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SÖX 203 Cultural Studies and Contemporary Cultural Theory

Master's thesis

Autumn 2005 - Spring 2006

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Ladyfest Sweden,
a female cultural initiative.

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Ladyfest Sweden is a cultural festival which aims to create a cultural space of expression for women, thus the artists and the organizers are women. It is organized by three different groups in three different cities: Malmö, Stockholm and Göteborg. This thesis is focused on Ladyfest Malmö, all the field work being realized with this group. We tried to include this phenomenon in a global and a particular logic. Therefore we question the societal context this organization grows in, its influence on the form of the movement and the concrete action and functioning of the group. What is their aim, their ideology in this collective action? How does it start and maintain through time? Why and how individuals get involved? Who are these individuals? Using the theories of Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci on Social Movements, we see that this type of organization is facing and challenging the technocratic power on a cultural field; they are fighting over meaning. They propose a creative alternative to the definition of gender codes by empowering women and diffusing female art. And we relate this dynamic to the Riot Grrrls movement (90s') which constitutes the ideological origins of Ladyfest. As a group, they experience what women should be like for them and their ideology is very much based on this concrete experience, it is more pragmatic than political. As a group, they grew out of a small network of relationships based in Lund (Smålands Nation) and this has a direct consequence: the group is socially and culturally homogeneous. This permits them to function smoothly together but it "naturally" excludes women who don't have the same social abilities as theirs or/and who don't evolve in the same network. They don't like this aspect of their group because it contradicts their ideals of democracy and diversity and it has for consequence an obvious lack of cultural legitimacy. They experience contradictions between their ideals and the concrete possibilities for action.

Key words : Ladyfest - Cultural female festival - Collective action - New Social Movement

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1- Introduction:

For a long time, I believed feminism was the fight of my parents, was a fight for the right to abort and equality at work and that it was over. I could see the success was far from complete but I couldn't see any feminist politician or any feminist demonstration.

I was looking at the wrong place. I didn't see that the field of the battle had changed. From political, it moved to cultural.

And what I saw was Ladyfest. I'm not claiming Ladyfest is THE expression of modern feminism but that was my personal teenage discovery and that is the reason for this study.

My big sister brought me to a Ladyfest festival when I was 17 and it remains a strong experience that I revitalized when I found Ladyfest again in 2005, in Sweden this time. I knew quickly it would be a rich subject for analysis and that it would feed my personal interests.

So, for the many of you who didn't live the same experience as me, I will present what is Ladyfest. Ladyfest is an artistic female festival. Music is the main art form, followed with writings, plastic arts, videos, performances and so on. The first Ladyfest festival occurred in Olympia (USA) in 2000, and from that point on, many Ladyfest festivals were organized over the world, mainly in Occidental countries. There is no copy right, it is an idea, a concept that any organizational group can decline as they want to. The core idea is to create a festival made by women and with women artists.

Ladyfest can be approached at different levels and it is thus necessary to define the terms used for each one of them. First, one can talk of *Ladyfest* in general, as a concept. Then, one can refer to the *Ladyfest phenomenon or movement* as a world wide set of cultural events linked with a common concept and label but very diversified in the form each of them take. And finally, one can think about a particular *Ladyfest festival*, he/she then talks about Ladyfest Olympia, Ladyfest Berlin or Ladyfest Nantes. In this study, we will talk about *Ladyfest Sweden* and *Ladyfest Malmö*. The actual field work is based on Ladyfest Malmö but we will often talk about Ladyfest Sweden since the three Ladyfest festivals in Sweden (Malmö, Stockholm and Göteborg) are very much in relation with each other (which is not

the case in every country), Ladyfest Malmö and Stockholm were even born from the same initiative. Therefore, much information taken from the field work is relevant for Ladyfest Sweden and not only for Ladyfest Malmö.

From this point, many questions can be raised. In this particular study, we chose a field work approach so we will focus mainly on Ladyfest Sweden and try to understand how Ladyfest concept materializes in Sweden. What organizational type? What cultural and political orientations? What sort of individuals involved? What issues within the group? At the end, the main question is how Ladyfest Malmö, and Ladyfest Sweden, works as a social movement? And this orientation is completely determined by the reading of Alberto Melucci and Alain Touraine. These two authors have been crucial in my understanding of Ladyfest. I used, with a big interest, their reflections about New Social Movements and their argumentation around the necessity for a sociology of action, of the actors.

Now that we have seen the reasons for this study, the definitions it needs and the questions it raises, we can start with the presentation of the pages that follow. First, we will talk about method, trying to defend and reflect on the methodological choices. This thesis is a local study, thus we will defend the use of field work and discuss the process of abstraction that follows (2). Second, we will propose the theoretical framework. The main theory used is the New Social Movement analysis proposed by Touraine and Melucci. And this theory with the secondary ones will be presented and discussed (3). To follow, Ladyfest will be put in its context to understand in what tendency it exists and what is its history. The Riot Grrrls movement is at the origin of Ladyfest and we will see how (4). As we have said before, the field work is the base for this study and it is thus important to present the findings of the interviews made (5) before the analysis where those findings are raised on an abstract level with the help of the theoretical framework (6).

2- Method:

2. 1- Intention of the thesis:

This thesis has the intention to formulate elements of understanding on the Ladyfest phenomenon. But the form of Ladyfest phenomenon (independence of each festival), the lack of time and a strong attraction for the gain of depth in a local study brought me to undertake to do a local study (Ladyfest Malmö) based on field work, and not a theoretical study. The representativeness of this work for Ladyfest phenomenon is not an issue since, as we will see below, it is a local study based on field work which aims to go deep in one restricted field more than find rules of actions on a general level. However, it is obvious that along the way, some elements will be discussed about Ladyfest in general.

Moreover, this thesis is a relative small sized research and therefore, the pretension of its findings can't be very high. The combination of the findings of the field work and more abstract theories leads to the construction of a theoretical framework of understanding regarding this phenomenon but the conclusions are more of interesting findings and relevant questions than clear affirmations.

2.2- Method:

2.2.a- A field study:

“The method has to be in harmony with the theoretical framework of the study.”
(Alasuutari,1995:42)

Hence, in concordance with this local pretension, the method is based on field work; the form of information seeking is concentrated on the actual field studied. Here, the field is Ladyfest Malmö and the method is deep personal interviews.

The first step of the study needs to be a phase of definition, where the goals and the field are clarified.

[translation]“As any science, sociology needs to begin the study of each problem with a definition. We need, before anything else, to show and to limit the field of the research in order to know what we are talking about. Those definitions are preliminary, and, afterwards, temporary.” (Mauss,1901:30)

The study was, at the beginning, defined as a research on feminism and music through the field study of Ladyfest Malmö, and more precisely on the whole movement, dynamic of alternative female cultural production. Ladyfest was defined as a word and as a phenomenon (i.e. introduction). This orientation was based on my first readings (Sheila Whiteley, *Women and Popular Music. Sexuality, Identity and Subjectivity*) and on my personal interests. But this focus evolved a lot through the research: the musical concern has been largely reduced because of the importance taken by other aspects such as the organization of the Ladyfest group in Sweden. And those choices of focus were mainly led by the interviews. The first orientations and interests of the study need to be continually adaptable to the field work and the first phase of definition helps to clarify the field of evolution of those orientations.

This pragmatic and prosaic approach is interesting because it permits to limit the influence of a priori on the analysis. A study that functions around strict hypothesis tends to enclose the research in predetermined concerns while, here, I tried to remain open along the way to new discoveries on the subject. This is the core principle of a field study: the theory is needed to put the findings of the field work on a more abstract, and thus interesting, level but the motor of the whole research machine should remain the field work. And therefore, the goal is not the discovery of general rules of social life but the exploration and clarification of a limited social space.

Stephane Beaud and Florence Weber wrote a book in the intention of young sociologists, where they explain the idea of a field study :

[translation] “ (...) field study is necessarily limited, strictly defined, local, specific, and doesn't have the purpose to supply with general results.” (Beaud et Weber, 2003:24)

The field work is composed of three deep personal interviews made with women active in Ladyfest Malmö: Sannah, Anna and Malin. A deep interview supposes that the researcher prepares a list of themes of discussion for the interview but no strict questions, the moment of the interview tends to look like a conversation led by the particular interests of both the researcher and the interviewee. They generally last an hour or more, and are based as well on a good human contact between the researcher and the interviewee. And in this type of interaction, the interviewee can express and develop his/her point of view, his/her subjectivity while the researcher, with his/her more objective eye, can orientate the discussion on the multiple aspects of the question. The researcher can stress this or that aspect and bring the interviewee to express him/herself completely so that this question can be fully discussed in all its complexity. The “depth” of social life calls for time to understand it. (Beaud et Weber, 2003:176)

It is therefore important here to understand the interests and the limits of a research based on such interviews.

2.2.b- Interests and limits of interviews:

The choice of interviews was motivated by a will to understand the actor’s point of view on their own action. It is of a big interest to approach a phenomenon “from the inside” by letting the firsts ones concerned talking about it, explaining it to the researcher. Moreover, as it is a “public” organization, it is interesting to grasp the way it presents itself, the image the interviewees want to give of it and the way they perceive it themselves. The idea here is to search for meaning and significance of this collective action.

“If you study structures of meaning, the way in which people classify of and conceive things, the material has to consist of texts where they speak about things in their own words, not of questionnaires where they have to answer predefined questions by choosing predetermined alternatives.” (Alasuutari, 1992:42)

Finally, interviews inform us with personal experience and thus help us to understand individual involvement.

But, the simple fact of using a method presupposes that the researcher “act upon” the reality he’s studying in order to make it understandable, he’s making choices, he’s constructing his observations.

First, the interview situation is a constructed situation; it is made especially for the purpose of the research and, as such, is not a “pure” gathering of information (if such a thing ever exists). Primarily, the interviewee adapts his/her behavior to this particular situation by maybe embellishing his image or by being impressed and shy. Then, the questions asked during the interviews are chosen by the researcher regarding the subject of the study.

Second, the findings of the interviews are constructed as well. The transcription, here made strictly word to word, is still an additional external influence on the actual material. And it is during this phase of transcription that the researcher starts to take distance towards the findings, and thus to bring out the important themes of discussion. Then, with the frame of mind inspired by the readings, the researcher constructs a relevant organization of the findings in order to present them clearly and logically. (Beaud and Weber, 2003:248-249)

Those elements are important to grasp so that we can be conscious of the material used in all its characteristics and limits.

On a more theoretical level, comes the classic question of objectivity/subjectivity in a scientific research.

First, this question finds echo in the fact/speech dilemma.

It is for sure that this work has a lack of objectivity regarding the findings of the field work. The facts in the mouths of the interviewees can be imprecise, distorted or embellished, and, as said earlier, particularly in this unusual situation. The individual perceptions of the facts are coming into the way of a strictly objective description and one can’t have a proof that the facts are real. However, with three interviews, it is possible to cross the information gathered and verify it, or at least get different elements on the same facts in every interview. And this personal interpretation of the facts can be an interesting thing to look at. The subjectivity has its own interests.

Second, objectivity calls for representativeness. How can I pretend to talk about Ladyfest Malmö when I only interviewed three persons? Well, strictly, I can’t. It is a fact that the opinions and the perceptions of three women can’t be representative of the 30 women

involved in Ladyfest Malmö at that time. However, two of the interviewees are the two women who started Ladyfest Malmö and they have been the leaders of the project, therefore, they are important and influential actors in the organization. As they are the ones who started it, they printed the organization with their opinions, their vision.

And the representativeness is anyway not the goal of qualitative research. P. Alasuutari explains that, unlike in quantitative research, qualitative data can not be considered as variables but they have to be thought as different approaches of the same phenomenon. One couldn't compare different interviews between them, trying to find an average type, it is not working. Interviews are different lights taken on the same subject and even if they lack of representativeness, they gain in depth and complexity of understanding. (Alasuutari, 1992:11-12) As we are trying to reach the meaning the interviewees give to their action, representativeness is not useful. We're not looking for rules but for significance of action.

The choice of the method is justified by the particular and local interest of the present study, the complexity and depth of the findings of deep interviews are relevant when the research is about meaning.

2.3- Process of abstraction:

Most of sociological researches, as it is the case here, aim to explain, or at least clarify, aspects of social life, to make them understandable and this presupposes that a certain level of abstraction is being reached.

And as we have seen earlier, the findings of the interviews need to be included, organized into a theoretical framework in order to lead them to a higher level of abstraction.

With the help of P. Alasuutari, we will explore now this phase of the work.

P. Alasuutari, when presenting the research process of qualitative data, brings out two phases of work: first, the purification of observations and second, the "unriddling".

The first phase is itself divided in two: first, the material is always only observed from *a particular theoretical and methodological point of view*. The idea is to find a structure, an approach to the observations of the field work in order to make them more easy to use, to purify them "into a more manageable set of separate 'raw observations'"(Alasuutari,1992:13) This phase corresponds to the construction of the part 5 of this thesis: "Findings of

interviews” which presents the interviews divided in relevant themes. And even if there is a clear will to stay the closest as possible to the actual findings, the approach to the findings is shaped by the aim of the study. In this case, the interest for Ladyfest phenomenon is driven mainly by A. Tourraine’s and A. Melucci’s theories about Social Movements. It could have been approached with feminist theories.

The second step of the purification of observations is to reduce the amount of data by combining observations. But this thesis contains a small amount of material; thus, this phase was pretty much inexistent. The observations made along the three interviews, once organized into themes didn’t need to be reduced in any way, it was a material manageable enough already. Or one could say that in this case, the two phases were overlapping each other since the method used to classify the observations was the grouping of the different information under themes that were including all of those elements in a relevant way, no exception being accepted.

The second phase of the qualitative data is the unriddling phase where the aim is to give an explanation of the phenomenon being studied. The idea is to find rules of social life by giving the findings of the field work a more abstract dimension, and that is possible by linking them to theories, to literature. This process gives the study its final conclusions and gives it legitimacy to support its ideas. This is the part 6 of this thesis: Analysis.

This process from the field work (particular) to the analysis (abstract) is the logic itself of a social study. A scientific research needs a continuing reflection on the method and the theories employed in order to make an interesting and relevant use of the findings of the field work.

3- Theoretical Framework:

To actually understand a social phenomenon, we need a theoretical framework to structure and explain what we are seeing. Here, the theories are used to bring the findings of the interviews on a more abstract level. In this logic, it is important to understand those theories independently to then grasp what they bring to the analysis, what is their particular interest for the study. However, only the elements used in this thesis will be presented.

In this present study, the theoretical framework is mainly taken from the New Social Movement theory of Alain Touraine (1984) and Alberto Melucci (1989). These theories talk about new forms of collective action and social conflict which largely concerns Ladyfest phenomenon. These two authors contributed mainly to the development of a theoretical framework on social movements. Then, follow some interesting contributions proposed by Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison with their theory concerning the relation between music and social movements (1998). Finally, Sheila Whiteley (2000) offers a historic and reflections about women and music which constituted a starting point for this study.

The presentation of these theories is chronologically ordered because, as they are close to one another, the authors reflect on the work of their predecessors.

3.1- The New Social Movements (NSM):

3.1.a- The actor perspective (Alain Touraine):

Alain Touraine, in his book called “The Actor’s return” (1984) continues his reflection on the emergent actors and forms of culture in our post-industrial societies (i.e. “Sociology of action”, 1965 and “The production of society”, 1969).

His critic of the classical idea of society leads him to draw a dynamic image of social life as a wide field of conflict through which society produces itself. There is no metaphysical and unchanging order but an on-going (but not equal) negotiation of the social norms and cultural practices between the social actors; social movements being crucial actors in this process. A. Touraine is thus demonstrating the need for a new conception of society in social sciences; he would rather talk of social action. He’s defending the sociology of action

and tries to comprehend those new forms of social life, and in particular the New Social Movements (NSM).

His main idea is that society has the capacity to act upon itself so that its nature is all in this capacity. This is what he calls the *Programmed Society*. It is a society of information because its investment, after being concentrated on the means of production in industrial societies, is concentrated in the ends of productions, that is on culture. The realm of society is being enlarged to spheres of cultural norms and practices, private life, even intimate life. A concentrated technocratic power has the control over those cultural concerns but social movements act as counter forces and it is through this conflict that society produces and reproduces itself.

His theory is based on three main concepts: the Subject, the Historicity and the Social Movement.

According to Touraine, the main figure of public life is not the citizen or the worker anymore but the subject himself and the individuation will of every individual and every collectivity. The subject is not a conqueror; he is driven by a need for subjectivity in his own experience and detachment towards the omnipresent power apparatus. “De révolutionnaire, il est devenu libertaire.” [translation] “From revolutionary, he became libertarian.” (Touraine, 1984:19) And, answering those needs, social movements are defending this new figure of the human actor; they are claiming the right for the actors to have control over their liberty and responsibility.

Touraine continues with this conception of the subject in his latest book “The Women’s World” (2006). On the base of many interviews and group meetings with women of different origins, he relates that the first and primary affirmation of women is “I am a woman”. He observes a shifting in women construction of self; they stopped being the other of men to be women for themselves.

To come back to social movements and 1984, Touraine explains the idea of historicity.

[translation] Historicity is “the set of cultural, cognitive, economical, ethical patterns by which a collectivity constructs its relations to its environment, produces what Serge Moscovici called a “state of nature” – that is a culture.” (Touraine, 1984 : 54)

Historicity is a stake; it is the central place of social life and social conflict, it is what lies between the technocratic power and the social movements.

The core notion, relating the ones just said is the concept of social movement. Let's first give the "official" definition of Touraine :

[translation] "The social movement is the action, both culturally orientated and socially antagonistic, of a collective social actor defined by its position of domination or dependence in the appropriation mode of historicity, of cultural patterns of investment, of knowledge and of morality, towards which it is itself orientated." (Touraine, 1984 :114)

Social movements are acting in the central conflict on historicity: the conflict between those who put themselves as the masters of those cultural patterns (technocratic power) and those who wants to free those cultural patterns from the social power which orientates them (social movements). (Touraine, 1984:31)

Doing that, social movements, or new social movements are actors of social change because they question the established power and then permits to take distant towards it. Their contestation of the established power passes through a call for what is not controlled by society, which means what touches the human being in itself. Touraine talks about a call for identity, individual either collective. (Touraine, 1984: 124) It's a call for life, for creativity. If we take the example of the women movement, as Touraine does it often in this book, we can see that they are trying to create a female collectivity, like a haven in marginality. They want to experience their conception of femininity, as a counter society project. And through this action, they are revealing the alternatives to the main conception in society, and this consciousness is the first step of social change.

One of the main characteristic of NSM for Touraine is that they are a-political; they act on a cultural field. However, Touraine still thinks about and stresses the influence of the political context on those movements. For him, NSM are often carried by public opinion and culturally alimented (importance of music or other cultural forms of expression) but they lack concrete action directed against concrete forms of power. Touraine still thinks the new social movements towards politics and the possibility for them to influence the power apparatus. This logic itself can be criticized. He proposes the idea that, to develop and act as a political

pressure, a social movement needs a balance between repression and openness. This avoids either the marginalization due to a radicalization of the movement either the institutionalization of it by the political apparatus or the official organizations.

We can see here that even if Touraine is innovative in his way to consider social movements for themselves and trying to understand their own meaning, he still relates them a lot to politics. He tries to understand the role of social movements in society, he shows a great analytical capacity but he lets a little bit aside the study of concrete forms of action, and it is in that sense that Alberto Melucci completes or continues this work very well.

Still, the modernity of this research is proved by its relevance for this present study which talks about an event born in 2000. In fact, this book gives a lot of clues on the nature of Ladyfest. Its nature, its organization, its concerns, its contradictions correspond completely to the NSM Touraine talks about. The call for identity, the a-political orientation, the contradictions between ideology and action, and the difficulties to grow bigger are issues which directly concern Ladyfest. Moreover, this book helped me a lot to understand the social conflict situation and evolution in time. Ladyfest, as part of the wide women movement, is directly touched by its evolution and Touraine takes it often as an example. Their attitude, their reaction towards feminism and the will to defend their own view of femininity is enough to see that the women of Ladyfest Sweden, for what concerns us, are evolving in the women movement dynamic.

3.1.b- The identity perspective (Alberto Melucci):

In the same approach to society and social movements, Alberto Melucci provides this study with a more inclusive understanding of social movements' activity, and his ideas largely shaped my own approach of Ladyfest phenomenon. The book we're going to present here is called "The Nomads of the Present, Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society." (1989)

First, we're going to present the approach of A. Melucci to then understand his view of NSM and finally we will go deeper in particular ideas of his work.

Melucci is considering the fact that the post-industrial society we're living in is highly differentiated and that the different dimensions of collective conflicts have become increasingly separated. There is a corresponding differentiation of the fields, actors and forms of action.

He criticizes the classical opposition between the focus on structural factors or on individual factors. And, for him, even when authors tried to move beyond those dichotomies in the 70s', certain problems remained unsolved. He refers for example to works of Touraine (1973, 1978) and Habermas (1976) saying that they still concentrated on the consequences of the post-industrial capitalism on new forms of social conflicts, letting aside the analysis of concrete collective action. They said why but not how. And in another orientation, the resource mobilization analysis, as well as trying to overcome old dualisms, still focus only on the formation and maintenance of a movement. They explain how but not why.

Melucci counters that dualism by attempting to understand how a social movement actually emerges. He tries to replace the individuals in the field of constraints and possibilities they're in to understand their motivation for action. Then, we can understand why the individuals are taking part in the collective action. And moreover, by considering the social movement as complex processes, he permits us to understand the construction and the maintenance of collective action as a constant negotiation.

But even if he believes in the need to link the why and the how in a closest way, he still values a lot this work of the 70s' where what he calls the skeptical paradigm permitted to overcome the reification and the depersonalization of collective action.

Second, Melucci presents his definition of the New Social Movements and even if it is very close to Touraine's approach, he concentrates more on the concrete action of those movements.

Melucci talks about NSM because he observes collective actions in areas of society before untouched by it. There are new actors, new organizational models and new repertoires of action. NSM act on a cultural ground, they shifted to a non-political terrain where the point of the movement is to challenge the cultural codes. This is a response to an evolution of complex societies where power lies increasingly in information and communication. Here,

Touraine's influence is obvious; they have the same conception of post-industrial society and the new forms of collective action.

