate was prompted by a series of tragic events in the 1990s and early 2000s, and the deaths of three young women in Sweden, Sara, Pella, and Fadime as victims of honour related violence. Victims of honour related violence cannot be condoned under any circumstances. The right of women to their own lives is self-evident, and the freedoms and rights of the individual should not be called into question. But the debate about 'honour violence' has also come to be about more than coercion, violence, or murder directed against young women. In news reports, discussions in the mass media, official documents, and some research, Swedes have come to be polarised in broad categorisations of differing cultures: civilisation versus barbarism, Europe versus the Middle East, Christianity versus Islam. Us against them. It is difficult to see how this type of categorical polarisation can lead to a defence of cardinal values and democratic principles or to gender equality.

Critics of academic research on the honour-violence debate in Sweden and elsewhere (Rottman & Ferree, 2008.; Welchman & Hossain, 2005.; Towns, 2002.; Ålund & Alinia, 2011.; Grillo, 2008.) have argued that this research has tended to focus on violence against women as being tied to 'immigrants' collectively. Categorizing views of violence as culturally determined has ultimately produced the collective phenomenon of 'the immigrant family' (Grillo, 2003.; 2008.). Ralph Grillo, among others, has pointed out that single cases tend to be aggregated into general cultural patterns. For example, particular experiences of young girls of Muslim background come 'to stand for the values and practices of Muslim families as a whole' (Grillo, 2008.: 25). These tendencies have also come to characterises debate on honour related violence in Sweden. Putting in question this type of 'culturalism' does not deny the existence of problems associated with gender equality and violence against women in Sweden or elsewhere. Rather, we argue that culturisation of social problems and the relegation of these problems to migrants creates a disconnection of the problems of gender equality from the general social context in Sweden, characterised by various dimensions of power relations and subordination of migrants in terms of race, class and gender.

Criticisms have been levelled (for an overview see Ålund & Alinia, 2011.) against several academic interventions in the debate about honour-related violence in Sweden, most of which focus on gendered violence among immigrants with roots in the Middle East (see for example Kurkiala, 2005.; Schlytters et al., 2009.; Elden, 2003.). The central characteristic of this research is its bolstering of a defensive attitude favouring the protection of an imagined national cultural order, threatened by multiculturalism. The major arguments in this kind of academ-

ic work (as for ex, Kurkiala, 2005.; Schlytters et al., 2009.) are that international migration imports cultural deviancy, so representing a threat to a liberal order and gender equality. This kind of argument, in academic research, the mass media and professional groups, sustains the established stereotypical views about migrant families and gender relations, which connects perspectives on ethnicity and gender relations in Sweden from early research on labour migrants in the 1960s with contemporary research (Ålund, 1999., 2003.).

What is at stake here is that culture is used in the construction of the *other* as deviant in relation to and the *self* as national community. Problems associated with homogenizing categorizations are based, as argued by Bhabha (1999.), on Western cultural norms as a mentor for the 'other' cultures, have a number of effects, on research, social relations and not least on the subordinating positioning of the Other. Accessing the perspective of 'others'' experiences and cultural frames of reference require an openness that leaves room for their own life stories. This is especially important as marginalization of these stories can veil complexity of migration history, i.e. interconnection of experiences before and after immigration. Furthermore, exploring the role of culture in the migration process requires an analytical approach that reveals power relations between different public discourses, as argued by Ní Laoire (2000.:240): 'Identifying prevalent ways of talking about migration provides a window onto the power relations that result in certain discourses becoming dominant and others becoming hidden' . The production of, as initially argued, popular and academic discourses on cultural conflicts underpins the establishment of discursive power structures and contributes to the emergence of migrants as discursive cultural *strangers*.

Thus, migrants biographies condense a complex relationship between past and present, structure and agency. Analytical approach to the individual's biography in the context of migration needs to link pre- and post-migratory experience with social structures as a contextual framework for human agency. Following this line of thought, understanding the role of past in the present is essential in analyzing the role of cultural memory in contemporary activism.

Let us, in the following, present how this understanding can be illustrated with Selma's experience as activist in Swedish migrant organisation.

Past heroines as role models in present struggles

Based on empirical case studies from metropolitan Stockholm, we (Ålund and Reichel, 2007.; Schierup, Ålund and Kings, 2013.) have emphasized, on the one hand, their stigmatization and subordinate position in terms of citizenship conditions and, on the other hand - and related to processes of social exclusion - the richness of activism among associations founded on ethnic grounds.