Then, on a more particular level, NSM's mode of organization is very much based on a network rooted in every day life which constitutes its recruitment population and, therefore its actual strength. Self reflectiveness of the actors on their own action is very important since the action itself becomes the message. The form replaces the content as a manifesto.

Third, we will now go through the main ideas of Melucci's theory in order to grasp its interest for this study.

First, a very important aspect of Melucci's theory is the challenge of cultural codes as a goal for action. "Contemporary movements operate as signs in the sense that they translate their action into symbolic challenges to the dominant codes." (Melucci, 1989:12) They fight for meaning, for the creation of a counter cultural definition of meaning (definition of womanhood, definition of the relation to nature, ect) They send a message to society on a symbolic level; they create an alternative meaning and therefore, provoke society in its dominant codes. When he takes the example of the women's movement, Melucci explains its evolution and meaning today.

"But this conflict (the feminist conflict) has moved away from the strictly political spheres, in which it intervenes occasionally on single issues, and operates instead predominantly in the sphere of symbolic codes. In this way, the women's movement supplies alternatives definitions of otherness and communication, and transmits to the rest of society the message of a possible difference." (Melucci, 1989:95)

After thinking of the meaning and the role of social movements in society, Melucci explain their concrete functioning. One of his main observations is that social movements are not stable but an on-going negotiation; unity is rather a result than a starting point. To explain this Melucci proposes the idea of multipolar action systems in which the individuals construct their collective action, trying to answer three main orientations: the goals, the environment and the means. This leads to contradictions, tensions between for example the objectives and the means. And through this continual construction, collective identity is

being activated and reactivated with the recognition of the shared orientations within the group.

Melucci provides us with a dynamic view of collective action where the individuals are active while being constrained by an environment.

This approach leads us now to his idea of network. Melucci differentiates the notions of movement and mobilization. A movement is the latent part of collective action and mobilization its visible part. "These networks make possible such mobilizations and from time to time render them visible." (Melucci, 1989:70) And this latent part of the collective action is its actual strength.

"Latency does not mean inactivity. Rather, the potential for resistance or opposition is sewn into the very fabric of daily life. It is located in the molecular experience of the individuals or groups who practice the alternative meanings of everyday life." (Melucci, 1989:71)

Melucci completes this network analysis with the idea of propensity of individual involvement. And to think about this propensity, Melucci draws the social status of the actors of social movements and comes to a typology (Melucci, 1989:53-54):

1- The 'new middle-class' which consist of the 'new elites' challenging the old one and the 'human capital'. They are well-integrated, have experience in collective action and are aware of their social resources.

2- The 'peripheral group' which comprise the 'affluent marginals' like students or middle class women and the 'marginals' in the strict sense like elderly and unemployed.

3- The 'old middle-class' groups who fear for a threat to their former social position. They all act in collective action for different reasons and in different ways because they have diverse capacities and set of expectations. But the principle is that the groups who will get involve the more likely are the groups who are the more exposed to the contradictory requirements of the system. For example, the youth know the diffusion of education and the widening of their areas of autonomy but they also know the incapacity of the system to fulfill their expectations (labour market).

Melucci proposes a relevant analysis of social movements which goes deep in the explanation of the functioning of social movements while placing them in the system they evolve in. It is obvious that he follows Touraine's analysis in his concern for a sociology of action and for a new social movement theory but he explores more the concrete collective action and gives us a lot of clues on the meaning and symbolic fight those movements are leading.

For what concerns us, this theory corresponds very well to Ladyfest phenomenon, especially in matters of challenge of cultural codes, network dynamic, individual involvement and social composition of social movements. Ladyfest phenomenon appears to be completely part of this new dynamic of social conflict.

3.1.c- The New Social Movement debate:

Touraine and Melucci are defending a theory of the new social movement but this idea is not shared by everyone in the intellectual field and it is interesting here to see what are the critics made to this approach. The information about this debate is mainly taken from Touraine's report of it (Touraine, 1984:199-205)

For Touraine, three main critics can be made to NSM theory.

1- The wave of social movements born in the 70s' is a cyclical phenomenon. The situation was particular and the movements as well. It was the end of a long economic growth and the social movements can be seen as the simple reaction to the crisis. But without stating this simplistic idea, NSM theorists can be criticized because of a rush to create an intellectual pattern. It is important with this sort of emergent from of culture to make the difference between the general and the transitory.

2- Touraine explains the existence of two types of periods for social movements. A society that knows an economic growth is favorable to the creation of social and cultural movements whereas, during an economic crisis, the political action is reinforced and it has the hold on social and cultural life. In the 70s', the political action took over cultural activity and social movements were either institutionalized or marginalized. That is the fate of the feminist movement which was weakened by an institutionalization and a marginalization of the more radical parts. The opponents to the NSM theory saw in this process the degradation of the initial momentum.

3- For the same opponents, the State being the only centre of power, it became the only object of protest and it marked the end of social conflicts.

Those critics or observations are not false for Touraine or Melucci but they don't mark an end; they reveal a long and difficult process through which NSM create and fight for the cultural space they claim for.

3.2- Social movements and music:

Touraine and Melucci talk about social movements and culture, it is even in the core of their theory but they don't go deeper in the relation between them. And it is exactly the interest of the following researches, especially Eyerman and Jamison's.

3.2.a- Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison (1998):

Around 1995, Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison started to think and develop a theory about the relation between social movements and culture, and more precisely music. It resulted in the book presented here: "Music and Social Movements, Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century" (1998).

All their book aims to answer the following questions of why and how does this cultural activity of social movement function. They use music as an illustrator of their approach and they dedicate four chapters to present and explain four different historical or more recent situations where social movements and music interacted.

First, they take time to critic the recent social movements theories which, despite their growing interest for culture, leave it to a secondary role. And in the same logic as Touraine and Melucci, they defend a theoretical project where the activity and the meaning the actors give to it are replaced in the central focus of analysis

The core concept of their work is the mobilization of tradition.

What is tradition? Tradition is the common culture, what is persistent or recurrent through transmission, the passing on, the collective remembrance. But, contrarily to the common conception, it is not changeless, it is moving, evolving. And social movements have a crucial role in the reinvention of traditions. Social movements use it as a base for collective action, as a common heritage through which actors can communicate and create coordinative

action. It is as a context in which social movements emerge and which they transform through their action. It is a source or resource for new knowledge and this re-appropriation, this construction is active and conscious. Thus, social movements are cultural laboratories; they open spaces for new forms of culture to emerge.

“Tradition, the past in the present, is vital to our understanding and interpretation of who we are and what we are meant to do. As such, it is a powerful source of inspiration for social movements and emergent cultural formations.” (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:161)

Social movements, thus permit the development of alternative cultures to the dominant and to the residual cultures. By proposing an alternative, they critic the dominant schemes and at the same time, they open spaces for marginal cultures to grow.

The authors use the case of music, as a cultural tradition, to illustrate their analysis. They don't deny the fact that music can be instrumentally used in social movements but they argue that, most of the time, it has a crucial role that is often not considered enough by theories. “As the carrier of (past) traditions, music bears images and symbols which help frame (present) reality.” (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:45)

Eyerman and Jamison provide this thesis with a lot of elements on the relation between social movements and culture, as well as on music itself. The concept of mobilization of tradition itself fits very well in a movement with a heavy heritage, between “classical” feminism and the Riot Grrrls.

3.2.b- Sheila Whiteley (2000):

Sheila Whiteley in her book “Women and Popular Music, Sexuality, Identity and Subjectivity”(2000) draws a historic of women and music through the main musical movements and selected but meaningful women artists, such as Tori Amos or Janis Joplin. She develops the place, always reduced and difficult, of women in musical industry as well as women representation in male music, explaining for example how gender issue was excluded of the civil right movement music creation.

For what interests us here, she writes a chapter on the feminization of rock with character like Patti Smith or Siouxsie Sioux (influence of the Riot Grrrls, as a female punk movement) and another one on recent single artists like Björk or PJ Harvey in which she

refers to the Riot Grrrls and their specificity in the female musical world regarding their community feeling.

This was my first reading for this thesis and even if I don't use it that much at the end, it helped me a lot to understand all the history and heritage female artists, and thus Ladyfest phenomenon, are dealing with.

All those ideas and approaches furnished this study with a framework of understanding close to the subject studied. Ladyfest phenomenon and Ladyfest Sweden as an organization are clearly part of the cultural and symbolic dynamic those authors talk about. The coherence between the different theories used permit to explore the NSM phenomenon with different angles while remaining focused. Touraine will mainly be used with his observation of the post-industrial conflict, Melucci with his ideas on social movements' symbolic challenge and concrete functioning, Eyerman and Jamison with their mobilization of tradition paradigm and Whiteley with her historic report. A lot more theories could have been used but this study is a field study and too many approaches could have drowned the findings into an abstract confusion. Moreover, each of the present research has been deeply explored. This study, because of its logic and size, needed limited but fertile theory.

4- Contextualization of Ladyfest:

Ladyfest is a world wide phenomenon and it is important to understand its origins and history, on a global level, to understand Ladyfest Sweden, in particular. In this chapter, we will therefore talk about its origins, its influences and then, present a little history of Ladyfest in the world and in Sweden.

4.1- Influence of the Riot Grrrls Movement:

The interviewees agreed to see that the concept of Ladyfest is directly inspired by the Riot Grrrls movement. Even though this movement is now over, its influence in the spirit of Ladyfest is obvious and interesting.

4.1.a- Who are the Riot Grrrls?:

“Conceived by a small crew of music-minded women in Olympia, Washington, in the summer of ’91, Riot Grrrls are avowedly underground, devoted to recording on indie labels. Regardless of the rock cognoscenti’s smug dismissal of their music as un compelling and unprofessional, bands like Bikini Kill, Bratmobile and their cohorts Heaven to Betsy and Siren have sparked a new generation’s interest in feminism and reopened the discussion on women in music and the industry.” (Rolling Stone magazine, 1992)

The movement grew through the diffusion of ‘-zines’ (fanzines). It spread on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean with bands like Huggy Bear in The United Kingdom. As all the musical movements, it is hard to tell when they actually end but I think we can say that the Riot Grrrls movement is over since there is not anymore such a community and momentum as in the early 90s’. However, they influence so many bands still today that they are still actual, at least in spirit.

4.1.b- Influence on Ladyfest:

Ladyfest is widely influenced by this movement, and more precisely by its spirit. There were some strong and in-control women making music before or outside of the Riot Grrrls movement like Courtney Love, Tori Amos or PJ Harvey but the thing that makes Riot

Grrrls bands special is that they were following a common spirit, they were sharing a same frustration in front of a patriarchal society and music industry, they took a step further than isolated women artists.

This spirit is based widely on the Do-It-Yourself (DIY) attitude with the idea that women should dare to be whoever they want to be, to do whatever music they want to play even though they don't have the 'normal qualifications to do it'. The Riot Grrrl's music is very punk-orientated and far from technical virtuosity. And this is a very liberating attitude that aims to free women from the passivity status they are put into in society. It was a radical attitude which aims rebellion and disobedience as a rule of action.

Some Ladyfest festivals are more influenced than others by this movement, some are more radical and punk orientated than Ladyfest Sweden for example, but the concept itself of Ladyfest is completely following this idea of empowering women and stop being too serious. (SANNAH) "... well I don't say that everyone who has done the Ladyfest listen to the Riot Grrrls but I mean, everyone can at least relate to it and ... like respect that movement a lot. Yeah, it was kind of the starting point for ... today feminist movement merely, I mean, at least culturally. Just in the approach to music and the male-dominance within music and I feel like ... they really highlighted the fact that you should have fun. Not take yourself too seriously and not be like ... too critical and be angry all the time but really have fun and I mean that's ... really the great thing about Ladyfest, that it's such a positive event" (interview 1: 6)

As Sannah says, they were really influential for Ladyfest in their way to make politics through culture, through music. The concept is about challenging gender and cultural codes and experiencing a liberated way to be a woman.

"Although the identification of rebellion and disturbance suggests, initially, another page of the saga of youth cultures, the significance of riot grrrls lays equally in their explicit challenge to popular notions of adolescence, femininity, youth cultures, political identity, and in their celebration of grrrl power." (Whiteley, 2000:209)

In Sweden, the radical stand has been water out but the spirit is still here and as in the early 90s', Ladyfest is a response to a feeling of frustration towards the evolution (or not) of gender issues. It is a fact that crucial steps were taken in the 60s'-70s' with the feminist movement, so that a lot of people think the fight is over. Facing that silence, persons

concerned with women's place in society feel powerless in front of patriarchal forces which are more invisible, but not less strong, than before.

4.2- History of Ladyfest:

4.2.a- Ladyfest world:

Following is the presentation of Ladyfest on the web-site of Ladyfest Europe (www.ladyfesteurope.org)

“What is Ladyfest?

Ladyfests are non-profit events organised mainly by women; they aim to showcase the talents of female artists and performers. The events are focused mainly on encouraging the talent of women and girls, but are open to everyone. Its roots are in the underground scene.

The first ever Ladyfest took place in [Olympia, Washington](#) in 2000. The following year similar events took place across the US ([Ladyfest Midwest](#) in Chicago and [Ladyfest East](#) in New York) and also in Glasgow, Scotland ([Ladyfest Scotland](#)).

For the following three years, grrrls from the US and European countries also organized their own, and it looks like the trend is not over yet.”

The web-site Ladyfest Europe is an initiative to make the different European Ladyfest festivals to communicate together but on a general basis, there is no Ladyfest copy-right neither world-wide leadership so all the Ladyfests are completely independent from each other. For instance, Ladyfest Sweden had a little contact with Ladyfest Copenhagen once but not more. There will be links and a network inside a country but no real world wide community.

4.2.b- Ladyfest Sweden:

Even if elements of the history of Ladyfest Sweden will be given along the presentation of the findings, it can be a good thing to present the way it started in a dry way before everything.

Ladyfest Sweden started as an initiative of Malin and Jenina, two women active at the time in Smålands Nation¹. They were both booking agents² for this Nation and both feminists. Jenina heard about Ladyfest, proposed the idea to organize one in Sweden and they just did it. Jenina went to make one in Stockholm where she was living and Malin started one in Malmö with Anna, another booking agent of Smålands. The three of them met once in Stockholm to draw the big lines of how they wanted their Ladyfest to be. In Malmö, Malin and Anna started to gather friends and people they knew would be interested to build the organization. All the workers were volunteers. It was in 2003. They were 8 organizers and they did their first Ladyfest Malmö in May 2004. The organization was not really thought through, it was more like each person is doing what she can and wants to do with Malin and Anna as leaders, coordinators.

During the process, many people got interested in doing this another time so they started again with around 30 people. The second Ladyfest Malmö occurred in fall 2005. This time, they formed groups: a film group, a music group, a literature group, an art group and a “marketing” group. Each group was working pretty much independently and they had as well general meetings. Anna and Malin were still the leaders at the beginning but they both got pregnant so two new leaders took the shift.

Both times, Ladyfest Malmö made profit out of the festival. At the end of the two festivals, when all the incomes were calculated and all the bills paid, they had a positive number. Even if it was not a profit-making project, it ended up making profit anyway.

In 2004, Stockholm had their Ladyfest one day before Malmö. And in 2005, Göteborg had one as well so the three cities were following each other in a row on three days. The Ladyfest of Stockholm and Malmö were born at the same time and out, at the very beginning, of the same network while Ladyfest Göteborg was born a year later and out of another network. The three Ladyfest Sweden are really much in contact and they can offer

¹ - Smålands Nation is one of the 13 Nations active in Lund, Sweden. A Nation is a student organization that proposes diverse activities, pubs and club evenings to the student of Lunds university. Each student has to be member of one of those Nations and this membership leads, more or less, to a community feeling. Smålands Nation is the only Nation in Lund which claims to be political, actually socialist and therefore, this is maybe the Nation which has the strongest community life.

² - A booking agent is working in a cultural structure as the responsible for the booking of the acts presented, like music performances for instance. He/she is in contact with booking agencies and therefore, has the possibility to choose among some or many artists the one he/she wants to present on the stage concerned.

the international artists to have a sort of “Swedish tour” but they are all different. To be simple, Göteborg appears to be the more radical one; they are more punk-rock orientated. On the opposite, Stockholm is more commercial; they have the will to become a big festival and they are apparently trying to get “big names”, the recognition given to the artist seems to be a more important criterion for them than for the girls in Malmö or Göteborg. Ladyfest Malmö would be somewhere in between the two others on the continuum of Radical-Conventional. The will for popularity is evident but they have as well a big concern about remaining truthful to their feminist ideas.

5-Findings of interviews

So, here are the main ideas which come out of my three interviews, I tried to organize them into themes that are coherent within them and towards each other. And the themes respond to the will to remain the closest as possible to the words of the interviewees *and* to the need for a clear and methodically constructed organization of the findings. I know there are some repetitions but I couldn't avoid them since a same fact, a same aspect can be approached with different angles. I made the effort not to include any information or theories I read in literature or other and the reader needs to remember that this chapter is not scientifically demonstrated but a presentation of the interviewee's point of view. However, some themes, approaches and analysis are clearly influenced by my readings, especially Melucci's theories.

First, as Ladyfest is a public organization, it is interesting to see how the interviewees present their festival, to see how they invest it (5.1). Then, using the individual information given in the interviews and following Melucci's concern for the individual social and psychological aspect of collective action, the individual involvement appears as a relevant theme (5.2). Afterwards, the organization of Ladyfest Malmö needs to be explained, and the justifications of the organizational choices are led by ideological principles (5.3). We work here on a cultural festival with an obvious political side and it is thus interesting to talk about the relation between culture and politics, this being inspired by Melucci's work on this subject (5.4). The cultural ground of this social movement leads to a challenge of cultural codes, and more specifically sexual roles (5.5). If we then consider Ladyfest Malmö as a group, the most interesting finding is the homogeneity of this group and the opinion of the interviewees on this aspect (5.6). Finally, and as an annex to this study, a national comparison between Ladyfest Sweden and Ladyfest France was approached and it reveals the importance of the national context (5.7).

5.1-Self-presentation:

First, I would like to present the idea, the concept of Ladyfest as they presented it to me so that we can later on see all the aspects and implications that come out of it.

Ladyfest Malmö aims to create a forum for female artists to express themselves so that people can discover the diversity and the talent of women artists. The idea is to give these artists the opportunity to be who they are, preventing them from being the “female exception”, to prevent them from being *the* woman in a male dominated festival. The spot lights are on women!

The festival is completely open to men. Only the organization is separatist, single-sex, the idea being that women will be more liberated and willing to take initiative if there are no men around.

The organization is clearly feminist since all of its members are and since they are making a feminist statement with the goal and the form of the organization but it is not written anywhere explicitly and it is not the focus for them.

5.2-Individual involvement:

If we approach these interviews in an individual perspective, we gather elements that can explain the reasons and rewards of personal involvement in Ladyfest Malmö.

The first question is: why do they do it? Or why do they like it? There are obvious answers to this question like the network influence (we will go deeper in the network aspect later on). Malin said she first started because it was something to do with her friends. And they agree to admit that most of the “new” girls come because they know somebody in the organization.

Then, the women who get involved in Ladyfest are all culturally interested and feminists at the same time; Ladyfest then appears to be the perfect combination of those two. The project in itself is attractive, innovative.

But the most interesting cause is that Ladyfest appears to them as a new form of movement that is liberating. Some of them were active in some political organizations before and some

took part in the feminist life of Smålands Nation with discussions and so on and they were all frustrated by it.

(SANNAH) “I mean, Ladyfest is actually one of the most positive experiences, I mean the ... like the first, like the youth party, I mean, that was ... (sigh) well, it was quite narrow minded and you often felt that you were not allowed to say certain things and I mean (...) Then it was like ... the way the people talked about like ... outsiders or things they didn't like, it was like hard and condemning and I think ... I mean, that's sort of a problem that you always get when you're like very political, that's like ... the politics is the main issue you feel, concerned and everything evolve around that in a way. I was involved with Smålands ... and Ladyfest, I mean, the purpose was like in one respect, was mainly on like just making it work and just having a club and bringing the concert and making people come and then, you always make it work in this other perspective that, I mean, it makes you much more pragmatic and like open to other ways of doing things and ... yeah, I really prefer that way of organizing myself” (interview 1: 12-13)

They are thrilled by this positivism and this pragmatism of Ladyfest. “It's fun!”

The second thing is the rewards they get from Ladyfest.

Getting involved in this organization can be really time-consuming. The three interviewees agree that sometimes, it's hard to deal with all their responsibilities (studies, work, family...) and Ladyfest at the same time, especially the last three weeks before the actual Ladyfest festival. But they apparently often get as much energy out of it that they give for it.

During the process, they get satisfaction with the problem solving or the development of ideas to achieve their goal. Malin talks about the happy feeling one gets when a good and well thought through idea pops out of the group.

They also enjoy the community. First, with Ladyfest, they discover the community of women artists and as they are often artists themselves, it's a good feeling to see you're not alone doing it (interview 1, page 3). Second, within the organization, they help each other out; they always have the group behind them for support if something goes wrong (interview 1, end page 10).

And afterwards, they can say “we did it!” and that's a big reward for them. As they are all volunteers and often beginners in festival organization, it's a big pride to achieve a project

that important. And here again, the feeling of having done it together with the other girls is very important.

Finally, they get rewards from the audience that liked it and tell them how good it was.

The women who get involved in Ladyfest Malmö are often pulled in by the network and attracted by a project “made for them”: it combines their interest and responds to their frustration of inactivity. And they are mostly rewarded by a feeling of collective pride.

5.3-Organization and principles:

The Ladyfest concept is based on the Do-It-Yourself (DIY) spirit that is on the idea that anybody who wants to can do a Ladyfest. There is no copyright or anything, it is a concept that can be taken by anybody and that can be declined in a lot of ways. The idea is to do something positive and to have fun doing it. The Riot Grrrls movement (see part 4) was the first one to prone this state of mind and Ladyfest is widely inspired by it.

In Malmö, this freedom and encouragement to take initiative led some girls active in Smålands Nation to make this idea theirs and start doing it, sort of spontaneously. The first motivation was to do something fun with some friends. There was no further plan behind; it was just about following their interest. It was like a hobby, like a thing to do and to be involved in besides school. Then, the idea, the concept of Ladyfest seduced them more and more and they finally got passionate about the project.