The experience of Selma, one leading activist of Kurdish background within a federation of migrant association in Sweden, presented in the following, is a typical illustration of problems of cultural stereotyping and related to this, a need to recognize migrant biographies as expressions of complexities of diasporic life, which carry the importance of past experience in contemporary activism (Schierup and Ålund, 1987.; Ålund, 2003.).

I meet with Selma in her office, belonging to one of the National Federations of Immigrants in Sweden, where she chairs what is called *Women's Action*. She is in charge of gender equality issues in the Federation. She receives me in a large, well-equipped room. We sit down on the couch with a table set before us, with tea and biscuits. While we have our tea, I look at the photographs on the wall. I wonder who the three beautiful women are on the bookshelf. They are all around 20 years of age. One of them is photographed from the waist up gazing at distant mountains: a somewhat sorrowful, romantic-looking young woman clothed in a white blouse that reminds me of fine Parisian silk blouses with large lace collars from the 1920s. The second picture is of a young woman in a dark dress, with exposed midriff and dark shoes. Her gaze is sharp, with a wondering aspect, as if carrying a message. The third woman is wearing a traditional military uniform with full equipment. She is leaning against a tree, looking straight ahead. All the pictures are black and white.

The three photos depict, I was told, three heroines from her country of origin: a teacher, a student, and a warrior. They represent, I learned, different images of struggle for women's rights in the past; they mean a great deal to immigrant women in Sweden today, who are still struggling for both gender equality and social equality. The three professions have contemporary meanings: to fight for national liberation in the home country and to promote education for both children and adults, here and now. 'History teaches us this', says Selma. A complex set of experiences from yesterday are tied to today's needs. The pictures convey the history that connects the women's struggle with different professions and social classes, then as now. 'History helps us to remember and learn from the struggle for women's rights', says Selma. The three women palpably constitute important social capital speaking across time to their sisters who have migrated to Sweden: a complex set of historical experiences that convey the imperative that they be remembered. To remain present. To be heard. Our hostesses repeat: 'Our heroines.'

We have our tea and talk about the present. Selma tells me that women in the Federation need to struggle for their space as women, both within the Federation and within Swedish society. Women are a clearly a minority on the national board of the Federation. 'The key is to change this unequal situation.' On the subject of activities in the Federation, Selma says: "The priority lies with young women on their own terms. Conforming to government directives and available public funding for operations that involve 'honour culture', this has become a cen-

tral focus for the work of the Federation. But, she critically stresses the danger that 'everyone with a background in Kurdistan' seems to be branded with the label 'honour culture' (due to the ethnic background of the two young women Pella and Fadime, killed by their relatives in the name of honour). Surely, there are still many victims of the patriarchal family structure, Selma explains, 'but at the same time issues of social justice and discrimination in Sweden are often forgotten when speaking of immigrant culture'.

Thus, Selma informs me, that the current allocations of activities prioritise work questioning patriarchal family pattern, vulnerable girls, and especially honour violence. 'Everyone is supposed to work with these issues, especially those of us from the Middle East.' I ask Selma what she thinks their priorities should involve:

> Our perspective is more complicated ... based on a more complex reality. We communicate with parents about their life situation, education, work, raising children. To bring about changes in relations within a family that needs support, you have to look at the whole picture: Education, work, children. This is what we have learned from the past that everything hangs together. Different occupations and classes, like educational capital, play a role. We're not all equal. One way of working concretely with child-parent relationships is through a public dialogue.

How so, I wonder.

> This, a kind of impersonal dialogue between parents and children, is organised through a forum theatre where children speak to their parents and vice versa, discussing various expectations and fears ... Parents are afraid of the streets, nights in big cities, and what they see as Swedish looseness in bringing up children. This dialogue makes it possible to open up questions of concern, without risking personal confrontation between individual parents and children.

Selma argues that it is important 'to connect history and the present'; through memories we gain a perspective on current problems. This example confirms the importance of the transfer of experience between generations, which represents a core element in identity formation (Boelhower, 1989.) - an issue since long attracting attention in within migration research. The "new country's" living conditions and values can affect family relations. The world outside the family makes itself felt: new contacts, concepts, and knowledge can be inspiring, especially among young people as they interpret, reinterpret and question established conceptions of the meaning of traditions. Continuity and change go hand in hand. In the recognition of the old in new contradictions a deeper emancipatory potential can be released (Ålund 2003.; 1997.; 1994.).

The capacity to link contemporary antagonisms with those of the past can be brought to bear as a creative force: to translate and to go beyond.

In this way the creation of a sense of *home* and belonging can be understood as the right to belong to different worlds.

A central message conveyed by Selma is the importance of making use of experience from different worlds. This experience, a basis for the creation of a sense of home-making and belonging, here and now – and its relation to social exclusion under conditions of discursive strangeness – is the theme of the concluding discussion below.

Culture and rights to home and belonging

The production of cultural stereotypes in various arenas of Swedish society and in particularly in the area of gender relations and youth rebellion against segregation in suburban areas (Schierup and Ålund 2011.) is echoing problems of disconnection between the social and the cultural; that is, reduction of the social problems related to marginalisation and social exclusion of migrant ethnic minorities in Sweden to cultural deviations.

Cultural conflicts are generalised and differentiated between 'us' and 'them' especially in the view of young women , who categorically and generally tend to be understood as being positioned 'in between' the cultural expectations of their families and those of Swedish society. Such an interpretation reduces culture to static expression of tradition disconnected from dynamics (social, economic, political etc.) of both the past and those of the present.

The view of 'immigrants as a problem' in research and political contexts is part of a more comprehensive collective ascription of ethnocentric conceptions that are based on and underpin a dichotomy between the traditional and the modern in terms of cultural conflicts, including en understanding of migrants integration as tied to civilising development (Ålund &Schierup, 1991.). This understanding of culture in Swedish politics, media and parts of academia – has been present in since 1970s multiculturalism and has continued to lay the foundation of politics of "integration" since the end of 1990s and during the 2000s.

How, finally, should we understand the formation of *home* and belonging in the Swedish national *house*? Selma is an excellent example of what this might mean. Her narrative illustrates the importance of *migrancy*, that is, interaction between pre- and post-immigration-related experiences (Schierup & Ålund, 1987.). An open door to a common national house needs to reflect on recognition of the value of different kinds of experience. Cultural stereotyping of migrants, leading to subordination and social exclusion can, in combination with homogenising understanding and uncritical celebration of the majorities' culture – as in the case of contemporary political development in several EU states - become a dominant narrative for proliferation of emerging right wing political radicalism.

References

1. Bhabha, H., K. (1999.): Liberalism's sacred cow. In J.Cohen, M. Howard, and M.C. Nussbaum /eds./ *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*? p.p. 79–85. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

2. Boelhower, W. (1989.): Ethnic trilogies: a genealogical and generational poetics. In W. Sollors (ed.) *The Invention of Ethnicity.* p.p. 158–76. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3. Dustin, M. and Phillips, A. (2008.): Whose agenda is it? Abuses of women and abuses of culture in Britain. *Ethnicities*, 8 (3): 405-424.

4. Elden, Å. (2003.): *Heder på liv och död; Våldsamma berättelser om rykten, oskuld och heder.* Uppsala University, Uppsala: Acta universitatis upsaliensis.

5. Etzioni, A. et al (2002.): The Diversity Within Unity, The Communitarian Network Position Paper, paper circulated for *Expert commentaries at the European Monitoring Centre on Racism, "Key Issues" Workshop, Amsterdam, 23-34 Oct. 2002.*

6. Goodhart, D. (2004.): Too Diverse? *Prospect* (95) 16 March 2009:9.

7. Grillo, R. (2008.): *The Family in Question; Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities in Multicultural Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

8. Grillo, R. (2003.): Cultural essentialism and cultural anxiety *Anthropological Theory* 3(2): 157–73.

9. Kurkiala, M. (2005.): *I varje trumslag jordens puls: om vår tids rädsla för skillnader*. Stockholm: Ordfront.

10. Ní Laoire, C. (2000.): Conceptualising Irish Rural Youth Migration: A Biographical Approach, *International Journal of Population Geography* 6: 229-243.

11. Okin, Moller, S. (1999.): 'Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women? ' In J. Cohen, M. Howard, and M.C. Nussbaum /eds./ *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*? p.p. 7-27. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

12. Rottman, S. and Ferree, M. (2008.): 'Citizenship and intersectionality: German feminist debates about headscarf and antidiscrimination laws', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society* 15(4): 481–513.

13. Sassen, S. (1999.): Culture beyond gender. In J. Cohen, M. Howard, and M.C. Nussbaum /eds./ *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women*? p.p. 76-79. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

14. Schierup, C-U. & Ålund, A. (1987.): *Will They Still be Dancing? Integration and Ethnic Transformation among Yugoslav Immigrants in Scandinavia.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.