And the spirit of the beginning remained through the process. None of the girls who got involved in Ladyfest later on was asked about her qualification and, most of the time, girls get involved because they know somebody inside; it is very much friendship based, or at least network based. This means that the women getting active were often trying their hands on something new, like Sannah with the marketing group. However, the women who get involve in Ladyfest Malmö, knowing the network they’re from, have often some kind of experience in project building in a general way.

In this spontaneous spirit, the organization was not really thought through. The first time, each worker was sort of independent but still, there was apparently a pretty classic boss-employee relation ship between Anna-Malin and the other girls.

(SANNAH) “I think the first time we did it, it was really new and, I mean there wasn’t a lot of people who actually have been to a Ladyfest before ... so I think the project leaders, they were like ... more like a classic boss- employee relation ship you know, because they were the one who knew what needed to be done and they talked to people, and you had some autonomy, I mean, within the field that you were working so you were kind of free but still, they had the upper word and everything” (interview 1: 2)

The idea of the groups came only at the second Ladyfest while reflecting on the first one, they though it couldn’t work anymore like before, knowing they would be a bigger group. The first time, Anna and Malin became naturally the coordinators because they were the one starting it but they tried all along to remain as democratic as possible by being open to discussion and permitting all the people involved to express themselves. And that’s as well an idea of DIY, the idea that hierarchy is not a positive thing. For the interviewees, it is needed but it has to be discussed, questioned all the time. Moreover, one can see that Anna and Malin were sometimes uncomfortable with their position, not knowing how to coordinate without taking too much space.

This DIY initiative gave birth to a spontaneous organization where roles are not fixed. There was a natural evolution that led to more structure in the group but as there is no selection in the workers and a rejection of hierarchy in the traditional way, everything remain based on human beings and their ability (or not) to combine their diverse efforts to achieve the goal they have in common.

5.4-Cultural/Political:

Ladyfest is a cultural festival but not only, it has obvious political implications and this aspect is quite complicated to grasp. The stand of the Ladyfest organizers towards politics is quite paradoxical. They *are* political, in the sense that they are making a feminist statement with this festival but they would like it not to be the main focus, while society looking at them, always sees this political side first.

The interviewees want Ladyfest to be half cultural-half political.

(SANNAH) “... this year, we were pretty good at having ads in the newspapers, have paper write about us and come to see what it’s all about ... and preferably like big newspapers or like music press who just covers music generally. Because, that’s really what we want to be associated with, I mean,

we want to be like ... well, I guess we want to be like 50-50 but I mean, we want to be as much like a political organization and a musical and artistic arrangement among others but like with a certain politics so ...yeah, I think you really want to have like one question each.” (interview 1: 14)

They don't hide the fact of being feminist. But they would like their movement not to be feminist in the traditional understanding, that is a political militancy which is fighting directly against something; they would like to be feminist in a positive understanding, like a creative initiative aiming not to respect the patriarchal society. They would like to avoid all the negative associations made with feminism like their intellectualism, their close-minded attitude, their love for complaints and so on. On this last point, they like Ladyfest because it permits them to present a positive initiative to all those who have the image of a complaining feminism.

On a more personal basis, they would like not to have to respond for everything that is feminist; they fight hard to make the point that there are as many feminisms as there are feminists.

It is a question of not being misunderstood and of fighting against the negative image of any feminist initiative. And in their will to get diverse organizers and diverse audience, this negative image doesn't help because it scares away people while they want to attract them. They want to be popular, to attract a crowd that is not already convinced by feminism.

And we have to ask: why would society always consider female artists as female artists while it consider male artists as artists? How can we get rid of this gender label? Anna and Malin are musicians themselves and they experienced how hard it is to be a female artist because you are constantly sent back to your womanhood and denied in your musicality. They want the artists of Ladyfest to be appreciated for their artistic quality and not for their bravery to be a female artist.

And that was a big point of Ladyfest's concept: if every artist is a woman, people will not look at each of them as women.

(MALIN) ““Well ... the main thing is ... to create a forum for female artists where they can sort of be just who they are and not be the female exception <Mm> and also, to, for the audience, to see female art without sort of considering whether it's female or not. I mean, I do believe that if everybody is female, you don't think of anyone as female.”

E: “You really think this is working in the minds of the people coming?”

M: “I don’t know if it’s working because it’s only one day, at one Ladyfest <Yeah> but I do know that it works every other day because every other artist or musicians, almost, are male and nobody consider them male, they just consider them artists” (interview 3: 6)

Ladyfest challenges the gender codes of society by willing something abnormal that is a female cultural festival, to become normal. To be simple, this is a fight between the patriarchal society and Ladyfest over the definition of gender codes. Ladyfest wants to introduce in society this festival but as it questions some of the limits of the system, society considers it as a militant initiative. Ladyfest is a militant initiative which wants to overcome this militancy via culture.

5.5-The challenge of sexual roles:

The concept of Ladyfest is based on the challenge of sexual roles; we’re going to see how.

First of all, we agreed together with the interviewees that sexual roles are really strong in society. Their rules are really hard to tackle. Men take more social space than women in all situations, in classes, in bars, and even when it’s about choosing a hospital to give birth (interview 3:10) And the interviewees admit they are playing their role of woman most of the time: they talk less when a man is around.

And Ladyfest is an initiative that challenges those codes in the simple fact that it’s an event focused on women, an occasion where they are the group in power. There is a challenge in three aspects of Ladyfest: the art displayed the single-sex organization and the non-separatism of the audience.

To be chosen by Ladyfest Malmö, the artists don’t have to be feminist even though they often are, they just have to be strong role models, women who express themselves in an original way and who are in control with their art and themselves. Then, they can show women and men of the audience that women can do good music, good art far from the classical image of a beautiful front singer.

Then, and most importantly, the single-sex organization offers women a “safe house” outside of the patriarchal society where they can take the power that is usually reserved to

men. The fact of being only women gives a different chemistry to the group. Some women who are normally quite shy take this occasion to stand up and realize themselves in this positive environment.

(SANNAH) “Yeah, I think that there’re a lot of girls who are really ... within the Ladyfest work, they are really forward and they really take initiatives and ... maybe in other circumstances, I mean like in their every day life, and their education, they take a step back, they’re more much restrained and ... don’t really have that presence that they do when they’re working with Ladyfest so I think, it’s both ... it’s like a personal evolution, I mean, you really change as a person and I mean you need to do a lot of things that you might find a bit uncomfortable, I mean, to call people up and negotiate and I mean, get deals with different ... companies and things like that so I mean, you really get to, you get to practice on things that you (small laugh) probably wouldn’t do otherwise” (interview 1: 10)

Anna and Malin thinks that even if they were taking a lot of space sometimes in the organization, being the leaders, the other women were not afraid of them, they dared to go and talk to them surely easier than if they were men coordinators. They are persuaded that it would change everything if one single man came into the organization.

Finally, during the actual Ladyfest evening, men have to adapt their behavior to a situation where women are in control. There were approximately 70% women and 30% men but that is not the point; the point is that women are the focus, it’s an event where they are all, as women, valorized.

And that is why the organizers of Ladyfest Sweden thinks that separatism in the audience is contra-productive, that it is much more interesting to bring men to live this experience. However, this is not working all the time because apparently, in Ladyfest Stockholm one year, there was a karaoke and men took a lot of space singing loud and making sure to be seen and heard. But in Malmö, the interviewees felt that men took one step back and were pretty discreet. And this is very positive for them.

In a patriarchal society like ours, the initiative of Ladyfest challenges the sexual roles by giving power to women. It gives women the possibility to express themselves and to assume their creativity and ideas in a positive way.

5.6- A homogeneous group:

This is a fact: the Ladyfest group is homogeneous and the interviewees are really aware of it. Of course, there are exceptions but most of the women involved in Ladyfest are white, middle class, heterosexual and “academic feminists”. Most of them are students, with an academic career in front of them or working in the cultural/artistic area. For instance, Malin is studying to be a psychologist. Both of those positions give them the time and the social resources to be involved in this type of organization. And they apparently have the same feminist orientation that is a pretty intellectual feminism (read feminist theories), they have the same analysis of society. And, while some of the Ladyfests in Europe (France) are often very homosexual, in Malmö, this is pretty much inexistent.

What are the consequences, the implications of this homogeneity?

This aspect leads them to have an unsaid understanding on the goals and the form of Ladyfest. They apparently don’t discuss politics at all, they don’t organize debates about core issues of feminism, they mostly have pragmatic discussions about the choice of the artists, but even there, there doesn’t seem to be major conflicts inside the group. They agree on the practical aim of their organization and therefore, try not to focus on the differences between them. They can be different in their interest, some might be more politically orientated, others more musically orientated but they have a strong enough understanding on the ‘good’ way to act collectively so that these differences are not a problem.

And the question is: would this organization work without this understanding? To build a cultural project with politic implications without discussing politics is it possible if the group has really diverse opinions?

Another point is that those women seem to have a good believe in their own capacities. One needs to be confident to think she can participate in this project without the qualifications required usually. For example, Sannah had to call hotel managers to arrange a stay for the artists while she never did anything in public relations before.

This homogeneity gives them the possibility to function smoothly together in a sort of “natural” way. They have the same way to work, the same way to be, the same ideals and that gives them the possibility to be active together without having a strict organization.

They are very aware of this aspect and they look at it as a problem, a failure of their project. It counteracts their ideals of democracy and diversity. It brings them frustration.

They would like the group to be more diverse because they think it would as well bring more diversity to the festival. They would feel bad to introduce a gay act for example just because it is a gay act, like some festivals do with women. They lack for legitimacy.

They have a web page where they invite people from elsewhere to take part in the project but apart from one or two exceptions, this didn't really work.

They explain this problem by several aspects.

First, Ladyfest Malmö works very much network based so it's hard for people who don't belong to this milieu to come. Moreover, they are a group with power, as Malin says, they are not an Iraqi female group, they are not in such a weak position in society so they know they can be intimidating. And feminism, in a general way, can scare away because of all the stereotypes and the idea that a feminist has to be this way and not another, that she has to have read Simone de Beauvoir and have short hair. They know they are not seen as a really open group while they really want to be. And as they are homogeneous, people would be afraid of being an outsider.

It is really a big concern of theirs but they are quite fatalist about it. They say that it is really hard to reach other people.

(ANNA) "... if I was asked what I'm the most disappointed with, with Ladyfest is probably this frustration with how to get to new people <Mm> because ... you've got your core of feminist friends and then, you sort of have extended group of people who you know ... and it feels like, it's like you can get to those sort of, they might come to the festival even though they're not really interested in feminism but you never get to these people here (hand gesture showing in the air a distant area from the core) ... and you can never get these sort of immigrant girls and stuff like that, it's awfully frustrating" (interview 2: 14)

They think it would be possible if they had a lot of time and energy to dedicate to it but they don't. They would maybe go to schools to make Ladyfest better known in other social areas but it would need to be a focus in itself and here, the focus is to make a festival. As they are all volunteers, they simply don't have time and energy left to reach that goal. But in another way, they are not satisfied with this argument of "we can't do everything", they would really love to find a solution but the festival is the priority.

The homogeneity of the group is obvious and positive in a way because it permits them to function smoothly together but it disturbs their ideals of diversity and democracy.

5.7-Ladyfest: national comparison:

As I come from France, and as I know about Ladyfest in France, the comparison always came in the discussion with the interviewees and I'm able to give some elements about it but there is an obvious lack of information on Ladyfest France.

In France, Ladyfest is really alternative. It is an underground festival with a small budget while in Sweden, Ladyfest has a pretty big budget and is more "commercial". Malin was saying that a lot of "alternative people" think Ladyfest is "uncool" because too commercial. They were sponsored by MTV and some more radical people thought it was bad. This simple fact is a telltale: Ladyfest could never be sponsored by such a big company in France. And they wouldn't like to I think.

We can explain that by the fact that feminism is more accepted, more mainstream in Sweden. Malin explains that most of the political parties in Sweden claim to be feminists. Feminism is "fashion" while, in France, it is more militant maybe.

I made the personal evaluation that feminist ideas were much more common in the mentalities of Swedes than in French people's ones. Men are less macho in Sweden and gender equality is commonly recognized. Still, the situation is far from perfect and this is still a patriarchal society but I noticed a big cultural difference. The interviewees couldn't really accept that Swedes were that good; they maintain that there is still a huge problem in gender equality in Sweden.

Finally, Ladyfest France was much more Lesbian than Ladyfest Sweden. And this is really related I think to the kind of persons who organize each Ladyfest.

And so, if one places Ladyfest in its national context, it's interesting to see how it is accepted and how it is classified by society. Ladyfest Malmö received 35 thousands Swedish crowns from the Swedish Academy and that simple fact would be astonishing for the organizers of Ladyfest France.

6- ANALYSIS:

6.1- Context of Ladyfest Sweden:

6.1.a- The post-industrial society:

If we want to understand Ladyfest Sweden, or any kind of social movement, it is of a prime importance to know in what societal context it emerges and evolves.

Alain Touraine and Alberto Melucci describe the contemporary society as a society which is able to act upon itself, thus a society in continual change. As we have seen in part 3 of this thesis, the notion of historicity implies a fight over the social uses of cultural orientations shared by the actors in society; this is the logic of society's evolution. Society changes through conflict.

And this conflict tends to occur more and more on a cultural and symbolic ground. This means that an only-political reflection on society does not include all the fields of conflict; conflict being a fight over the power to control a social space (or activity, or identity, etc...) claimed by two adversaries. For instance, the feminist fight goes way beyond the only political reclamations; it is as well a fight over the significance, the meaning of womanhood which is mainly hold by patriarchal power. And this implies that the adversary of social movements is sometimes hard to define. The adversary of Ladyfest Sweden is not personified; it is a logic, a tradition present everywhere. This brings to confusion in the perception of social conflict, for the public opinion as for the social movements themselves.

Moreover, in this context where the actors are more and more conscious of their capacity to act on social life, social conflict is everywhere. Society is a field of antagonistic social relations. (Touraine, 1984:184)

6.1.b- Ladyfest as a New Social Movement (NSM):

In a complex society like ours, as we've just seen, the field of the social conflict is the symbolic field; it is a fight over meaning. Then, the production of meaning becomes the aim of the movement. And that is the core principle of the NSM model.

Ladyfest Sweden is completely part of this dynamic, let's see why and how.

Ladyfest Sweden is fighting against the patriarchal society over the definition of the cultural codes of gender, and to achieve that goal, the movement challenges those codes with a creative alternative. And, by doing that, Ladyfest makes the technocratic power visible.

First, this fight over meaning is led via an artistic production (mainly music) which provides a space for cultural challenge. Ladyfest organizers tend to create a social and cultural space for female expression where music and scene performances are invested with a message, a meaning. For instance, the artists on stage can challenge the codes of femininity by being a strong and positive female role model or they can play music normally reserved to men (i.e. Punk music)..

Second, Ladyfest Sweden doesn't have a manifesto or an outspoken political line, their message, their opinions are expressed via the form of the movement itself.

“The organizational forms of movements are not just ‘instrumental’ for their goals, they are a goal in themselves. Since collective action is focused on cultural codes, the form of the movement is itself a message, a symbolic challenge to the dominant codes.” (Melucci, 1989:60)

By choosing to have a single-sex organizational group, all the power they have within their field is in the hands of women. This is a statement in itself.

And beyond the rejection of dominant cultural codes, their initiative to experiment new cultural codes provides a cultural laboratory for women to live in a space outside of the patriarchal system. The interviewees all agreed on the actual strength of traditional prescriptions of sexual roles, even for feminist women like themselves. While, being only with women frees them from those strangleholds. The interviewees talk about a ‘safe house’.

This is totally in the model of NSM developed by Touraine and Melucci; Ladyfest Sweden is defending a social space, a community where they can experience new codes and especially new social roles in agreement with their ideology.

6.1.c- Political culture:

Different groups have different political cultures, the classical distinction being between a reformist and a revolutionary orientation, the first one calling for an integrationist mode of action and the second for a confrontational one. This distinction is a model, in reality it is not that clear cut.

Within the feminist field more particularly, the distinction between integrationist and confrontational point of view means that one side would believe in the capacity of society to accept women's difference and integrate it smoothly with time; and the other side would believe in the necessity for the creation of a complete new space for women's expression since this expression can't come out through 'male's world' uncorrupted.

This dualism is overcome today since the women movement is all turned towards the creation of a new space to express women's difference but the distinction is still relevant when talking of collective action strategy. The question is to know what sort of action is useful (and possible).

It is clear that Ladyfest Sweden stands for an integrationist action. They believe that, through arts, cultural codes can be challenge and little by little, mentalities will change towards a complete acceptance of women being in control of their art and thus in control of themselves. And in this dynamic, they don't want the political side of their action to be stressed too much. Talking about music, they would like people to stop thinking of women artists as women before artists.

(ANNA) "...> The thing is that with Ladyfest, we wanted to ... we wanted not to discuss gender so much and just sort of present "well, here you are, lots of female artists and not a few, lots." You know, we wanted to sort of focus on the artist. We thought that if there are only female artists, you won't focus on gender, because, well they are all female, that's not the ... the sort of main thing. You can compare them to each other instead and not to other men."

Behind this idea is the will for popularity of their festival. They want to differentiate their action from the negative image of feminism (radical, separatist) to attract a non-converted crowd and extend their "influence".

We will now compare the French and Swedish context. We can only talk in terms of models which of course can't pretend to be absolutely true for the empirical reality.

It is very easy to take a dualistic approach on the political culture of those two countries. France has a radical, confrontational political culture. The myth of the French Revolution is very present and a lot of movements think it is to corrupt oneself that to compromise with political power. While Sweden has a reformist and integrationist political

culture inherited from a Social Democrat tradition. The negotiation and cooperation is the key to success. As we saw in part 5, Ladyfest represents these models very well.

These differences make sense in the national context. It is easy to realize that gender equality is more advanced in Sweden than in France. Maybe Ladyfest Sweden is then more cooperative, reformist because there is an actual political will to work on gender equality. There is an actual possibility for a feminist action to be more commercially and politically encouraged. While, in France, Ladyfest has to fight to be heard and the progresses in gender equality are maybe further away. And this idea calls for Touraine's theory on the importance of the political context a social movement grows in. He talks of a need for a balance between open and repressing political forces. Maybe the French political system is not responding enough to the women's movement to encourage it, and on the other hand, maybe Ladyfest Sweden lacks a clearer adversary to reinforce its identity.

At the end, it is very interesting to replace a social movement in its context, this being the historical, political, national or cultural context. It is crucial to understand in what environment and with which available tools a social movement develops.

6.2- Formation/Organization of Ladyfest Sweden:

Knowing the context in which Ladyfest Sweden grew, we can move to its actual organization. How does it work? What is the human and relational context they grew from? How does a social movement develop?

The idea of network is the key to understand the formation of Ladyfest Sweden. The movement comes out of an already formed network of relationships. This is an obvious fact for any observer as for the interviewees themselves.

(MALIN) "...we all sort of come from the same place. You know, gender studies or Smålands, usually that's the reason why we know each other in one way or the other so it comes basically from the same network, it's a very small community." (interview 3: 7)

6.2.a- Network organization. How?

It works as a process. Ladyfest Sweden, as a social movement, is not a fact but a process in continual change. And as such, it didn't come out of nowhere, it came out of this

network formed by people studying Gender Studies or being active in Smålands Nation. Those people shared opinions, orientations, and ways of life which led them to live shared experiences, like being active in Smålands Nation for example. They therefore constitute a network; that is a group of persons in close or more loose contact, who share ideas, experiences and goals and who are a possible base for a constructed organization. The network the initiators of Ladyfest Malmö were from responded to their call and they had an already prepared crew for the organization. And on a final stage, this organization led to the action in concern: a cultural female festival. This action was repeated a second time on different bases because the process continued and some changes occurred (amelioration of the organization). The network is the latent part of the movement Melucci talks about. It constitutes the roots of the movement, its strength and capacity to evolve.

On a second step, the action itself helps the network to grow. By creating a female festival, the organizers discover more and more female artists with whom they can share those values and experiences with. Those artists give another dimension to the network, in addition to the close “home” network; here is a looser “professional” network. And in one sense, it is part of the goals of Ladyfest Sweden, to make this network bigger every year.

This network organizational form gives the base for the organization to grow and to be strong, and it works as a constant changing process.

6.2.b- Network and individuals:

If we look closer to the individuals tied in this network, we understand the importance it takes in the motivations to act collectively. Melucci reflects on individual involvement and using Klandermans theory (1986), he explains the crucial role of networks (Melucci, 1989: 30-31).

Klandermans presents three dimensions of collective action: the mobilization potential, the recruitment network and the motivation to participate. The mobilization potential would be the view of the opportunities for and the constraints upon action negotiated among a number of individuals. The recruitment network, which is the crucial phase, would be the existing network of social relationships facilitating the processes of involvement and decreasing the cost of individual’s investment in collective action.

(ANNA)“Yeah, exactly and the feeling that we did this together, it’s a really nice feeling ... it’s like you’ve build your own little family “oh we’re gonna do this project together and we managed to do it!” (laugh) and also you know, you start with nothing, you don’t get paid, anything but we managed anyway ... yeah, it’s a very nice feeling.”

Through a strong community feeling, women active in Ladyfest Malmö get a sense of self-accomplishment and collective pride which rewards their personal investment. The last aspect that Klandermans proposes is the motivation to participate which is the outcome of the two earlier phases.

In definitive, Melucci and we understand the vital role of network for individual involvement. “Within these networks, individuals interact, influence each other, negotiate and hence establish conceptual and motivational frameworks for action.” (Melucci, 1989: 31)

6.3- Ideology/Identity:

The question is yet to know what ideas, believes, experiences this network is based on. What is linking individuals together? This question calls for reflection around collective identity. And we will call ideology the set of ideas and ideals the group believes in and work with concerning their action, away from the classical dogmatic conception of this term.

6.3.a- Ideology and Collective identity:

Let’s start this reflection with Melucci’s definition of collective identity: “Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place.” (Melucci, 1989:34)

Concretely, this interactive definition develops when the actors make choices as a group. What sorts of artists do want to promote? What public image do we want to have? Through those decisions, they define Ladyfest; its meaning, its orientation; and not only to the public sphere but also to themselves. And it’s the actual process of negotiation that is the crucial part of identity building because it’s at that stage that they can reflect on themselves, discuss the meaning of their action and realize the field of constraints and opportunities they’re in.

It's the moment for self-reflexive action, and thus for the construction of a 'we', that will define their unity.

Collective identity, in the sense of consciousness as a group, supposes an ideology. This ideology is the result of shared values and shared experiences.

What is the ideology of Ladyfest Malmö?

First of all, these common beliefs are based rather on a conception of collective action than on feminist beliefs. Their feminist ideas are not discussed a lot within the group (maybe because they are the same for all); it is the concrete action itself that is debated. And this pragmatism is the first base of their ideology. The idea is to stop complaining and do something creative. This is completely inherited from the Riot Grrrls movements and the Do It Yourself (DIY) dynamic.

And the second and prime side of this type of initiative is that, while doing it, the organizers experience themselves what they fight for: they are in control of their festival and have the freedom to be who they are. Listening to the interviewees, I realized that this pragmatic experience was the core aspect of their involvement in Ladyfest Malmö. Of course, they truly and deeply want to promote female artists but they more personally love to take part in this initiative where they can valorize themselves as women in control.

This is to be related to Touraine's latest work on women's movement (2006). He observed and related in this book that the first affirmation of women today is "I am a woman". He means here that women don't define themselves against men, they define themselves for themselves.

[translation] « They can't ignore the dependence which weighs down on them and that the domination they sustain is men's. But at the same time, they define themselves towards themselves, very naturally, like if it was another play that was acted which talks about women while the other one talks about relations between men and women." (Touraine, 2006 :39)

Women involved in Ladyfest Malmö know who they are as women; and they are fighting for the possibility to express this consciousness freely, for them, for the artists and for the women in general. Their ideology is based on the belief in and the need for the affirmation of women's difference and value and the development of new social and cultural

spaces to express that difference. This ideology with all the everyday experiences and ways of life which follow is what constitutes mostly their individual and collective identity.

6.3.b- Ideology and tradition:

It would be interesting here to reflect more on ideology, its role, its place, its origins. As we have seen earlier, the ideology of Ladyfest Malmö is inherited a lot from the Riot Grrrls movement but at the same time, they are not, or at least don't consider themselves as, part of this movement.

This calls for Eyerman and Jamison theory on the mobilization of tradition. The Riot Grrrls movement would be, in the sense of the authors, a tradition of feminist action which Ladyfest Sweden mobilizes, makes theirs and reinvents. It serves as a cultural ground for the development of an ideology within the group. As Sannah said in the interview, they all respect this movement even if some feel closer to it than others, they all agree that it was a momentum of today's feminism. It was a liberating initiative which they tend to continue with Ladyfest Sweden. But those women have as well feminist political activity as a cultural background and they developed, individually or collectively, a feeling of frustration towards it that they share today as a common orientation.

They critic and re-appropriate the protest tradition they follow.

For Eyerman and Jamison, social movements revitalize ideas and traditions; they reinvent them and adapt them to their particular position and dynamic. One wouldn't think of the Riot Grrrls looking at a Ladyfest Malmö festival because it is new forms of cultural expressions that are presented and valorized. And it is this new breath that matters but it passes through an already existing cultural channel which constitutes a set of cultural background they can mobilize collectively. (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998:47)

So we have seen the importance of ideology in Ladyfest Malmö, it is what links them together and what links them to a wider movement in society. And we have seen in the beginning of this analysis the cultural and societal context Ladyfest Malmö develops in; we understood the logic of its cultural dynamic. But if we move closer to the actors, the ideology of the group, its actual convictions for actions become problematic. We will see that Ladyfest Malmö is a group highly defined socially and homogeneous. What are the human and social

determinants in the orientation of the social movements? Which actors for which action? To answer those questions, we need to understand better who the actors are.

6.4- The Ladyfest Malmö group:

6.4.a- Who are they?

They are, in a big majority, white heterosexual and middle-class women. They are either academics or aiming to be, either working in the artistic milieu as an artist or as a media-producer for example. They apparently all have the same ideas about feminism that is a sort of academic, intellectual feminism, having read feminist theories or at least being interested in them. They are very aware of that feature, and they see it as a very negative thing, but we will talk about that later.

If we look at Melucci's typology of the social status of the actors (see part 3), our group of women belongs obviously to the 'affluent marginals' but some of them might be, or might become, part of the 'new middle-class'. Melucci argues that the different social groups act for different reasons and in different ways. The 'affluent marginals', as the 'new middle-class', "experience the discrepancy between the surplus of possibilities offered by the system and the actual constraints of their social condition." (Melucci, 1989:53) Those women have a pretty high social position but, as women and young, they have difficulties in their everyday life to use the resources they have.

Concerning their involvement, they live in an environment of high-density network and they have access to available resources for leadership, therefore they often get involved at an early stage of collective action.

"Studies show that militants and activists in social movements are typically recruited from those who are highly integrated into the social structure, play a central role in the networks to which they belong, and have at their disposal substantial cognitive and social resources." (Melucci, 1989:35)

The three girls who started Ladyfest Sweden were integrated in Smålands Nation and they had the social capacity to initiate action and to take the roles of leaders.

(SANNAH) "I think people who feel they have something to contribute to Ladyfest are people who have a really strong ... sense of their own abilities and ... I mean, have that courage and that drive to

do things and ... not ask so many questions before, it's just like dive into it because I think that's what you have to do for this" (interview 1:17)

The social capacities of this group that, even if marginalized, is still a group with power (as an interviewee said, they are not an Iraqi female group) are linking those women together and permit them to function together smoothly.

6.4.b- Homogeneity and exclusion:

The aspect of this social composition which interests me particularly is the homogeneity of the group. It was a surprising fact for me at the beginning but now, I question the possibility of social and cultural diversity in a social movement like Ladyfest Malmö.

This aspect has been exposed and discussed in the part 5 of this paper so we will here concentrate on the meaning and the consequences of this homogeneity. Their homogeneity brings tension between their conviction and their action, especially in the sense that homogeneity means exclusion.

First, let's understand that this tension occurs in a multipolar action system (Melucci, 1989). The idea is that collective action has to adjust to at least three orientations: the goals of the action, the means to use and the environment within which these actions take place. "These three axes of a multipolar action system resemble a set of interdependent vectors in a state of mutual tension. Collective action has to satisfy multiple and contrasting requirements." (Melucci, 1989:27)

The biggest tension within Ladyfest is the contradiction between the organizational form (environment) and the ideals of democracy (goal). Women of Ladyfest Malmö are not satisfied with the homogeneity of their group because they have the ideal of an organization group which can include individuals from diversified social background, ethnic origins and sexual orientations. They are fighting against sexual discrimination so they feel bad to do it themselves with other women.

They feel responsible for it because they know they can be impressive as a group. This is a tension between two goals: making a festival and constructing a diverse organizational group.

(Anna) “Yeah, it’s really difficult and I can feel that it’s our responsibility more than the girls because it’s really difficult for them to sort of come into a new context, of course, so I think it’s important for us, if we say that we’re concerned with feminism and democracy and blablabla, we should live up to it of course but, yeah ... unfortunately, the thing is that we don’t really have the time to have these discussions about how we can do it and everything and also and that’s why it’s been so ... everybody has been really running out of time <Mm> so in the end, you just sort of “oh, we just have to make sure that this festival is gonna work.” (laugh) (interview 2:14)

The environment they’re in (homogeneous group, feminist disgrace) and the means they have (volunteer work, extra time only) enter in contradiction with their ideals. But their pragmatic attitude permits them not to focus on this contradiction too much.

Moreover, this lack of diversity inside the group limits their legitimacy to display diversified acts.

(MALIN) “But it’s also difficult, I mean, it’s difficult to do that without being the male organizer getting a woman on stage to make it equal. “Oh, lets have a gay” because then you are ... we are a group with power, I mean, obviously because we got all this money actually ... we’re not like a Turkish or Iraqi female group, we are a group with quite a lot of power, even though we’re not male ... oh, there’s so much, I can’t really ... we were discussing it that we wanted you know not to make it a white heterosexual festival but we ended up doing it quite a lot anyway because it’s difficult to be really aware of it without being sort of, without ... “Oh we’re going to have one gay and one ...” that doesn’t feel good either <Yeah> so it’s difficult if you’re an homogenous group from the beginning.”

This homogeneity gives them strength because it is obvious that they maybe wouldn’t have that social position as a group and that many subventions if they were all immigrants but, on the other side, it limits their legitimacy in the cultural and feminist arena.

Finally, we can reflect on the tension between the creation of a female community and the principle of women’s difference. The idea of a unified women community is an ideal; there is not *a* woman identity. Women, by stopping to define themselves against men,

marked even more the differences between them. And therefore, I think it is easier for a social movement to create a community, a social space outside of the patriarchal power with a socially and ideologically homogeneous group. Working for female difference tends to fragment the women movement itself. For instance, Ladyfest Malmö is in relation with other feminist movement, maybe more political and more radical but each group wants to remain independent from one another because they have different conceptions of the way to fight against patriarchy. The women movement is not unified, it's a recognized fact but it would be interesting to see on what criteria the fragmentation is based because I believe it is not only a question of ideology but as well a question of social position in society.

7- Conclusion:

All along this paper, we tried to understand the phenomena of Ladyfest in Sweden. First, we needed to define our object and our method. It was made clear that this study doesn't have the pretension to be omniscient on the phenomenon studied. It is a field study which aims to bring elements of comprehension on a restricted terrain, that is Ladyfest Sweden. However, by including the field study in theoretical frameworks on the subject, we tried to higher the level of abstraction, to go beyond the particular. The New Social Movement theory was, in our sense, including the type of collective action that is Ladyfest Sweden in its analysis and our own analytical project was, among other things, to demonstrate this inclusion.

We understood that Ladyfest Sweden is a social movement fighting for the power over the social uses of gender codes. The stake of the fight it is leading is meaning and the means used are artistic production and the form of the movement itself. It is revealing the general shifting of social movements towards a non-political field of conflict. But even if Ladyfest Sweden breaks with older social movements, it still inherited a political culture, that is, in this case, an integrationist view of collective action. And a comparison between the French and the Swedish political culture was relevant to illustrate the different orientations possible.

After proposing these general and contextual elements, we moved towards the actual activity of Ladyfest Sweden and tried to grasp its mode of organization. We saw that the notion of network is fundamental in this organization. It works as a process of formation through which the organization recruits its actors. It constitutes the latent force of the movement (Melucci, 1989).

Those reflections about the group brought us to think of their ideology and collective identity. Collective identity is a negotiation between the actors of the group and ideology plays an important role in the definition of this collective identity. First, we saw that their ideology is based on their belief in a certain type of collective action more than on feminist convictions. And second, the personal and collective experiences they live with Ladyfest Sweden are of a prime importance in their collective identity and reinforce their ideology. It

permits them to live up to what they believe in. And when we tried to understand the origins, the roots of their ideology, the Riot Grrrls movement appeared as a part of their collective cultural background they could mobilize together (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998).

Finally, and most importantly, we looked into the group to see who the actors of Ladyfest Malmö are and their social homogeneity constitutes our biggest finding. They all have social abilities which enable them to get involved in this type of organization and it permits them to work smoothly together. But, on the other hand, it 'naturally' excludes other people who couldn't function in this environment.

This homogeneity is a surprising fact at first and it brings us to reflect on the social composition of such cultural organization. Can this type of organization work with a socially diversified organizational group? Is the homogeneity a 'natural' tendency in an organization based on a strong community feeling and a form of organization supposedly non-hierarchical? And are all the Ladyfest festivals functioning with the same type of organization? Is there a real 'spirit' linking all the Ladyfests?

We know how a common tradition or cultural background can be mobilized in different ways. For instance, we saw that Ladyfest Sweden took the DIY spirit but let aside the punk orientation. And it would be fascinating to see who is mobilizing what, to see how a common ideal of action materializes in different contexts. The national political context, the cultural opportunities, the composition of the group (homogeneity/diversity, big/small), its social determinants; all those criteria could help us to see clearer in this women movement.

And the interesting question that follows is to know if there is some sort of 'youth women culture' bonding all those women together. Are the national and social characteristics of the different groups that important at the end in front of a set of international (let's say occidental) landmarks based on common practices and a common popular culture?

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9- Appendices:

9.1- Interview 1: Sannah (2006-02-16):

I met Sannah at the afternoon Ladyfest at the Mejeriet the 5th of February. I told her then that I was writing a thesis on the Ladyfest and I asked her if I could meet her another day to talk about it. She was really nice and willing to help me. She seemed interested by my initiative to work on the Ladyfest.

So, I sent her a mail the next day asking for a moment in the week if she had time and saying that I can come to her place (in Malmö), she answered a few hours later saying that the following Thursday would be fine and that I am welcome to her place to do it.

But that Thursday, she had a cold with fever so the interview was cancelled and it was postponed to the following Thursday.

So, I go to Malmö on Thursday 16th of February. We said at 17.00. She lives in the neighborhood of Södervärn, in the south of Malmö. I arrive to her place (20 minutes late), she welcomes me and propose some tea. We go to the kitchen and chat a little about her apartment. She owns it but she shares it with a friend. It has two large bedrooms, a kitchen and a hallway. She explains that, if you have the money to buy an apartment, it is cheaper than renting at the end. So that's what she did. We talk about the will to live alone after some years of collective living. She tells me that she lived for two years in a corridor in Smålands nation (Lund) where it was nice because she met good friends but where the sociability was sometimes a bit heavy.

The tea is ready so we go to her room and we sit both on the same couch with a little table in front of us. The room is quite large, it's divided into two areas by a large rack put in the middle. On one side, a couch, some shelves, a TV which are creating a little living room area. And on the other side, a one size bed and a desk. There are a lot of decorations on the walls; it is really warm and "cozy". There is an easel in a corner.

Once, we're sat, I ask her if her cold is ok now. She says yes but that it stopped her from studying for a test she has soon. Then, her roommate comes in the room and gives her a phone, saying it's her mother. Sonia takes the phone, the roommate says hello to me and leave. Sannah tells her mother she is doing an interview with a French girl so that she will call her later. She sits back on the coach. I thank her for accepting this interview. She says it's ok and that she could understand people being embarrassed to talk English but she spent a semester in Scotland where she learned to speak English without manners. I ask her about this semester in Scotland. She explains that she is a big Scottish patriot because she loves this country and its culture.

Then, I start explaining what my purpose is here. I'm telling her I'm working on feminism and music mostly and that the Ladyfest interests me because it is an initiative to counter to the male domination in art production and that it's, for once, a cultural organization that is claiming to be feminist. I explain her that I knew the Ladyfest by going to one being a teenager and that I had been fascinated by those women who were assuming their way of life. And I tell her I want to know more about the organization of the Ladyfet and about her own experience in it.

Then, I take my recorder, laughing at the fact that it might be impressive. "The serious staff begins"

E: Eve, the interviewer

S: Sannah, the interviewee

(...): hesitation, stammer, "hum"

<yeah>, <mm> : when the other person is supporting the speech of the one talking

<swedish> : swedish word that I didn't understand

(*really*) : italic for artists names and for stressed words

(laugh): we both laugh

(small laugh): she laughs, smiles for herself

E: “But ...how does it work the Ladyfest , because when you read a little bit about it, in a general way, ... it’s said to be based on “Do It Yourself”, with no hierarchy but more like a network.”

S: “Yeah, I can talk a little bit about Ladyfest in Sweden. Just how it started because ... like two women who knew each other from Lund actually, I think, from Smålands Nation, like both were active there together and ... they heard about Ladyfest because I think at that time, they had one in London and one in Germany as well ... They were really inspired to ... because they were both like working, like creatively, in the music-media-business-thing (laugh). Yeah, they had a bit of insight into how it work, like which strings you needed to pull, so they were like ‘Ok, let’s get together and start this up’ and ... I mean, I guess it was basically one thing led to another, they asked for friends who asked for friends then, ... they had contacts in Smålands and ... like women active there who had passion for feminism and culture and those issues so, there was a lot of people ... yeah, a lot of projects and ... yeah! I was one of them (laugh) Well, the first Ladyfest was in may like ... in 2004. First of may and it was in Malmö and ... I think the first time we did it, it was really new and, I mean there wasn’t a lot of people who actually have been to a Ladyfest before ... so I think the project leaders, they were like ... more like a classic boss- employee relation ship you know, because they were the one who knew what needed to be done and they talked to people, and you had some autonomy, I mean, within the field that you were working so you were kind of free but still, they had the upper word and everything <yeah> and we were in the <Swedish>, that’s the ... how to say ... college or like ... Malmöhögskolan. It’s like ... there’s students, yeah ... place students (laugh) Yeah, we were really nervous because we didn’t know if any people would show up at all, I mean ... this thing costs a lot of money and I don’t think people actually realize that. Yeah, it’s based on volunteer work and everything but I mean ... yeah, it costs a lot of money and you need like big financial income of money, yeah ... tones of money (laugh).”

E: “How do you find this money?”

S: “... the first thing is going around to defend ... like first of all, to the Council, Malmö, City Council and they gave us money and like ... look for other scholarships and founds and ... there are quite a lot of obscure organizations out there that give out money to projects that

apply so ... A little bit here, a little bit there actually. In fact, we got kind of a lot of money from the Swedish Academy, you know the one that is organizing the Nobel prizes (laugh) <Oh really?> yeah, they have a fund and we got 35 thousands Swedish crowns. Yeah, we got quite a lot of money. ... and we had the .. what is it called ... the serving of alcohol and food, we collaborated with a restaurant in Malmö. So they got like the profits from alcohol and food ...but it was a really popular and I think ... I don't remember exactly how much but we had quite a profit actually afterwards, after everything was paid for ... so like some money over. I think everybody was quite enthusiastic. Wow, really, it was something. We had pretty big names so it was a good way to start. And also, we have collaborated with the Ladyfest of Stockholm. Those two were like ... the ones that have started, one was leaving here in Lund and the other one was in Stockholm so we had two places like working quite close together. And that's, I mean, so much easier because you can search for bigger bands, you can like ... propose like a Swedish tour, it's much easier to convince people to come over than just doing one single set. So, I mean ... that's the thing with the network, it makes many things more possible. So yeah, then everybody was like really into doing it ... another time. Some of the people were like 'Ok, that's it', quite ... like having to move on to other things but, ... on the other hand there were so many people who went to the first Ladyfest and were really enthusiastic and wanted to be a part of it so ... I think we were actually more people this year, doing it, than the year before. ... and I think it's about 8 or 9 months I think from when you start to think about getting everything together to ... So, yeah, the first thing is to apply for money at every possible and impossible place. Then, you have to ... then we're like ... yeah, just walking around, everybody had some kind of experience so, and when we all met to evaluate the last Ladyfest, everybody agreed that there needed to be a more open structure, hierarchy and ... yeah, more like a big network. So, we divided in different groups, so like a music group, a literature group, and art group, and ... “

E: “Video or?”

S: “Yeah! Film group, yeah (laugh) ... thank you. And we had a ... yeah, a public relation ship-marketing group. And then, everybody meets their own groups and think together, work it out, 'What kind do we like? What people do we like? Which people would we like to see here? What art form?' And also, putting out posters, and putting out applications on the web site, looking at people sending materials and, I mean ... it's like really one of the biggest

awards with Ladyfest, you really discover that there are so many women out there like doing things and being creative, expressing themselves and that's one of the main purpose I think of Ladyfest is actually ... give them, first of all, give them like a stage, like a forum to display their work and just to get people together and have them meet each other and get the feeling that you're not alone out there doing this because ... I mean, yeah, like you said, many art forms are male dominated so, you easily get the feeling that you're all alone (laugh)."

E: "So, how do you get the artists? By people that you know, or web sites, people you heard about?"

S: "Yeah! It's like ... quite of the lot of the... like the (small laugh) hugeness of the artists sort of say, like you have the really big names, we always try to have one or two like internationally played artists that hopefully will get the people coming. And then, you always want to have like the local performers, people from the surroundings, some people that you're knowing well and then, everything in between. I mean, I think we had performers from all over the country, I mean, mostly from like the Skåne region, but people came from Göteborg, Stockholm and some other places of the country ... to perform so ... I mean (small laugh), it's also interesting to see the artists, like the more established artists and the way they react to Ladyfest because ... some of them like Mary Lou Lord who performed this year. She was always so enthusiastic, I mean 'Oh, I really stopped performing but I will make an exception for the Ladyfest because I really love Ladyfest.' And then you have other bands (small laugh) I mean, I don't mean to tell names but like Cheeks and Speed, we tried to get them and they really wanted like 40 thousands Swedish crowns or something. And I mean, I can really respect that, they have to make a living out of it so they just can't give away performances but I mean, it's really interesting to see the differences <Yeah> in how the respond to Ladyfest so ... I mean, yeah ... the girl who's doing most of the artist booking, she is also working for Mejeriet, in Lund and that's a really good aspect because that gives her like a really big network, she's in touch with them, with their managers and everything so ... I mean, and this year as well, they were starting a Ladyfest in Göteborg ... which, yeah ... with the network and everything, we can offer them like three different places to play and that's always a good thing ... I mean, also when you're doing an application and you're trying to see Ladyfest and so on, it's always more impressive when you have it in three cities

than in one. We had it like ... we were following each other in a row, so I think, Göteborg was first out and then we were the next day and then Stockholm the day after that so... That's like a three days of tour (laugh)"

E: "But ...do you have any relation with the other Ladyfests in Europe or?"

S: "No, not at all. We had a little contact with the one in Copenhagen. But I was actually surprised that there have been so many Ladyfests and that there are still ... so many Ladyfests planed. If you look at the big Ladyfest "dot" org, I mean there are so many cities that you never though would have heard of Ladyfest that are organizing it, so that's really cool and ... I mean, that's sad that you don't have a forum for all the Ladyfests of the world but ... I think that comes like with the package, we have this like a loose network ... this kind of structure to it, it sorts of begins and ends within the network so ... there is logging ..."

E: "Yeah and it leaves more independence <Yeah!> to each Ladyfest than to have like a big name <Exactly!> over it."