15. Schierup, C. U, Hansen P& Castles, S. (2006.): *Migration, Citizenship and the European Welfare State: A European Dilemma*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

16. Schierup, C. U. and Ålund, A. (2011.): The End of Swedish Exceptionalism? Citizenship, neo-liberalism and politics of exclusion, *Race and Class* Vol. 53(1).45-64.

17. Schierup, C.U., Aleksandra Ålund, Lisa Kings (2013.): Reading the Stockholm riots - a moment for social justice? *Race and Class* (in press).

18. Schlytter, A., Högdin, S., Ghadimi, M., Backlund, Å., & Rexvid, D. (2009.): *Oskuld och heder: En undersökning av flickor och pojkar som lever under hedersrelaterad kontroll i Stockholm stad – Omfattning och karaktär*. Stockholms universitet: Institutionen för socialt arbete.

19. Siim, B. (2009.): Migration, multiculturalism and gender – a Nordic perspective. Paper presented at the international workshop, CEREN, Helsinki University & The Finish Power Commission, Augusti.

20. Towns, A. (2002.): Paradoxes of (in)equality. Something is rotten in the gender equal state of Sweden, *Cooperation and Conflict: Journal of the Nordic International Studies Association* 37: 157–79.

21. Yuval-Davis, N. (1997.): *Gender and Nation*. London: Sage.

22. Welchman, L. & Hossain, S. (2005.): /eds./, *Honour: Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence Against Women*. London & New York: Zed Books.

23. Ålund, A. (1994.): Ethnicity and modernity: on tradition in modern cultural studies. In J. Rex & B. Drury /eds./, *Ethnic Mobilisation in a Multi-Cultural Europe*, pp. 57–69. Aldershot: Avebury.

24. Ålund, A. (1997.): Book, bread and monument; continuity and change through ethnic memory and beyond, *Innovation* 10(2): 145–161.

25. Ålund, A. (1999.): Feminism, multiculturalism, essentialism. In: P. Werbner and N. Yuval-Davis /eds./, *Women, Citizenship and Difference*. pp. 147-162 London & New York: Zed Books.

26. Ålund, A. (2003.): Social subordination, cultural resistance, transethnic identities. In G. Brochmann, (ed.), *The Multicultural Challenge, Comparative Social Research* 22: 205-244, JAI, Elsevier Science Ltd.

27. Ålund, A. & Reichel, I. (2007.): Civic agency, market and social inclusion: the emergence of informal economy in the context of Swedish associations established on ethnic grounds. In E. Bergren, B. Likic-Brboric, G. Toksöz & N. Trimikliniotis, *International Migration, Informal Labour and Community: A Challenge for Europe*. pp. 314–32. Maastricht: Shaker Publishing.

28. Ålund, A. Dahlstedt. M. and Ålund, A. (2008.): 'Unequal partnership; Immigrant associations and Adult Education in Sweden'*International Journal of Sociology* 38 (2):17-30.

29. Alund A. och Alinia, M. (2011.): 'I skuggan av etno-kulturella stereotypier; Perspektiv på forskning om genus, jämställdhet och etniska relationer i Sverige', *Sociologisk forskning*. 48 (2): 43-64.

30. Ålund, A. & C-U. Schierup (1991.): *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism. Essays on Swedish Societ*y. Aldershot: Avebury.

Aleksandra Ålund and Carl Ulrik Schierup

ULOGA KULTURNOG SJEĆANJA U SUVREMENOM AKTIVIZMU MIGRANATA: UPRIZORENJE RODA U TRANSFORMIRANJU DRŽAVE BLAGOSTANJA

Sažetak: *Suvremene znanstvene i medijske rasprave o kulturnim sukobima i rodnim odnosima konsolidirale su stereotipne kategorizacije žena migranata kao pasivnih žrtvi tradicionalnih kulturnih vrijednosti. Ovo dovodi do djelovanja usmjerenog na etničku, spolnu i druge vrste diskriminacije, karakteristične u suvremenoj transformaciji švedske socijalne države. U svjetlu kritičkog osvrta na trenutne rasprave o rodu i kulturi, autori raspravljaju alternativna razumijevanja prošlih sjećanja u suvremenom aktivizmu za ravnopravnost roda i socijalnu uključenost. U tom smislu je razvidno kako upravo u ovom aktivizmu odjekuje interakcija između prošlosti i sadašnjosti.*

Ključne riječi: *aktivizam, građanstvo, kulturalizam, migracija, rod*