S: "Yeah! You can outline it in each other way you want to, I mean, as long as you get, it sounds like ... art by females, then you can just call yourself Ladyfest."

E: "Yeah, there are no rules to call yourself Ladyfest, you just call yourself Ladyfet, you don't have to contact anybody or?"

S: "No, you don't have to apply or anything, I mean, that's like ... that's the best with Ladyfest, there's no copyright or anything. I mean, and you still have like ... I mean the name still have a really good reputation, I think ... all the Ladyfests that I've been, I mean ... well, I don't know but you get the feeling that they were sort of successful, I mean like, great arrangements that really gives joy to people because you never really get anything negative and no one ... I mean, when you mention Ladyfest, everybody says like "yeah, that's really good!" I mean ... "

E: "Yeah because with some associations of ... feminist associations that try to produce art, they are sometimes like ... more labeled feminists and so they like ... frighten people away <yeah!> and Ladyfest is kind of ... aiming for good music and good art more than maybe ... "

S: "... the politics. <Yeah> Yeah! That's really also a really important issue with the Ladyfest. You don't want to become a politic movement because I mean, there are those who

do that work, sort of say. ... the genius of the Ladyfest concept is ... if you just have like a global outline that is ... it's by women, with women, for women, sort of say <Mmm> I mean, that in a way sets it in a (small laugh) ... yeah I mean, if you go with that concept, you can't really go wrong ... and then, within that, you can be so many things, you don't have to have some kind of politics ... I mean, you never ask artists what is their political view on that or that, I mean, of course, there are some artists that, I think everybody feels without asking questions their position towards females but ...that's like a discussion that has been going on within the Ladyfest, I mean, 'How much of our personal taste do we let ... influence like the line up?' ... it's a really fine line between being politically correct and boring and on the other hand, like just ... I mean, you don't want to become too radical.... We have this convention in Malmö, this "Girl convention" (small laugh) I mean, I think it's for people who go college or a bit younger, like teenagers. I remember it, it's like make-up advice ... yeah, it's just like a lot of make-up and (laugh). I mean, there were some things that were interesting like you can try boxing but it's really commercial, kidnapped by some companies. There is really no point in staff like gathering every consuming person and ... having them buy things, you know. That's not really ... "

E: "So, yeah, you choose the artists on the basis that they are women and then you try to get a diversity of art creation or ... I mean, you still have your taste because, I mean, I guess that in the Ladyfest you have like a musical taste <Yeah>. Is it kind of homogenous or?"

S: "Yeah, I mean that's one of the issues that we're used to discuss and that could be a problem because ... yeah, I mean, now the Ladyfest, I mean, the people that are in the Ladyfest now, I mean, we all agree that ... it's like understated to know who are the artists that belong to the Ladyfest ... but, yeah, there is this line, I mean, you want the artists to challenge the old notions of femininity and what an artist is supposed to be and how artists are supposed to be, I mean so ... you want something, like a radical element sort of say but you don't want either to narrow it down too much. <Yeah> so I think, you just have to take it peace by peace and really evaluate every artist very carefully and see, I mean ... we all have a picture in our head. Some artists, there is nothing wrong with them but they just don't fit in this year's line of the Ladyfest because you already have someone or too much of that sort of artist, I mean ... everything has to work together, for the great or good."

E: “But just talking about music, can you tell me like a bit the style of music that you mostly do at the Ladyfest, like this year for example.”

S: “Yeah, well I think actually, we had quite diverse artists and that’s one of the goals ... we really want to have different genres, sort of say. We don’t want to be a pop festival or like a hip-hop festival, I mean, we want a little bit of everything. The point is, as I said earlier, that they are artists who in some way challenge the people’s notion of a female artist and try to work against that or with that and ... I mean, it really helps if they are not attached to a big major label, I mean, we search more for independent forms of culture ... yeah, in many ways, it’s because we actually think that what they produce is better than what the main stream companies produce. This year, we had like *Mary Lou Lord*, which is like rock-singer-song writer. We had like the *The Peppermints* which is like pop band, alternative pop-band and we had *Aysha* who is like, a hip-hop-R’n'b artist and we had like ... JD from *Le Tigre*, DJaying like dance music so ... that’s like, if there’s a kind of band, that’s them.”

E: “Yeah, that’s pretty diverse I think. Because the one (Ladyfest) I’ve seen was really really punk-orientated so, I only saw punk-rock music and I actually thought that all the Ladyfest were pretty much punk-orientated. Because Ladyfest is supposed to ... I mean, the idea is that the Ladyfest is sort of ... a little bit out of the movement of the Riot Grrrls <Mmm> that are very punk-orientated at the beginning so ... “

S: “Yeah and I think that’s the good thing about the concept, it’s really have evolved. I mean, I really like Riot Grrrls punk, I mean, I really do. But I wouldn’t like to see a festival in 2006 who gets only punk Riot Grrrls rock bands, I mean, that would be quite boring and (small laugh). Then I mean, that’s my opinion. In some other cities, they will do it differently but ... there is really like interesting differences between the different Ladyfest in Sweden. Because Göteborg is the more hard-core, old school punk-orientated Ladyfest and ... Then, there is Stockholm that is really commercial, you know like Robyn <Yeah>, they would like to book Robyn for example <Really?> Yeah, they think she would be a good representative of the Ladyfest. And I think, we, down here, are more in between. So ... yeah ... it depends on what you want with the Ladyfest, what purpose you’re following. I mean, for me, the fact is that it’s really ... because, I think the risk, if you have a really punk-orientated line, is that you’re preaching for the ...already convinced. I mean, you will get people who are already into that thing, who have already made all those connections and I think that’s what we try

here with the people of the Ladyfest, I mean ...it's quite astonishing actually, even if we try to be very open, people still put a clear label on us, I mean, we are a feminist festival and 'can men come?', we always get that kind of questions but I mean, we really really try to work against that and 'look, we have all these different kinds of artists!' and I think everyone can really find someone they will like... just give us a chance and try! So, I think that in Stockholm, they ... I think they would like to put the Ladyfest in the mainstream like ... I think it's hard to compare but, you know, there's this festival in Sweden called Emmaboda. It started really really small and they had like 500 visitors every year and they were really really good at playing bands who were like just about to break in the really big pop business ... and now, it's like an established festival. And I think that's sort of what they want to do with Ladyfest, they want to establish it on the market like 'Ok, that's the Ladyfest arrangement.' So, I mean, we discuss about that often."

E: "But, do you feel still connected to the Riot Grrrls movement or?"

S: "Yeah, I think in the idea of it ... I mean, as you said earlier, like the DIY (Do-It-Yourself) thing and it's very central or very crucial, I mean, you don't want like a rapped up product ... yeah, it's really like, everyone can do it and that's also the thing in giving local artists a big space in Ladyfest. So, I mean, yeah, absolutely and I think ... well I don't say that everyone who has done the Ladyfest listen to the riot Grrrls but I mean, everyone can at least relate to it and ... like respect that movement a lot. Yeah, it was kind of the starting point for ... today feminist movement merely, I mean, at least culturally. Just in the approach to music and the male-dominance within music and I feel like ... they really highlighted the fact that you should have fun. Not take yourself too seriously and not be like ... too critical and be angry all the time but really have fun and I mean that's ... really the great thing about Ladyfest, that it's such a positive event, I mean ... often when you're involved in politics like I've been ... I mean, all those kind of movements, often you're like stuck in this role where you're in reaction against something, someone does something and you protest against it. And Ladyfest is actually a good opportunity to actually create something, of your own, like a positive alternative. So ... what was I talking about? (laugh)"

E: "We were talking about the riot Grrrls and staff."

S: "Yeah! Exactly. I think that was a lot of their ... agenda, or like stop complaining and do something that is like creative in culture or music. In that way, we're really like the descendants (laugh) to the Riot Grrrls."

E: "So, we were talking a bit earlier but ... I was asking ... that the people that are active in the Ladyfest, sort of ... some people from the beginning and then, people that get after <Yeah>, I mean, all of you are implicated in the same way? I mean, what place Ladyfest has? Because you're all volunteers? <Yeah> So ... are there some people that are more implicated than others or ... people that are spending more time on it than others?"

S: "Yeah, I mean, I guess, you always have that ... in volunteer work. We've always have like two leaders or like because ... with a project like Ladyfest, you have so many different angles and so many things that have to work together, you need to have someone to have, to pull all the strings together and make it work. So, we have two leaders and ... actually, we have four leaders this year. The two originals, the girls who were leaders at the first Ladyfest in Malmö, they both got pregnant and had like babies (small laugh) during like the Ladyfest planning period so ... there were like two new girls and everybody who wanted could apply in becoming the new leader of the project so ..."

E: "Then you elected them?"

S: "Well yeah ... but it was like the ones who applied where the ones who got it because I don't think many want that responsibility and I mean ... there will always be people who do as little as they can and there are people who are doing more than they need to, I mean. The good thing with Ladyfest is that you're such a large group that ... I mean, it doesn't fall on one person, I mean, there will always be someone to pick it up if someone needs or, someone drops off so ... I mean, I did a lot of volunteer work in this kind of situation, like arrange things (sigh) sometimes you wonder what is actually driving you (small laugh) because, I mean, it takes so much of your time and like ... yeah, Anna and me, where we met you first <Mm> this Sunday, I mean, we had three meetings before that, planning and then going out on our own and shopping the material and preparing and then, we had been there since 10 o'clock that morning, preparing and then, we were open for like four hours and then, we were there until 9 o'clock, like cleaning and everything (small laugh) so ... and people don't understand like that amount of work to make something like that and I mean ... I don't claim to have worked more than anyone else at Ladyfest but I mean, I still feel sometimes that

Ladyfest is my full time occupation (small laugh) at some periods. It really like swallow up everything else and ... yeah, I was in the marketing-media group and, there you have a diverse amount of jobs that needed to be done. I mean, in the film group, your main job is to watch films and choose films and arrange things to show them at Ladyfest but we were like, we talked to hotels, we arranged like with the merchandize, we set up like ... to visit other festivals, other events so, I mean, basically, all summer, I was working with Ladyfest. And me and another girl, went to Arvikafestivalen, it's another musical festival in Sweden during the summer and, stayed there three days and had a Ladyfest tent ... That was really cool and I think, the discussion within Ladyfest is ... I mean, there are a lot of people who want to something, again but ... there have been some discussions that you don't, that we don't necessarily need to have one big event, like one big a year. You can use like the concept of Ladyfest and do a number of smaller things like have clubs and arrange concerts and performances, I mean ... just like be around, under the entire year and not just one day and then, there's always ... I mean, it's so much fun to have this really big-impressive-one-day-event-everything-happens-festival so ... you kind of miss that too but you know well (sigh) (laugh)"

E: "Yeah, you have another life as well to handle, everybody is struggling with their schedule so ..."

S: "I think, most people were really exhausted after Ladyfest. The girl like ... who took over this fall ... I mean, I don't understand how she manage but she actually has a full studies at the side and she took her points (laugh) I remember as well that she didn't had a lot of time on her hands because I know ... she's a friend of mine. I know, she was so anxious, so worried because this year, we had a trouble with the place ... yeah, that was like really nasty because we had like a deal with the Council in Malmö that there is this new house of culture called "The Chocolate Factory" ... and it was due to open that fall and we were the first major event that was supposed to be held at that place. And they were working on it all summer and we were like 'Are you sure it's going to be finished?' and they were like 'Yeah, don't worry, everything's gonna be fine' (small laugh) and we went to see it in September, it's like two months to the opening and there were like concrete floors and nothing so we were like 'Okey...' and then of course, three weeks before we were supposed to have Ladyfest, the called and said 'It's not going to be finished, I'm sorry, we're going to find

something else' and ... actually, the city of Malmö was like they got us into that mess but they didn't do like a lot to help us out of it so they were like 'Mmm'. They had other suggestions and then, it turned out that those suggestions didn't work either because places were also being refurbished (small laugh) and then luckily, I mean, some girls at Ladyfest are working at Mejeriet and that turned to be free that night so good luck with this but still, ... that's also a thing which is discussed within Ladyfest, which group is our target group? Because I mean, I think their major audience is teenage girls in their early twenties, late teenage years <Mmm> but at the same time, you want the older crowd who have more capital (small laugh) who have more money and I mean, help you out in that way. That was a fear that we would lose all that if we moved from Malmö because I mean, people in Lund are very young and quite poor, they're students so ... but I mean, it was a really good turn, we were almost full and I mean, we went way over the limit we had for the minimum number of visitors so we made quite some profit this year as well so (laugh)"

E: "Yeah but I mean, people that are attracted to Ladyfest, they will be able to move to Lund, it's not so far."

S: "Yeah ... but I think people are lazy. I mean, that's the problem. There is always the hard core fans (laugh) who will really love the concept of Ladyfest and really look forward to it but then, when you have an event ... and I mean, that's the problem with an event this size, you really need like the casual, 'what's happening this week-end' type, like people who open a magazine and decide to go somewhere and ... and that's like the problem we talked about earlier, like being too main stream or being too alternative. That's like the group, you want to attract them but you don't want to be too much, I mean, you don't want to ... like a box, like the cows. You really want to be so wide in your appeal so that you can attract more ... normal just out-going people so ...yeah, yeah ..."

E: "But so ... how much time does it need to get involve in the Ladyfest? I mean ... you have every two weeks or something?"

S: "Yeah, we have like ... first, I think we have like ... one every three weeks, I mean, in the beginning and then, every other week and then, at the end, we had like every week. And, I mean, that was like the big, the whole of Ladyfest, and then, of course, in your group, I mean (small laugh) it would be wrong to talk about meetings because it's more like we talk every day (laugh) I talked to them every day ... and then we had maybe a five week meeting, like

we have to do that much and we need to talk to those different people and I mean, then some weeks, you really work every day, you have to do things and meet people and ... at different places. So, I mean ... if you'd really like to count the number of hours spent, I think it's like working part time (laugh)"

E: "Yeah, it really depends on the weeks and the events coming and ..."

S: "Yeah, I mean, like everyone was really really crazy, everybody had so much to do and I mean, that's ... but Ladyfest is also so much fun, seeing all the creations and I mean ... I really like the other people of Ladyfest, you get really really good contact with people. And I mean ... actually because I've done some other arrangements before and, the feeling that you usually have when it's actually time for the big day is that you're just so fed up with it, you're just like 'let it be over!' <Yeah> (laugh) and 'I don't want to see this anymore!' but the morning of Ladyfest is like Christmas Eve (laugh) so you're so enthusiastic, you really watch for it and, it wouldn't end until like ... 4 o'clock or something because then, you get like really tired. So I mean, it's also a lot of fun, it gives you a lot of energy as much as it takes. And I mean, just little rewards are really big ... I was sitting in the audience, I had like a five minutes break (laugh), sitting with my friends and I think we were seeing Mary Lou Lord ... then, this girl that was sitting next to me, she was like 'oh, you're part of this?' and I was like 'Yeah'" and she said like 'Oh thank you!' (enthusiastic tone) 'Thank you, this is so wonderful!' and I was like 'Oh, you're welcome' (big laugh) and I mean, that's what you can expect, I mean, you don't get any other rewards so ... I mean, it's quite enough and I really hope that ... because there were quite a lot of volunteers who just came in and worked during the day and then, they were quite young, all of them and they were really excited, they really wanted to be a part of this and like 'Oh, could we maybe ...' So I mean, I would definitely jump on the boat again if we decide that we're going to start this up again so ..."

E: "So, I guess that you cannot be friends with everybody but like ... you really get close to people during doing that or like ... because, you don't them at the beginning, most of them."

S: "No, exactly, I mean ... I think everyone know like one or two people, yeah, that's the sort of way you get involved so ... You become really close, I mean, you see these people in so many different states and I mean ... you really get tempted to talk a lot about ... I mean Ladyfest highlights a lot of issues, I mean ... how women are treated by society? Yeah, the way we want to present ourselves and then, things like that so you really get into discussing

quite ... deeply felt emotions. Then, I must say on one hand, there is like also a problem with the structure of Ladyfest and that is ... it's really like friendship-based and I mean, it can be very difficult to come in if you don't have that link to get on. Because I know like, I've to meetings and I've seen people who were there for the first time and there were like no round of presentation, no things where people are like 'Oh who are you?', you just pick it up where you left and you continue to have your meeting and you just assume that everybody gets along so ... yeah, I mean, I think we should really be watchful on that because you don't want the same tired old bunch every year, arranging the same Ladyfest year after year, I mean, you really need that new input to make it a better Ladyfest so ..."

E: "But the people that are like ... old people (small laugh), you hang out with them? You meet outside of the meetings, outside of the Ladyfest?"

S: "Yeah, some of them, I do actually ... We were like 5 people who went to Arvikafestivalen and we still meet now and then and then have like a dinner and (small laugh) ... this one, people who helped to arrange this Skåne Social forum thing, and I mean, our meetings were like, really like very nice dinners and then like talked for 5 minutes at the end (laugh) about Ladyfest. So we were kind of a little bit used to get together so ... and I think you need to have that. I mean, if you're doing volunteer work like this, it cannot be all work, it has to be fun as well ... "

E: "And, are there like some men who are involved in Ladyfest?"

S: "No, that's like a rule, like ... by women."

E: "Ok, so that should have been people from the Mejeriet, because last Sunday, I saw like men that were organizing staff so I thought that ..."

S: "Here in Malmö or?"

E: "No, in Mejeriet, this Sunday afternoon, at the Skåne Social Forum."

S: "Oh yeah yeah. That was the crowd from the Mejeriet, it was like a collaboration with us and one of their arrangements so ... yeah. They were not with us (laugh). ... and that's something, I mean, also with Ladyfest like the single-sex environment and ... like the roles you take on when you're just women doing things, I mean, because it gets such a different chemistry if there is just one man on board (laugh) I really think that changes a lot, I think its ... I don't mean that men can't contribute but ... I think, it's very good, it's a very strong point to make by just having women doing it."

E: "But what do you mean like by roles that are different?"

S: "Yeah, I think that there're a lot of girls who are really ... within the Ladyfest work, they are really forward and they really take initiatives and ... maybe in other circumstances, I mean like in their every day life, and their education, they take a step back, they're more much restrained and ... don't really have that presence that they do when they're working with Ladyfest so I think, it's both ... it's like a personal evolution, I mean, you really change as a person and I mean you need to do a lot of things that you might find a bit uncomfortable, I mean, to call people up and negotiate and I mean, get deals with different ... companies and things like that so I mean, you really get to, you get to practice on things that you (small laugh) probably wouldn't do otherwise so ... yeah, I think ... I mean, I'm not seeing everyone outside Ladyfest but I mean, you see some people and they're like quite reserved at the beginning and as the thing goes along, they really like light up and I mean, that's also one of the advantages to have small work group, because you always have like a group, like a safety to rely on, you present things as a group but at the same time, we try like not to have the same spoke person all the time for the group, it's like different persons every time and also ... if you're in a smaller group, that's much more easier to start to like ... demanding to be heard and like, taking initiatives, I mean, it could be scary to start presenting things at big meetings in front of people ..."

E: "Yeah, and I think that's one of the aim of the Ladyfest to kind of create a community <Yeah>, for women to meet and to ... I mean, that's what I read on most of the web sites of different Ladyfest about creating like a community for women to be at ease and to like ... act as women really ... not to feel the pressure of men."

S: "Yeah! I mean, it's like sort of a safe house (small laugh)."

Here, the first side of the tape is finished and maybe five minutes goes before I realize it. But, I know we kept on talking about the single-sex aspect and about men coming to Ladyfest that have to adapt their behavior in this mainly feminine situation.

When I change the side, she stops talking and I start again.

E: “Just like yeah ... it’s really funny how ... sometimes, just like ... roles of men and women are really hidden and we don’t really see them but it’s on this kind of “strange” situation that it really comes out.”

S: “Yeah, and I mean, you can watch the crowd and like ‘Oh, something is very unfamiliar, what is wrong with this? Oh I wonder what.’ (small laugh) The men are all really careful; they don’t take that much place, they really look straight forward, and not so pushy ... and I mean it’s so nice to watch and yeah ... there are good interactions and I think men are really enjoying it as well <Yeah!> ... I mean, you don’t get these, I mean, if you would go out like on an ordinary Friday night ... there would be those groups of men, standing around, laughing really loud and just like ‘ohohoh’ (imitating a male voice, moving ‘like a man’), they would be all over the place and take time from other people and ... I mean, somehow, they don’t really want to do that at Ladyfest (laugh)”

E: “Yeah, they would maybe feel a little bit alone (laugh)”

S: “And also, when you watch a crowd when people are watching a concert ... because actually, I first noticed this when I saw *Le Tigre* at Mejeriet as well, I mean, they play ... kind of like ... I mean, you want to dance, you want to jump around, it’s like, it’s quite active but I mean ... you didn’t get pushed one single time, and I was standing *really* close to the stage <yeah> and I mean, yeah, I could like breath and there wasn’t any problems with keeping my balance, I was just like standing there, in a corner and doing my dance.”

E: “Actually, I’ve been to one of the concerts of *Le Tigre* as well, and I’ve been pushed but by women, there were like 5 or 6 women that were really angry and they were jumping all around like ... well like men. (laugh)”

S: “Yeah, of course I don’t want to like ... that women never do that <Yeah sure> but it’s a different atmosphere like a really ... in some ways, like even if it’s really annoying if you get affected by other persons but I think I can find quite refreshing when girls are really pushy and like really at the front line and like ... taking the piss out of something. (laugh).”

E: “What do you think about ... because there are like Ladyfests that are completely forbidden to men <Mm> I don’t really know what to think about that because in a way, it’s like an extreme version of another Ladyfest, but it’s kind of a pity to fight against discrimination and to discriminate yourself, or ...”

S: “Yeah, I mean I can really see the point with like having ... just a single sex environment ... separatist actions in all the respects but I think ... I don't want Ladyfest to be that, I think it's a chance just to have this ... we all know that women get along I mean (laugh) ... and it's really really important to have these forums for women to just relax but I think the positive thing with Ladyfest is that it actually attracts men as well, I mean not in the same amount that it attracts women but ... that you can really see men having to adapt to other roles ... and in one way, I don't think that gender roles get as much questioned if you're always dividing yourself up or just like coming together in like ... ordinary circumstances, like ordinary places, I mean ... then, you have ... you go with your own and then you go out and you just like do the women-thing or the man-thing or like, on different sides ... yeah, I really think, I mean ... I also think that the women artists, I mean that's also another point, I think they deserve to be appreciated by a wide audience as possible and I mean ... because if I was an artist, I would be really really bored just performing just for women or just for men, I mean ... of course, I would like as many people as possible to hear my music or see my work ...”

E: “And then it's really like if a Ladyfest is claiming to be single sex, then the crowd would be much more specialized and like <Yeah>...and then people that are not obviously concerned about feminism in a general way, they wouldn't come <No, exactly> they would be scared like ...”

S: “Yeah and I think they're like (small laugh) as I said, I mean, they're scared in a way already, I mean ... I don't know what it is with feminism but people all get this notion that they have to have read *The Second Sex*, or be really political and I mean, or have short hair I mean that's ... I mean, also to relate to the Riot Grrrls, I think that's what they showed, that you don't have to be like the typical 'type A feminist' in your appearance and the way you talk and what your hobbies are and you can still like do a lot of good stuff.”

E: “Sure, but I think there is still this negative image of feminism like ... a feminism always negative, in reaction to something and always like angry about something and not <Yeah> never having fun and ...”

S: “Yeah and yeah, I mean, in one way, I really think women *should* be angry (small laugh), you have a lot to be angry about and yeah but exactly, I mean, sometimes, you really need to show ... ‘Ok, we were angry like 364 days of the year and then, we were like very happy’” (laugh)

E: “Yeah, I mean, there are a lot of artists that are really good at expressing anger, in their art ... so it’s a better way to show that than just to say that we’re angry. <Yeah> ... But you said you were doing other things before, other volunteer work or like ... what did you do before?”

S: “Well ... I’ve done a lot of political work, I was in one of the youth organizations or ... the Communist party in Sweden ... and then, I’ve done quite a lot of Smålands social work as well and like sort of different projects along the way but it’s ... I mean, Ladyfest is actually one of the most positive experiences, I mean the ... like the first, like the youth party, I mean, that was ... (sigh) well, it was quite narrow minded and you often felt that you were not allowed to say certain things and I mean ... yeah, you weren’t allowed to say certain things because then, you would be like excluded ... out the community even if you would expose their paper, you weren’t welcome. Then it was like ... the way the people talked about like ... outsiders or things they didn’t like, it was like hard and condemning and I think ... I mean, that’s sort of a problem that you always get when you’re like very political, that’s like ... the politics is the main issue you feel, concerned and everything evolve around that in way. I was involved with Smålands ... and Ladyfest, I mean, the purpose was like in one respect, was mainly on like just making it work and just having a club and bringing the concert and making people come and then, you always make it work in this other perspective that, I mean, it makes you much more pragmatic and like open to other ways of doing things and ... yeah, I really prefer that way of organizing myself because ... I mean, if you (small laugh) make Ladyfest like a political party, I don’t think that many people actually have the same opinions on a lot of issues, I think we would loose like half the members in one day (laugh) so ... I mean, everyone has like his great or good as a priority and that what you work against, I mean, everyone wants Ladyfest to be like a great event ... that’s what matters and I mean, then of course state the critical debates when they ... when you can’t avoid them but you don’t have like ... big conflicts.”

E: “But you still have discussions about politics and Ladyfest, more like in a larger way ...”

S: “Yeah, I mean ... it often like ... not on a theoretical level, it’s often down to earth like ‘Do you want this artist or not? Do you want men or not?’ I mean, those kinds of issues and ... in one way, I definitely think that we need to talk about feminism and other political issues on like a more theoretical basis but I think that in that context, it’s really much more productive to actually focus on an issue and then, everybody can contribute and find like a

good compromise. And if you just talk about a lot about political ideas, people are much ... less obliged to like... give in, then you have like your principles and they're so close to your heart and they're part of you and they're not coming down, no way! But, I mean about making something work and like being just ... with Ladyfest, you always have like a feeling that you're just a little part of something bigger and I mean, everyone knows like their projects and that's what they're doing and I mean it's not sufficient of its own ... to make it successful, I mean, you really need all these different parts of the group to come together and do something so, there's like no hierarchy in these groups ... I mean, of course, all those issues ... that's the music, I mean the bands, the artists in music that are really like the names who make people come ... but it doesn't says that the music group has the biggest influence on how Ladyfest is shaped so ..."

E: "But do you still think that like ... if all the people involved in the Ladyfest would be asked, would they claim themselves feminists? Even if you have different political views and staff, do you still, all of them, all of you claim to be feminists?"

S: "Yeah, I think so, in one way or the other, I mean ... maybe, one or two exceptions but I think the vast majority would really call themselves feminist. I mean ... without defining the word."

E: "Yes, but it's still something weird to define a feminist because even though you know yourself as a feminist <Mm>, you don't have so many occasions in normal life to say it actually <No> And so ... actually that's one of my interrogations right now, what is it to be a feminist today? Because, as it's like ... it's more like an idea that spread out a lot <Mm> I mean, a lot of women today have strong ideas about gender but that's not why they're going to be involved in any kind organization and so, it's kind of hard to claim that you're a feminist when you don't have so many occasions to do it."

S: "No, exactly and often, you're just like ... you find yourself in a corner and like striking out and if there is someone then you get the chance to be like 'Ok, these are my views on the world!' ... I mean, often you get in a debate about something and 'what do you say about blablabla?' 'Oh, you're one of those blablabla 'I mean ...I have to answer for like what every feminist, or every person said to be feminist, have ever said and I mean ... it's kind of hard to get that point through that there are as many kinds of feminism as people calling themselves feminist."

E: “Yeah, but I guess that, in a way, Ladyfest is helping you and others to claim, to say that since you have a community behind or something to entertain it and to talk about it. ...Or like just the fact that you maybe claim to be a feminist is easier if you’re maybe involved in something.”

S: “Yeah I mean ... once again, the discussion tend to be a little bit more positive if you’re doing something, doing something that people are interested in and enjoy I mean (sigh) ... I mean, if you have like Ladyfest, it’s easier to ... because like you often get questioned as a feminist, they’re ‘Oh you just complain’ and especially here in Sweden, I mean, you often have this discourse that that Sweden is so equal, it’s the best country in the world and so on. Then they’re like ‘Oh you’re complaining a lot I mean ... can’t you just be happy the way things are, we’re really good anyway!’ (laugh) So I think that’s why it’s really good like to have Ladyfest because when people start ‘Oh, are you always complaining?’, you’re like ‘No, I’m not complaining! I’m doing something!’ and talk about Ladyfest instead so ... Yeah, I think we need more positive images of feminism and that’s like the media and other institutions, they are so good at spreading this picture of feminists like a really angry-militant-hating person (laugh) who want to destroy everyone else so ... and once again, I mean that’s why it’s really important that it’s open to the public and also, I mean I think that this year, we also focused a lot on getting a good media attention because, last year, we were a bit more stand off to the media, we didn’t do any press accreditations or things like that ... but this year, we were pretty good at having ads in the newspapers, have paper write about us and come to see what it’s all about ... and preferably like big newspapers or like music press who just covers music generally. Because, that’s really what we want to be associated with, I mean, we want to be like ... well, I guess we want to be like 50-50 but I mean, we want to be as much like a political organization and a musical and artistic arrangement among others but like with a certain politics so ...yeah, I think you really want to have like one question each.”

E: “Yeah, but I think that anyway, music is a good like ... field of expression for feminism in a way because when you’re an artist, you’re creating music so you have the possibility to express a message but on the other hand, you have as well to present yourself on a stage <Yeah> and that’s really an issue for somebody who is reflecting about gender roles.<Mm> It’s really an issue because with all these questions about what they call the ‘new feminism’ in music like women tat are really sexy and that are like ‘I’m sexy, I know I am and I’m

playing with it!' but for me, it's still a problem because they're still responding to what people ask them to do so like ..."

S: "You mean like *Peaches* for example or?"

E: "Yeah, or for example like ... I think you played them, like *Cat 5*? <Yeah> yeah, people like that, I'm just ... it really questions me because ..."

S: "Yeah, I mean I think they were one of the issues within Ladyfest because I don't think or I know that everyone was not really that happy about *Cat 5*. Because I mean, I think it's really questionable, they can be defined as a band who represents what Ladyfest wants to represent. But I mean, I'm sorry to say that in the end, it was like partly that a few in the Ladyfest group actually really liked them and think they're a good band and yeah, that's like one of the big names anyway, I mean .. they're going to make people come to Ladyfest. But that's like ... the pragmatism, it's a fine line because you don't want to be a sell out to make people come. Yeah, that sure is like ... I can really like *Peaches*, I think she really gets away with it for example but I think a lot of those who come after her, for example *Cat 5*, I think that ... I mean, that is just their image, I mean, they just take like the part where you look like ... sexy and provocative but they don't have the other part where you're not supposed to have so much attitude and so much like pushiness, it sorts of waste out the sexiness part. But I mean, most of the artists in that field, they miss that and then, they just become some politically correct ... yeah. I don't really like them (laugh)"

E: "So what is the music that really like moves you or?"

S: "Me? Personally?"

E: "Well ... (small laugh) I have quite a diverse taste I guess. I really like ... I mean I like *Bikini Kill* and I like "Seven kiny" (?????) and a lot of those bands that came out during that ... school, sort of say. I like *Sonic Youth* and then, at the same time like really ... pop like ... more old school and then, like ... I like a lot of old men actually (laugh) like I think that's like 50% of my record collection like old men, *Morrissey* and *Bob Dylan* and *Tom Waits* and *Nick Cave* and well (laugh). So, I mean ... I don't know if you managed to read maybe the Ladyfest paper, the one that is being you (I turn back, there is a magazine on the shelf behind me, I take it) <No> because that's just the text group who published this magazine. You can have it, I have a lot of them <Ok, thanks> But anyway, there is a girl who wrote an article, it's about just the fact that ... the politically correct, the sort of music that *Le Tigre* or *Cheeks*

and *Speed* and those artists are doing and then, there are, I think, there are a lot of young women out there who enjoy listening to *Bruce Springsteen*, it's her example and then, of course ... I mean, I really like *Bruce Springsteen* and I think that he had some unfairly criticized because he's not worst than the next one when it comes to lyrics and stuff like that ... but I mean, yeah, I can really understand why people like get irritated and frustrated with him as an artist ... but then, her point was like, we shouldn't really define music with gender in that way. I mean, if there's some lyrics like 'Born to run' for example, I mean ... of course, you can read the text very literally and yeah, it's a young man and he wants to escape and he wants to find a girl and drive out of the city but I mean ... she interpreted it as just a longing for freedom, a longing to not be stuck in a certain role and really change your way to things and I think that's like something that a lot of feminists can relate to so ... I think that's like a really interesting discussion ... should we try to rip out gender out of all music and just like, listen to the lyrics and they can speak to me and they can speak to that person on the other side of the table and they can speak to everyone in some respects or ... sometimes, you have this music that is really, like feminist music sort of speak, it's for very specific people with a very specific message and I think we need like a little of both, but ... not to get stuck in one too much ..."

E: "But I think, yeah, that we really need to take out gender sometimes and that what women fought against in music like ... 'I'm an artist before a woman' <Yeah>, like stop putting that label, like 'I'm talking to everybody and not just women' ... and like, women wanted to be like ... I mean, to pay with their body without being sexy, I mean, they just wanted to be themselves and like people would like ... always looking in them the women and not the artist."

S: "Yeah, you just want to be a rock band and not a glamour rock band. The rock band like (?), have you heard of them? Yeah, they're quite big in Sweden because they were like ... I think their first record came out like in 2000 or 1999, they were like the first in that area of hard-core-rock'n roll-garage band and they were like all girls and of course, the press went wild and they were like 'Oh, the Girl Band!' and like they were really speaking out against that in every interview that they were mainly a band, they wanted to be associated with like *The Hives* and other bands who were, musically sounded like what they did, they didn't want to be connected with like bands like *Le Tigre* who were playing a very different kind of

music and, they got connected just on the basis of being women, that's not really where you want to go either."

E: "Yeah ... and there are some men that are not so willing to listen to music made by women, without even knowing it, I don't know ... if it's made by women, maybe unconsciously, some are like 'Oh, no, that's not for me' <No> ... But I was wondering, if there is like, or if you can find like, you that is observing a little bit, the people of the Ladyfest, is there like a type or like a classic type of person, in the age or what they're studying or ..."

S: "People that are visiting Ladyfest?"

E: "No, that are active."

S: "Oh, active ... oh well ..."

E: "Maybe not ..."

S: "Well I mean, both yes and no, I would say because of course ... I would say that we're all ... maybe not all, to a certain degree, we're all sort of middle-class, I mean, many of us are students or to be students, in one way, see themselves in an academic carrier and if they're not, they're a bit more artistic ... orientated like want to become designers or do their own music or stuff like that ... so yeah, the average age would be 22 up to 28, I think we're older than the target group for our event. Yeah, I think like (small laugh), one feature is that I think, everybody has this force to do something, I mean, a lot of us are like really creative in one way or the other outside Ladyfest context. For many, Ladyfest is not like the first thing this way they've been involved in and many have their own art or whatever project on the side. So ... yeah, I think Ladyfest is that kind of type of arrangement that attracts people like that, that have done a lot of things and like to be really diverse and get their hands on everything because I mean, I think ... the trouble with Ladyfest, it can scare away quite a lot of people because it's so, I mean ... it is quite scary, that you feel you have always responsibility and you have like ... our budget this year is like 300 000 Swedish crowns, I mean, you have really ... you do everything, you deal with the lights, electricity, and like the schedule during the day and providing food for all the workers, I mean there are so many aspects, one can be intimidated by that because there is no manual ... I mean, me and another girl who were most active in the marketing group, I mean, none of us had any experience at what so ever, she had gender studies a year at university, that was like all her experience (small laugh) and yeah, I

haven't done nothing in public relations area but it was really funny because we had like meetings with different hotel managers, all over Malmö because we were trying to make some kind of deal so that the artists could sleep there. And they were like 'Oh yeah, so are you're working in this and this education in this and this marketing school?' and we were like 'Euh, no, we're just like students' (shy voice) (laugh). 'Unemployed students at the moment' (laugh) so I mean, I think that's quite choking to some people that you actually can try your hands on a field that you were never prepared for, I mean, you don't have any official education ... And on this Arvika trip, that was also so much planning, I mean, we were going to drive 60 miles like north and none of us had a driving license so ... I mean, I think people who feel they have something to contribute to Ladyfest are people who have a really strong ... sense of their own abilities and ... I mean, have that courage and that drive to do things and ... not ask so many questions before, it's just like dive into it because I think that's what you have to do for this because, if you ask too many questions 'What can I contribute? What do I have?' I mean ... like one of the girls, she's like a textile designer and did all the tee-shirts like the merchandize and I mean, my role was nothing like that, obvious, I mean I guess I ... I could be easily replaced by some other person but (small laugh) at the same time, there was like no other person so in that way, I take my courage."

E: "But so, what age are you and like what are you studying?"

S: "I'm 22 years old, I'm studying sociology at the moment but I'm going to become psychologist like ... in a really long time (laugh) in like about 5 years which is the time of the education and like ... I mean, like the other persons, as I said earlier, I've always had like different engagements, I mean, when I went to school, I was active in a student council. I guess that in a way ... it gives me like a purpose (laugh) yeah, I mean, I feel like I'm not the sort of person that feels content with like sitting at home, doing my stuff, I mean, I really want to go out there and do some kind of difference because there're a lot of things in the world that I'm not comfortable with the way they are ... it's like a need to do something. But I'm not going to bother you with my hobbies (laugh)"

E: "Yeah, you can!"

S: "No, I don't want to waste your tape (laugh)"

E: "No ... So you have special hobbies that you ..."

S: “No, I really don’t have ... like I paint, I like to express myself artistically ... and I watch television a lot (laugh) a lot. And I listen to music, I mean, yeah the ordinary stuff. But I don’t know if you want anything more specific from me?”

E: “No, just one last thing ... when you read about the Riot Grrrls, a lot of people criticize them saying that they were too intellectual, too elitist but ... do you think that the Ladyfest is as well? Because ... as you’re all students and like middle-class and staff, you’re maybe all able to have reflections about issues and more like ...”

S: “Yeah, and I guess that’s like one of the central problems with feminism in general today. It is mainly ... middle-class women who have access to all these tools for analyzing the context and so ... I think like the affect of that, yeah ... we *are* that way even if we try to be more open and I’m sorry to say it but I don’t think that in general, we attract ... like a working-class crowd in a great extend. I mean, they have other arenas that they prefer to go to so ... and I mean, I don’t think we can change that, I think the change should be the other way around ... that, I mean, the inequality class-wised has to diminish and that working-class women, in a larger extend, can think about their ... I mean, on their roles, on their gender issues and I mean, in some way ... maybe their feminism is going to look different from like the very theoretical feminism that we have today in the universities because I mean, the academic movements, in a large respect, are middle-class well-educated movements ... and I mean, I *hope* that Ladyfest in some ways, it’s like ... it’s more peaceful, it’s not so frightening hopefully, I mean, maybe than a demonstration or a lecture on feminism, something like that. I mean, hopefully, people can just go and have fun so I mean, I hope that in some way, we can try to reach that gap between different styles but I think ... that you need more events like this even events that are more ... like general in their appeal, just to like invite people because I mean, I know the way we look in the Ladyfest group, you know appearances, I mean of course ... I think that there are many girls, if they saw another girl with a shaved head, they would draw very fast conclusions from that <Yeah> and not feel so ... welcome <Sure> so ... then you have, like I think that en event lie the Girl Contest that I talked about earlier, I mean, if you could take that and at least ... I mean, walk through the doors and have a place next to the make up table, I think that would be a good start because I think ... a lot of the problems comes from the fact that you don’t move in the same arenas, they don’t go to the same school, they don’t hang out in the same places I mean and then

maybe they start working directly and we move on to our higher education so I mean ... if we could just find a common platform , I think much would come out of that.”

E: “yeah, there are some like ... class-studies that says that ... like feminism for middle class is more the Riot Grrrls thing and for like, working-class people, it would be more like the *Spice Girls* that they’re going to listen to. <Yeah> But in a way, it is as well some kind of feminism, some kind of like ... claim on gender so ... yeah, the gap has just to be closer <Mm> And maybe Ladyfest should be more banalized (=trivialized), if there were many of them , maybe people would more see them and not like only ...”

S: “Yeah, I mean, more events of this sort, I mean, maybe not under the Ladyfest’s flag, I don’t know ... it would be really nice if there were other music festivals like pugging up and ... I mean, like the *Spice girls* are quite interesting actually because I think, in their appearance, they’re not that indifferent from the Riot Grrrls but I think, the great problem with them is that they were so commercial, they were so really driven by that, all the money-making process like, appealing of as many people as possible ... I mean, for me that’s sort of the problem. I mean, commercial is always (small laugh) a bad thing. And so ... the problem also would be, if you have like a really ... if you have a narrow definition of working-class as a person that is actually working for their living and that’s like a practical problem because you don’t have that much time ... I mean, this kind of work that the Ladyfest needs, it sort of demand from you to be either a student or having some kind of creative job that gives you the freedom with your time and etc ... yeah, there are a lot of ... just logistic problems too.”

E: “yeah, I don’t think that’s the Ladyfest that should be changed but like the society it’s settled in.”

S: “Yeah.”

E: “Yeah, so I guess that’s about it ... <Ok> That was really intense, like really good talk.”

S: “Ok, I hope I didn’t talk you to death <No!> I like to talk.”

E: “Yeah, that’s good. I’m here for that! (laugh) But I wanted to ask you maybe if you could give me contacts of people that I can contact in the Ladyfest or ...”

S: “Yeah, absolutely! I actually ... I tried to invite ... because I know, I’m friend with the girl who was elected leader, half way through and she was going to come but then, she had another arrangement so she’s like ... yeah, up for it. So I can definitely give her number and

contact <Yeah> ... And I don't know if you want to ... or like how many other people you want to talk to ...”

E: “Actually, as many as I have time to do it so I don't know ...”

S: “Yeah, because I can give you the Ladyfest mailing list <Mm> and then, you can write like a general e-mail to everyone on it <Yeah sure> I mean, as you want to ... I can give you also the number to the girl <Yeah> as she's already sort of in.”

E: “but you do a lot like those?”

S: “Magazines? No ... like behind you, there is this thing (I pick it up) yeah, that's like a book that was from the first year of Ladyfest.”

E: “That's from the literature group?”

S: “Yeah exactly.”

E: “So like, people are writing articles or like ...”

S: “Yeah, everyone who wants to can write a text or do an illustration or take a picture so it's ... the basis work for the text group is trying to pick the best work.”

E: “Yeah, nice.”

At that moment, I turn off the tape recorder. She gives me the number of the girl and tell me she would send me the mailing list by e-mail.

I stand up, go to the hallway to put on my coat and shoes and we keep on talking. We talk about differences in gender between France and Sweden, I tell her how more macho are the men in my country and she tells me that she realizes the gender concern in Sweden makes it maybe more easier for Ladyfest to be accepted and maybe more mainstream than somewhere else. Then, I thank her and leave.

9.2- Interview 2: Anna (2006-03-23):

A. answered to my collective mail sent the 16th of march 2006 (mail sent to the mailing list of Ladyfest-Malmö asking for interviewees), telling me she would be willing to make an interview. I called her and we met the following Thursday at her place in Malmö. She lives in an apartment with her boyfriend and their new born baby. She works halftime so we meet at 7 in the evening, she offers me tea and cookies and we seat around the kitchen table.

E: me, the interviewer

A: her, the interviewer

(...): hesitation, stammer

(_): silence

(laugh): we both laugh

<Ah>: little intervention of the other person

E: “So I think it’s working. Yeah. (*she gets closer to the recorder*) Oh, you don’t have to be so close <Ah> (laugh) Hum, I wanted to know how did you get to the Ladyfest at the beginning? Or how did it start?”

A: “Well, it started with ... you haven’t talked to Malin yet? <No> Ah ok. It started with, that Malin and I are old friends and we were also friends with ... Yenin, who did Ladyfest in Stockholm <Ok> And we all used to live at Smålands nation <Ok> I don’t know if you live there or if you know ...”

E: “No, I don’t live there but I know.”

A: "Yeah. All of us, or at least when we were there, all of us were booking agents at Smålands nation and booked the acts and everything ... mainly rock bands. So, we knew each other from there and we were talking about that it would be nice to make a festival or, you know ... something together. And Yenina had heard about Ladyfest, Malin and I had never heard of it but Yenina had read about it and she was like "Oh, maybe we can do a Ladyfest" because, you know ... everybody can do it <Yeah> and you don't have to, you don't need anybody's permission so we talked to ... yes, she just described it as a cultural festival and that doesn't have to be like a lot a political ... manifest or something, it's just a cultural festival. So, we started talking about it in ... 2003, no 2004 or ... no probably 2003 and then, we planed it from 2004. And then, the first of may, we did one <Ok, yeah> in 2005 (laugh) and Stockholm did one the day before <Ok> and then, this year, Göteborg, people from Göteborg wanted to do one as well. And now, I know, I've got some mail and some girls in Lund want to do one in Lund next year so ..."

E: "Yeah, so you were really willing to make a cultural event more than a political one."

A: "Yeah, we wanted to combine it because you know, we are all feminists as well so we though Ladyfest is perfect because it sort of combines both, so you don't have to separate the political and the cultural. Because, we are political but we ... we wanted to focus more, you know ... and not just have a lot of discussions about "why aren't women doing this and that?" and instead just "well, here are women that are artists!" and we don't have to discuss the politics behind it, we just do it."

E: "You were kind of sick of that or ..."

A: "Well, I'm not sick, but it's more like ... we need a complement as well and we need to not just have a lot of discussions "why?" you know ... it's a bit like complaining "oh, there aren't enough women on this and this stages, you know ... if we get to this concert hall, there won't be enough women on stage and if we get to the theatre, there aren't so many plays played by women and bla-bla. <Mm> Because of course, we can have our discussions but you get really frustrated as well, we don't do that much talk about this and that and bla-bla-bla, we want to actually make sure that there are some people there. <Yeah> Some women aren't able to get up on stage and it's like ...yeah."

E: "But did you do other political feminist involvements before like ...?"

A: “Well, we’ve been ... not really politics, I mean, in Smålands, it’s more like in this big network you know ... not really feminist but it’s more ... <Yeah>”

E: “But, that’s where you started to gather some people interested in that to build it or ..”

A: “Yeah, well, we started with ourselves of course and then ... yeah, I think actually ... oh yeah, we started with ourselves and friends we knew would be interested and then, at quite an early stage, we made a webpage as well so then we wrote on the web-page you know “anybody who would be interested, take contact with us and you could be in our project group” so, it was a mix but ... yeah, it often start with yourselves and then ...”

E: “Yeah, of course. And, now, the people that get in the Ladyfest are more like part of this network that you had at the beginning, some friends or ...”

A: “Yeah, well, I guess it is but also people that have just found the web-page who don’t know any of the people from before.”

E: “Yeah, but I talked about that with Sannah, it’s kind of hard for new people to come because ... everybody kind of know each other so if you just come up there and you know nobody ...”

A: “Yeah, that can be difficult. I think lot of the girls probably wanted to have a friend, I mean, need a friend to go to, I can understand that ... but it’s difficult at the same time, you have to start somewhere <Yeah>, it becomes like you invite your friends ... and I know there’s a danger in that, you might become ... you’re starting looking around you and we’re all white, we’re all feminists, I mean, really academic feminist and that doesn’t feel good but ... it’s really difficult to know how to ... I mean, I’d like to reach other people but then, you have to sort of redirect your focus and you have to put a lot of energy into that and try to find the right channels to other people who aren’t like yourself and that ... you know, you need to work really hard with that <Yeah> and you know, we are like “no, we need to focus on doing the festival”, yeah.”

E: “But what do you mean by academic feminist?”

A: “Well, I mean people who you know ... have studied gender politics and maybe read the magazine *Bang* or ... you know, at Smålands nation and have some knowledge about feminist theories or, read Simone de Beauvoir, people who were already ... well, I’m quite sure we can find people that aren’t sort of, that haven’t read lots of feminism but maybe, they’re interested or maybe they’re just you know young girls who just started to realize that

“hang on, there something not quite right here in society, people say I have the same chances but I don’t think I have the same chances and why is that?” and I mean, we would really like to get those kind of guys to get involved but also, it’s quite difficult because ... I know that, you know this type of academic feminist can scare away other people without wanting to but it’s like “oh, you have to admit this and this if you want to be in our ... gang.” and that’s ...”

E: “But it’s kind of a problem of all feminism, you know, this kind of negative image that you have to be intellectual <Yeah> and you have to have short hair <Yeah> and stuff.”

A: “Lots of people in society have a negative attitude like ... “people who never wash” or “the hate men” and you know all this stuff. It’s quite difficult to get out to people that would be interested because it’s kind of difficult for them to approach us ...”

E: “Yeah of course, but ... in the first place, how did you become a booking agent?”

A: “Oh, I was living at Smålands and I ... I’ve always been very interested in music, I’ve always played in a band, you know, music has been my main interest. And there were just some girls who were in the ...Valberedning and they just suggested “oh, why don’t you become a booking agent, we need more girls” and I never though you know that much but you know ... I realized how important it is to encourage girls because a lot of girls could certainly be different things but they just don’t do it themselves.”

E: “Yeah, and that’s a bit about Do-It-Yourself thing <Yeah> like everybody is capable of doing it.”

A: “Yeah, and that’s what I really like about Ladyfest, this thing that everybody can do it. *(she stands up to get because the water of the tea is ready)* Do you like peppermint or I have earl grey.”

E: “Earl grey would be great.”

A: “Ok. (_) When you started it, how did you decide of the kind of organization it would be, like with different groups and staff? Did it happen naturally or ...?”

A: “Yeah well, the first thing, we didn’t know how we were going to do it, we didn’t have different groups, we just tried to sort of ...“oh, you can be in charge of that and you’d be in charge of that” and this year, we tried to be a bit more like *(hand gesture that means more organized, more strict)* but anybody could be in a Ladyfest group but then you have to make sure that they had contact with that group and everything so that it wouldn’t be the chaos

because it becomes quickly the chaos if you don't have any sort of organization, you need to have at least something.”

E: “So, on the first Ladyfest, with the two others, you were kind of the leader, the coordinator of it.”

A: “Yeah, I was sort of a lot into the booking job as well and we were just sort of ... we turned more or less.”

E: “Yeah, it should have helped you to have already this network in the music area with the booking agent thing...”

A: “Yeah, not really, I don't think I used any of my old contacts.”

E: “So, how did you find the ...”

A: “It was more like we decided which performers we would like to have and then, we tried to find out how we could get in contact with them ... Lydia Lunch for example, you know you look for a web ... something, I found her booking agent and I started writing to her and then, we managed to fix the date because she was going to Spain or something so we booked a flight so she can come to Sweden and do this gig and then go back again so ... but we didn't had as many bookings last year... we had quite a lot of Swedish local groups. This year was a bit more sort of a higher level, more of international acts and staff but then we had a girl called Anna who worked at Mejeriet in Lund as a professional booker and that was very good because she took care of all bands and she managed to get them so ...”

(_)

E: “ I'm kind of loosing my ideas, I'm sorry (laugh) but ... the booking, yeah, how do you choose the artists? What are you asking them or not asking them but how do you choose them? They have to be feminists or they have to challenge some codes in a way?”

A: “I mean, they don't have to be ... I think most of them are feminists but that's just because ... you almost have to be feminist. But we didn't really decide that but we knew we wanted to have strong role models and that's more important, people who have sort of their own individual way of expressing themselves and also of course, we wanted a nice mix between different genres and yeah like being ... who would represent all the different fields of feminists or people in general, we just wanted a nice mix, that was the ...”

E: “And as well to attract different people because I guess you wouldn't like the crowd to be already convinced feminists or ...”

A: "Yeah, but but I don't know if we succeeded in that way and this is the problem you know, it is quite difficult, of course, we want to attract lots of people you know who wouldn't go there but it's quite difficult to reach."

E: "But ... because we talked about that with Sannah, about the differences between the Ladyfests in Göteborg, Stockholm and here and her idea was that Göteborg was much more radical in the sense that it was more in the spirit of the Riot Grrrls like very punk and stuff <Yeah> and that Stockholm was much more commercial, like they wanted to have Robyn and stuff <Yeah> ..."

A: "... and we were somewhere in between I think."

E: "But what do you think about it? Would it be a problem for you to have a very commercial artist or you'd rather have more alternative ..."

A: "I think that ... the first thing is if you can have a mix because I think that's already important, I mean ... I would, I don't care for a commercial artist, that's not what I mean but I know what Stockholm was trying to do. They would do this very ... I mean, they had a clear though about the people they wanted to attract you know, MTV kids and stuff like that, they wanted you know, people that weren't in the circles of feminism already to come there. And I thought that was a really good idea and at the same time obviously, you can't book any shit you know, just because ... I mean, you wouldn't book something sexist just to attract, of course. So I think Robyn was an example of woman who is a strong person as well so she would be able to combine both styles but then, yeah, she can't play anyway (laugh)."

E: "But do you still feel like ... because I came to the Ladyfest at the beginning reading about the Riot Grrrls <Yeah> so do you feel really connected to this movement or it's kind of ... an old thing?"

A: "Well, I don't know because the problem is that we never had Riot Grrrls in a big sense in Sweden, I mean, obviously, there are lots of bands that are inspired by it but it hasn't been a movement in that sense so I think it's difficult to compare it with what it was like in USA because it was really big there, and also in England, on a small period, I think they had lots of good bands as well. So, it's difficult to compare I think."

E: "But I mean, in the Ladyfest girls, do you like have a certain homogeneity or do you have a big diversity of kind of girls involved? Just on your ideas on feminism or the music you're listening to?"

A: "I think it's really diverse, probably. Because I know some girls are quite interested in music, some other more in art and others are only interested in politics, not so interested in, you know so I think it's really different but ... we don't really have a problem with it because our focus is not on politics and we were discussing Malin and I the thing that we should discuss politics a little bit more because it would be nice to have ... if everybody who would come at Ladyfest had a sort of idea of what we're trying to do, what is important and maybe discuss other political issues, trying to integrate them in the festival but, I don't know, we sort of never got up to it. And also, at some moments, we invited people to one of these meetings but no one showed up so we were like "oh well". So, I don't know ... I guess it's good and bad at the same time when politics isn't made a focus."

E: "Yeah if you compare to older movements that were all the time against something, complaining, and I think Ladyfest is more about being positive"

A: "Yeah! That's absolutely what we were you know, that's why we wanted to do it at the beginning ... it's lovely to be able to do something and not just "booboo" (*facial expression expressing complaints*) and everything is shit and "boo" (*again*) ah! (*disgusted face*) screw that! ... It was very liberating you know."

E: "But, did it challenge, in a way, feminism like ... stopping talking about it and just do something you know, sort of taking your distance towards old feminism ..."

A: "I don't know if we ever had any ... we didn't really discuss politics. I mean, it was sort of understood that we all ... I don't know, I think everybody had a feeling about where we probably stand, what was our position. We didn't really discuss that much actually."

E: "But anyway, Ladyfest, by the simple fact of being a feminine festival and made by women is a statement in itself."

A: "Yeah, it is. In this society, it is. I mean, you don't need to ... you have lots of festivals where just men performing and nobody asks about it. "Why have you just booked men?" You know, when we get press for Ladyfest, that's the only thing they're talking about all the time. And it's quite disturbing because ... you feel that like you're being ... do you have the expression "painted into a corner"? <Yeah ok, I understand the ...> The thing is that with Ladyfest, we wanted to ... we wanted not to discuss gender so much and just sort of present "well, here you are, lots of female artists and not a few, lots." You know, we wanted to sort of focus on the artist. We thought that if there are only female artists, you won't focus on

gender, because, well they are all female, that's not the ... the sort of main thing. You can compare them to each other instead and not to other men."

E: "Yeah, and there's a lot of women artists that don't want to be though as girls but as artists before."

A: "Yeah, I know. The thing is that we play in bands and we know how irritated you get at the end when every question is about "oh, what is it like to be a girl and ..." (*cloying tone*) and you just want to "Ah!" (*anger scream*) you know, shit! I mean, I'm just a performer, I'm doing my music, can't you ask me about my music instead. But you know, it's really difficult to find the way to ... tackle that, because we're doing this because we want to let the women sort of take ... you know, we want the artist thing to be number one but then, just because you're a woman after all, you end up just getting questions about ... you know "how is it like to be a woman" anyway, and it's really difficult to manage to .. (sigh)"

E: "I think it's really a problem in all the cultural arena <Yeah, probably> in everything like music or art or everything, if a woman is doing it, she's supposed to make a feminist statement."

A: "Yeah, it's difficult. I mean, I have a lot of criticism about "why you're doing this festival?" I mean ... "if you want women and men to be sort of equal, why are doing a festival just for women?" and I haven't got an answer! It is really difficult, it's impossible to find the perfect way to do it, it is. It doesn't work, it's ..."

E: "You get those critics from the press?"

A: "Nej! Oh no, Stockholm Yenina from Stockholm got really fed up because they had bad press, you know, everything like ... I can't remember exactly what they said but just that Ladyfest was a bad idea, a really stupid idea and nanana (*mean tone*)... and it was a bit tough for Yenina to hear that because you know, you just work and work and work and you get absolutely no money and you just spend a lot of time and then, you just get criticism. It can get quite depressing ... you're really fed up and ... I mean, they got lots of nice reviews as well but of course, the criticism sticks."

E: "Yeah, I think it's like the fate of every movement that sort of challenge the codes, and like the logic of all the system and <Yeah> So (_)"

A: "You want milk or ...?"

E: "Yeah, I'll take some milk ... yeah, what kind of music are you playing with your band?"

A: "Well ... some kind of ... hard rock, I mean, not heavy metal but hard ... (laugh) I don't know how to describe it ... a lot of influences like, I don't know what bands you've heard but <names>, yeah."

E: "And that's the kind of music you're listening to in a general way?"

A: "Hum, yeah."

E: "Are you listening only to like feminist music or ..."

A: "Yea, actually yes. In fact, I've been a feminist as long as I can remember but at some times, I've been sort of really into masculine stuff. I was only listening to man things so it's a bit weird and it's only the last years that I realized that this was fucked up, and I sort of realized how wrong I've been and now, I sort of prefer female acts and ... not because, you know anything that is ... not only because it's feminine but more maybe because ... I don't know how to explain it. But maybe, it's the fact in Sweden as well that they often tend to be a bit more original because, probably because they don't have as many ... you know, what do you say ..."

E: "Yeah maybe because they have more fight to do or ..."

A: "Yeah, well, yeah. They don't have as many role models that they can sort of ... I mean, lots of the male bands, they just sort of imitate others and I mean, they just do the same and there are not so many female imitators in that way because ... they sort of start a lot more free, I mean, in their minds. They don't decide it "oh, we're gonna be a band that sounds exactly like that band", they're more ... well that's what I found anyway ... when I started to reevaluate my taste."

E: "Yes, you said that you feel feminist for as long as you can remember, but it's not like ... I don't know, a sort of revelation or ..."

A: "Well, I can't remember one, one sort of revelation but I know it sort of started when I was ... I don't know, when I was 12 or 13, something like that. And that's when I started to get into punk music and then, I think I started to be sort of political and then, it was everything from, you know becoming a socialist to become a feminist and sort of being very interested in everything ... but yeah, so I was sort of feminist in theory but I still preferred to read male authors and listen to male music and that was very weird."

E: "But, defining oneself as a feminist is always complicated because ... I met some girls that though that to be a feminist, you have to be active in a sort of political movement or

anything <Oh yeah> and it think there are a lot of women that are really concerned about gender issues but without being really active and staff like that <Yeah> so it's really ... still now, it's hard, as a statement to make you know <Mm> and like "oh you're one of those" and staff, there is still a very negative image of that."

A: "Yeah because I always felt that you know ...you can define your own feminism, that's one of the beauties with it, I mean this sort of freedom of defining yourself but, the problem is, when you say you're a feminist, people define you instead and it's really frustrating, very sort of hard when you try to tell them what it is and they're just like "ahah, mm, yeah you're one of those" and you just want to tell them "well, what do you think I am?". But you don't want to ... you get fed up with trying to explain yourself all the time as well, you just feel like "well, can't people read about it ... instead of accusing me of this and that I have nothing to do with."

A: "But what do you think about ... because there are some Ladyfests in Europe and other places that are separatists, you know."

A: "Well, I can understand that. And we were discussing with Ladyfest if we should have it separatist but ... I don't know ... I think the disadvantages are larger than the advantages because ... I mean, I want to make ... it's sort of like you're working against the cause when you're doing that because you want sort of music preformed by women to not just be concerned to women but it should be, it should concern all sexes and just ... I don't know, feminine music or I don't know how to say it ... music performed by women take a bigger place in the ... you know and then, it seems really contra productive to say "well, it's just for women" and then, well ... but still I can understand people who want to do that, I can definitely understand it if it's ... if it's maybe about debates or discussions and staff because as soon as men are part of the room, you can see what happens, they sort of take all the attention and they start talking and all the women shut up and everything and ... that's really difficult to do something about it, I mean, you can't just change that just by having a discussion. You take your sex roles with you into every context you're in and ... and I'm like that as well, it doesn't ... I mean, even if I'm a feminist, it doesn't matter, I sort of go more quiet when men are in the room and it's really annoying because that's the way we are programmed sort of say ... so I can understand it in that sort of context more <Mm> because then it's more about communications, how discussing issues are important, not being

interrupted by people who just want to take the focus <Mm> But when it comes to music and staff you know, the bands standing on stage, it's on them that is the attention, and then, I feel it better if everybody can see it because ... you provide role models mainly for girls but also, you can provide some role models for men, so that they can find you know ... heroines you know."

E: "Sure. But otherwise, even if the gender roles of everybody kind of stay the same, I think that during a Ladyfest festival, a festival more about women, men kind of have to adapt themselves as well because it's kind of a situation dominated by women for once <Mm> so I guess you can think of that as well. (_) And in the Ladyfest itself, like the reunions you have and staff, how do you think that the fact there are only women affect the behavior of the girls?"

A: "When we're in the groups? <Yeah> I think it's ... I think it makes all the difference. I don't want to talk too much in clichés when it comes to how women act and how men act but, I mean, you just have to compare ... because even if Malin and I have been the sort of leaders and everything and probably have taken more room than the other girls ... I don't think they have so much respect for us or are scared of us in the same way so that they don't dare to open their mouth, we've managed to have sort of ... I mean, obviously, there will always be certain people that talk more than others but I think you always get that in many contexts but there was not one single girl who just talked and stood up all the time and it would never like ... if someone stood there, start talking and other people would sort of demonstratively do other stuff and ignore her you know, nothing like that so I think it does make a great difference. It's just something in ... we listen to each other more, we're sort of more equal ... but then, there are always you know sort of ... <Of course> you know in such a context."

A: "But you seem to think a lot about your position as a leader <Yeah> and you're kind of trying to ..."

E: "It is really difficult and I'm really not that sort of person who likes to be a leader. I'm very shy sort of ... but, but I think we sort of realized we need to have some sort of leadership, I mean, just because it's really difficult to make a project and not have ... it's really difficult and then, you just have to try to make it as democratic as you can apart from that and make everybody realize that we're not more important, it's just that we have a role

of being some sort of coordinator or something you know. And we try to get people more and more involved in it, it's really difficult as well to have this sort of responsibility, it's quite ... it's tricky, it's tricky to know how to do it because if you do it, you have to be ... yeah."

E: "Yeah and there's the fact that people are really used to <Yeah> act in a leadership model <Exactly> so ..."

A: "yeah, it's tricky, you have sort of pull back but you have to do it in a way so that people don't "Ah! Oh dear! What am I suppose to do?" you have to do it in a good way and now, Malin and I aren't gonna be coordinators anymore so, and I think that's another important thing that you don't get to seat there, and occupying and say well, you know ... you don't want to leave the power, it's time for us to ... but I just hope that someone wants to ..."

E: "Because nobody really wants to ..."

A: "No ... yeah because a lot of people who are involved in Ladyfest, which is a positive thing really are the sort of people many too many things in their lives anyway and they sort of ... and they really want to become involved in Ladyfest but they're sort of "oh I don't know if I've got enough time" and they don't want to commit themselves which is good in a way but I'm just worried that nobody will ... but you know it's not paid so you can't force people to you know."

E: "But it's always hard to articulate all the different things you're doing in your life you know like family and everything <Mm> because I guess it takes a really big place in your life to become coordinator of Ladyfest."

A: "To become?"

E: "Coordinator of Ladyfest."

A: "Yeah exactly, you can't. I mean, I've always worked full time at the same time and I mean ... it worked but the problem is: I sort of ... you know, it's been like when I've been at work, I've been doing a lot of Ladyfest stuff when I shouldn't be doing that but it's just like you get sort of obsessed with it ... I mean, and because there's so much responsibility that you just work work work and it sort of become too much."

E: "What kind of job do you do?"

A: "Hum, I'm sort of a multimedia producer, I do lots of ... I mean, some journalism things and I edit films and I do a lot of net, like internet magazine, yeah a bit of all that."

E: "You are independent or .."

A: “No, I work for a company but I get to do a lot of different sort of things ... it’s actually nice.”

E: “You studied journalism studies or ...”

A: “Hum, I’ve studied a lot of things in Lund but then I went to ... yeah for example English and media and communication and then I went to a web education... yeah it’s called web production and staff like that.”

E: “So now, you’re continuing like being involved in Ladyfest but not as a coordinator anymore or ...”

A: “I think, now I will be ... I wanted to be involved but doing something else but I’m starting to think that maybe I should not be involved at all because I’ve noticed that ... it’s really difficult for me to be involved half, you see. I want to be really involved 100% or not at all and so ... so I think maybe if I get reinvolved, maybe I’m starting to interfere in other people’s work and you shouldn’t do that because I’ve got experience so I know you shouldn’t do that and I don’t want to be that sort of person that .. yeah, we’ll see.”

E: “Yeah but it’s normal as you started it, I mean, it’s your little baby in a way.”

A: “Yeah, I know but it’s really silly ... because I mean you can’t say to someone “here, you can have responsibility” and then sort of take it back “no, I know better than you”, people would get really ... yeah, it would be really mean to do that.”

E: “But do you think it’s really working well in the interactions of the people, like the equal thing or like ...<Like what?> like the equality thing, to respect the work of others because I guess there are some little struggles inside or ...”

A: “No no, I feel sort of guilty about that because I don’t think it’s been perfect at all but ... it’s a bit difficult as well because ... for example, I’m feeling really guilty about that and I don’t know if Sannah said anything about it but I feel really guilty because I interfered with ... you know, with putting out posters. That was just because I was sort of starting panic because I haven’t seen any posters up and I ... I just felt that this is not my place to do it and I’m really being silly to interfere with their work but at the same time, even if you know this guilt I would have, I’ll regret, I’ll regret “why didn’t I say something?” so I just felt well, we can talk about it afterwards in that case but, just right now, it’s really important that these posters come up and that everybody would get to see them and get information about it because it’s really like, time is running out and I was getting, I was starting panicking “oh,

nobody's gonna come and all this work" you know, we worked with it for almost a year and that's just because we had to change the ... venue, I don't know if you heard of any of this <Yeah> everything just was late and it was a bit of a panic and I wasn't even supposed to be working then and this is why I'm a bit guilty because I've said no because I was having my baby and ... so I said "no, I'm not gonna be involved" and then I interfered anyway but it was just because I felt "oh, all this work and now, everything is going to ... anyway."

E: "It's sometimes really hard to trust people."

A: "Yeah ... I didn't trust, I didn't mistrust that they were doing what they thought was the best job but I couldn't help even that ... I've been involved before and I know how much work you need to put up posters and staff, you know, it takes hours and hours and hours and in the end, very few people have seen it anyway so you know ... you just have need to put up day-in, day-out, day-in, day-out, you just have to cover the whole city and then maybe, you'll reach a few people and I wasn't sure if they knew that. Because, maybe they haven't put up posters before but I've worked as a booking agent for like 3 years or something and I know how much work it is to put up posters everywhere and maybe, one hour later, someone else comes and cover it with another poster, so I know how important it is. So, this is the thing, it's not that I mistrusted that they work hard to do a good job, I was just not sure they knew how much work they needed to ... so this sort of conflicts you have but ... I mean it feels really good in the end. <Yeah> I'm not fed up (laugh)."

E: "But, like in Ladyfest, you met some good friends or you stayed mostly at the rank of colleagues or something..."

A: "I think, yeah, definitely I made friends, absolutely. People who I probably wouldn't have met otherwise but of course, there are still a very few for me but that has more to do with me I think because I don't have that much time but I think a lot of other people found a lot of new friends."

E: "Do you think that people are as well coming for that or like to meet people?"

A: "Yeah probably, well I mean indirectly because they probably think it's fun to work with it and because people are so nice, that's probably why they think it's fun (laugh)"

E: "Yeah, but we were talking with Sannah about the fact that Ladyfest is kind of a middle class thing <Mm> and that it's kind of ... people that have studied and ... yeah. It's kind of hard to attract different groups of people <Yeah> (_) One thing that really interest me in

that kind of movement is the capacity of like self-reflectiveness, that you can ... like I guess that after the first Ladyfest, you made a sort of evaluation of how it was and how to make it better <Mm> and kind of asking yourself the question of who is your target group, and who you want to attract and ...”

A: “Yeah, we never did it really sort of “hihi” (hand gesture meaning strictly) <Yeah> but we discussed it of course (_) and in that evaluation, we decided we should have groups and that they should communicate but I don’t know if ... I mean, it works ok but there are some problems with it as well because you know, there are even more people involved and you just felt that people were spending very much time just sort of communicating with each other <Mm> yeah, it was a bit frustrating because there was so much information and there were so many people and ... it just felt like the sort of information aspect of it took ... took almost all the time and energy and I mean ... obviously, when an organization grows, that’s what happens and then, you know, certain groups worked really well, people talked well to each other, communicated and other groups just sort of didn’t work, they didn’t talk to each other, they didn’t pass any information that we sent them and so ... it worked ok but it wasn’t as perfect as we thought it would be when we thought about it so ...”

E: “Just because, it’s based on human beings, it cannot be perfect.”

A: “Yeah, we’re not perfect.”

E: “yeah, coming back to the struggle between being political in a way and still being popular and attract people <Mm> so ... yeah I don’t know, you’d rather been called a musical festival rather than a feminist festival?”

A: “Yeah, it would be nice or it would be nice if we didn’t have to talk that all the time <Yeah> and more about the artists because ... it’s a bit frustrating when people just talk about the gender thing because then, it would appear that we’ve booked those women just because they are artists and that’s not so ... I mean, obviously, they have to be women to be booked but ... I mean, it’s just that they think that there are so few females so you get to pick up those who exist, well that’s not true. There were lots and lots but we picked those that we thought were really good or we thought they’d represent something in particular we wanted to ...so that’s a bit frustrating <Sure> but ...”

E: “But what did you want them to represent, like to represent different kind of feminism or ...”

A: “No, no, just ... I’m talking out from the artist perspective, that’s ... we wanted to be a cultural festival, we wanted the feminism to sort of be there but not take the front seat because it was a bit like ... sometimes, you know when you present something as feminist, you sort of loose people that say “oh, ok, I’m not interested” and that’s a pity because they might like the actual act but, just because it’s presented as something feminist, they think “that’s not for me” so we really wanted not to have this feminist thing but sort of ... because it’s a bit ... it’s a bit more ...”

E: “So in a way, you still think Ladyfest with a missionary role of like spreading feminist ideas ...”

A: “No, well, not much ... not so much feminism in itself but the sort of ... the effect of us not living in a feminist society. Not so many women are coming up on stage so we wanted to ... I think really Ladyfest, I mean for me, is at least, how I sort of see it, it’s partly what you were talking about, the Do-It-Yourself thing which is really important and that’s not gender specific, you know that’s just for anybody but also, actually ... it’s more a question of, it’s a question of ... how do you say in English? ‘Fördelningspolitik’, ‘fördelning’ ... like sort of you know, you have this cookie and you know ...”

Then, I change the side of the tape. When I do so, she stops talking and wait, I tell her it’s ok so she goes on while I’m taking care of it.

A: “Yeah, it’s just a way of offering some space <Mm> because some space for female acts because when you look at, you know, how other festivals work, they just, they don’t even think about it, they just book the same old ... things that they ... you know, I can see, people are obviously not taking this in consideration at all and it might be because they never listen to female artists either or it’s just because ... I don’t know what it is, it’s like, you can see the same acts but the performer is always different, well what is this, it’s just an imitation thing ... and there are so many female acts that you really almost have to think ... think of the gender perspective to realize that “oh oh” you know ... and a lot of festivals in Sweden have started to think about gender but they still think it’s enough just to “oh, we have one female bands or two female bands or something” and ... in a way, I can understand why it is like that because if you look at it percentage-wise, there are still a lot more men but I still think

that's no reason why ... that should be reflected in the festivals, I don't think that has to be reflected, I think they can make an effort of having more female acts both because they're more interesting, well that's what I think anyway and both because the only way to make a difference in why it looks like it, is to you know ... give some good examples and to get some role models and staff, you can't expect it ... if you just have festivals with men, you can't expect you know ... the situation in society to just change either, you have to make an active decision."

E: "Yeah, but then comes the problem of the commercial aspect of it because I guess some booking agents of festivals first think of how many people ... they want to attract the more people as possible <Yeah> so they just think commercial and not think with ... they don't want to make any statement or ..."

A: "No, I realize that but I think they're a bit stupid if they just think about that because ... yes, of course, this is an argument but ... it's on the really high, upper level that it is really male dominated, if you go down a few levels, you often find like ... a higher percentage of females, it's not very difficult to find things that also are quite commercially ... you know, possible. Especially, the last few years, there are quite a lot of females so you know ... you can't use the argument anymore that "oh, there aren't any female that ..." there's lots! But I think, sometimes, they tend to, you know, be forgotten, if the booking agents don't have enough, you know, think of it, remember!"

E: "But I think, in Sweden you often have this discourse about the fact that you're supposed to be the more equal country in the world so you're not supposed to complain about anything."

A: "Well, yeah, anybody who've seen the facts know that this is bullshit (laugh)"

E: "yeah, but when I compare it to France ... in a general way, I can really see that the gender equality ideas are much more well integrated in the minds of the people here and it permits to Ladyfest to be a little bit more popular and a little bit like ... part of the thing because, in France, the Ladyfests I've seen were always always really extreme and really radical and ... when you talk to the women, you feel a big anger <Yeah> and a big revenge that they want to have, it's more of a radical statement. I feel that here, you are more accepted. <Yeah> I mean, not that much but ..."

A: "Yeah, well, yeah (_) But what Ladyfests have you been to in France?"

E: "I've been to the one in my city, it's called Nantes, it's in the west of France <Yeah, ok> and I've been to one in Toulouse <All right> and so yeah ..."

A: "Were there a lot of people?"

E: "Yeah, but it was more like ... there was a lot of people but not that many I guess than here because like the room was smaller <Ah, yeah>, here you made it at the Mejeriet and there, it was more like ... alternative, or what I saw anyway. And there was a really ... well, I haven't been to the Ladyfest in Malmö, in Lund, last fall but there were much many statements about homosexuality as well <Yeah>, there was really a big statement about that, maybe before any kind of feminism or something. And I didn't really feel it in Ladyfest Sweden."

A: "No, no, nothing sort of ... I don't think that was ever a question about: it should be this or it should not be that but I think it's more ... I think that comes naturally the homosexually aspect because there are a lot of performances that are gay as well and that became quite natural I think but we ... I think we were sort of discussing it if we should have some ... I don't know how we should do next year ... I haven't been to any other Ladyfests, or oh ... I've been to one in Copenhagen, in 2005 ... yeah, I think I also got this impression that they're more ... yes, it's more like a 'paroll', you know, the homosexuality thing and they also had some good drag things and staff like that."

E: "Maybe ... I know everything is not beautiful at all but maybe, it's because homosexuality is maybe more accepted in Sweden in a general way or ..."

A: "Maybe, yeah ... I supposed maybe. But it's absolutely not accepted by everybody, absolutely not. But, I don't have much to compare with and I don't know how it is in France, maybe it's like really difficult to get the basic rights, I don't know. <No, well ...> Because we had discussions about adoption and staff like and that is really ... a great big discussion about that. But, I think ... the laws are always there anyway so, they're allowed to adopt now and ... do you know this law, it's the same with race that you're not allowed to ... so that! The problem with Sweden is that we have these laws in practice or no no I mean ... <In theory> in theory, but then, when it comes to practice, it's ... you can see how there's so many people's attitude that are really not as liberal as you would think."

E: "Yeah, of course, the cultural aspect is really hard to change."

A: "Yeah, so I think maybe, we have an opposite situation from many countries in Europe where it's the other way around. People might have a more open attitude than the laws or the ..."

E: "But I think that in fact, in a general way, men are much more machist and sexist in France than in Sweden, I mean, I can really see it when you go out, you're in bars, I don't feel the same pressure than in France so ... <Ok>. So, what kind of art creation did you have expect of music because we kind of have the image of a music festival but you had videos and art as well."

A: "You mean last fall? <Yes> We had -?- which is very ... mainly short pictures and that's very popular, I mean, lots of girls are making films. My sister was working in the film group and they got, I don't know about a hundred films and they had to choose ... ad we had theatre, we had someone called -?- I didn't see it myself, I had to go to give birth (laughs) ... I went to Ladyfest because I didn't know I was going to give birth you know so I visited Ladyfest for a few hours but then I had to go ... so yes, that was the theatre and we had lots of art exhibitions, some performances and some workshops and a fashion show <Ok> which was you know, sort of formed by people who worked with ... you know acrobats and dancers and ... the creations were made by girls who ... you know, we wanted to get ... fashion is always so fixated on you know, the cult of the body and so on, so we wanted to challenge that and ... what else ... well Djs and staff like that, so it was a mix."

E: "But like, even though you don't really have like big political discussions, you still have discussions on how to challenge the cultural codes, like in just the way of playing with ... like fashion and the sexist tradition, you kind of play on that."

A: "Yeah, I suppose yeah. I mean, of course, I can't deny Ladyfest is very ... it's very feminist but yeah ..."

E: "But you can try to fight against it."

A: "Yeah I mean, I just want to ... what you were talking about, fashion and staff, if you want to sort of ... say something that is true for all the different areas is just that we want strong women, we want ... women to be perceived as active, in control, you know, writing their own agenda, not someone else's and staff but I think you can see that those ... if there's someone you know making her own film or in a fashion show or the way they act when

they're playing on stage, you know, that it wasn't sort of (hand gesture meaning girly, sweaty) (laugh) that it wasn't about looking good or something ... yeah, expressive people."

E: "Do you think that at the end, the crowd that came was differentiated and with people like what-are-we-doing-this-week-end kind or like do you think people still were afraid of the feminist level?"

A: "No, well, I think there is definitely a lot of people who would never go there, even if they love the music, unfortunately but, maybe not so many. I think we attracted quite a few people who were just interested in the music, who don't care about feminism but maybe don't have any problems with it either but I don't know if it was ... yeah, I'm a bit sort of ...if I was asked what I'm the most disappointed with, with Ladyfest is probably this frustration with how to get to new people <Mm> because ... you've got your core of feminist friends and then, you sort of have extended group of people who you know ... and it feels like, it's like you can get to those sort of, they might come to the festival even though they're not really interested in feminism but you never get to these people here (hand gesture showing in the air a distant area from the core) ... and you can never get these sort of immigrant girls and stuff like that, it's awfully frustrating but I also know that it's our own fault because we shouldn't just book these ... white acts, I mean, we didn't had just white acts but I mean we should have been a lot more ... really ... trying to get ... I mean, it's also difficult because I mean, we are open as an organization, we want sort of lots of different people to become involved but ... of course, they're never gonna get in contact with us, why would they? They would just feel sort of outside, they don't know anything about feminism and everything... so it's really difficult to get these people to get involved when we don't know them as people from the beginning because maybe, if they're already friends, you can just pull them in but yeah ..."

E: "Yes, I think "political" is a bit frightening in a general way ... there are a lot of people that are socialist in their sensibility but they would never been involved in any organization <No> because they don't feel like capable of it <No> but I think there are still some girls that get involved you know like that, and take a big experience out of it, out of the Ladyfest <Yeah> they learn a lot. Yeah, I guess it can really help a lot like ... like as you said earlier, the young girls who are kind of concerned about gender but not really ... into it yet and so, getting involved in Ladyfest can help you discover yourself, discover your feminist side or

<Yeah, that's true> because that's really hard sometimes between ... if you're not at the beginning in a network of friends that are feminists, it's kind of hard to say it because it's still a negative thing <Mm> it's really ...”

A: “Yeah, it's really difficult and I can feel that it's our responsibility more than the girls because it's really difficult for them to sort of come into a new context, of course, so I think it's important for us, if we say that we're concerned with feminism and democracy and blablabla, we should live up to it of course but, yeah ... unfortunately, the thing is that we don't really have the time to have these discussion about how we can do it and everything and also and that's why it's been so ... everybody has been really running out of time <Mm> so in the end, you just sort of “oh, we just have to make sure that this festival is gonna work.” (laugh)

E: “Yeah, you don't want to just sell out your principles to attract like more people.”

A: “No, I'm quite sure we could attract more people without selling out our principles but it takes so much extra work, we'd really have to ...”

E: “But what would you do?”

A: “Oh, for example, we could try to get to these schools and try to get a lot of people there but it's just that the amount of work it would mean, you know, you would have to start even earlier ... yeah, so these are the problems and hopefully, if there's another Ladyfest, we could discuss those things or “we” ... I say “we” but I don't know if I will be there but hopefully, we ca have more discussions about why we're doing this Ladyfest and what's the most important thing and what people do we want to .. get to.”

E: “Is there a fixed plan of the Ladyfest next year?”

A: “No, there's not. We tried to have a meeting about it but that was just after the festival and everybody was fed up (laugh) so not many people came and then, actually, now that people rested, a few girls started to wonder about “oh, are we gonna do another Ladyfest?” so I know Anna at Mejeriet she sent out a mail and wondered if we could have a meeting in April so hopefully, that will lead to some people saying “oh, that was really nice” and start to put it up again.”

E: “But it's now that you have this new motherhood, I guess that's the thing that make you wonder about your involvement.”

A: “Yeah I think so ... because I think I’ll ... well I haven’t given my answer to that yet, yeah ...”

E: “I guess sometimes, you wonder what guides you to do all this work.”

A: “Yeah, but of course it’s because you think the idea is so good and you want to make a good result out of it and because it is really fun to do it as well (laugh)”

E: “Yeah and the rewards are people that come to you to say it was great.”

A: “Yeah, exactly and the feeling that we did this together, it’s a really nice feeling ... it’s like you’ve build your own little family “oh we’re gonna do this project together and we managed to do it!” (laugh) and also you know, you start with nothing, you don’t get paid, anything but we managed anyway ... yeah, it’s a very nice feeling. You don’t have to be a sort of big institution or professional blabla, you can just, you can do it anyway.”

E: “But did you have like ... when you were booking for Ladyfest, when you had contacts with professionals, did they kind of wonder like “who are you?” and “what qualifications do you have?” or like ...”

A: “Yes, sometimes ... foe example when ... for example, Lydia Lunch, I know she was a bit skeptical, she didn’t said out that she was because I had a lot of discussions with her booking agent and I think the booking agent got irritated because we were trying to put down the price and she was saying “you’ve already got a really good price and blablabla” and you know, and she probably though we were quite amateurish, which in a way we are, I mean, we aren’t a professional organization and we didn’t have any money so we had to push the prices down as much as possible but I know they were quite worried that we were going to be, you know, that she would come and we would be (face and hand gesture meaning panic and disorganization) you know and not knowing anything but I saw she said a mail to her booking agent afterwards that ... she wrote that “the girls were organized and blablabla” so I figured that they had this discussion before that, about the fact that we wouldn’t be organized so (laugh)

(_)

E: “Yeah I think I had ...I think we made the turn of everything, I don’t have many more questions.”

A: “Did you get what you wanted?”

E: “Yeah, I think I did, I didn’t have a precise idea in my head of what I wanted so ...”

A: "You just know you're gonna write about it?"

E: "No, I kind of have a precise idea of what I'm gonna do like Ladyfest as new social movements that are less political and more cultural and that try to challenge the codes and everything ... and I'm really concentrating on Ladyfest Malmö and those interviews are in the idea of collecting like personal experiences of feminism so .."

A: "Ah ok."

E: "Yeah and I'm one of those young girls that want to explore this gender questions as well for a personal experience."

A: "Ah, ok. But yeah, what is your background?"

Then, we talk about me, where I come from, my studies, my feminist mother

Then, we talk about Lund, she lived there 8 years. We complain about its reduced size.

She explains she had this microcosm in Smålands nation, outside of the reality. She said she finished by being fed up of it.

We speak of concerts at Smålands I've been to.

We talked of a concert at Kulturbolaget in Malmö (The Chap) where I wanted to go and where she was.

Then, I ask her of good places to go out in Malmö. She talks of KB, Inkonst, Deep club, Panora, Budini.

Then I leave, she brings me to the door saying that I should write her if I don't understand something on the tape and that I should write another collective mail to the girls of Ladyfest if I need another interview. I thank her and leave.

9.3- Interview 3: Malin (2006-04-03):

M. answered my collective mail telling me she could do the interview. I called her and we fix an appointment on this Monday, at 11 at her place. She has a 2 months old baby and she's currently at home taking care of him.

I go there that day, she opens, the baby is with her. She's feeding him. I thank her for welcoming me, and we go to the kitchen once she's finished with her son. She proposes me coffee, and while the coffee is making, we talk. I present her my thesis, what is my subject, my goals and so on. She finds it very interesting and we talk about the differences of the Ladyfests in different countries. I tell her that in France, the ones I've seen were much more radical, alternative and financially limited than the ones in Sweden. She agrees saying that Ladyfest in Sweden is pretty commercial and has a big budget. She explains that the more alternative people think Ladyfest is "uncool" because it is too commercial. For example, Ladyfest Malmö was partly financed by MTV and that was a really bad thing for a lot of people apparently. She shows me the posters of the two Ladyfest Malmö where a little MTV sign appears. She says that the two years, they made profit. She also says they had a lot of press in the region. When asking why, she says that she thinks feminism is kind of "fashion" here. She takes the example of the fact that every political party in Sweden, except of one, claim to be feminist. Then, we talk of the differences between the Ladyfests within Sweden and she explains that the big difference between Malmö and Stockholm is that, in Malmö, they are all volunteers and in Stockholm, there are a lot of professionals involved. She says that it makes things easier and more efficient in Stockholm. There are just women that are doing their regular job (booking agents, media editors, ...) for Ladyfest and in consequence, they can have bigger names, more funds and so, be more commercial.

The coffee is ready so we go to the living room, I tell her that her apartment is nice and she agrees, saying that they will have to move soon for the baby to have his own room but she doesn't really want to because the apartment and the neighborhood are very nice to live in. We seat, each of us in a chair, around a little table. The baby is in a baby chair just

beside and during the interview, M. will often carry him on her knees or around the room while talking because he was not happy of being left aside.

E: me, interviewer

M: her, interviewee

(...): hesitation, stammer

(_): silence

(laugh): we both laugh

<Ah>: little intervention of the other person

(italic) : actions, events or impressions

italic : stressed words

(---): moments where the tape “jump”, which means that a few seconds of the speech are missing. Unfortunately, this happens a lot during the interview due certainly to bad quality equipment.

E: “Hum ... at the beginning, because Anna kind of told me the story of the beginning and staff but like, what did attract you at the beginning in the concept of Ladyfest?”

M: “Me?”

E: “Yeah.”

M: “Hum ... I guess it was ... no, the possibility of doing something that I would like to attend to myself, you know, we would really like to see lots of female bands and female artists (*the baby tries to express himself by making some noises*) (laugh) He wants some attention I guess ... I think, first, the reason was, you know, to do something with my friends, like a hobby you know. Because it was me and Jenina, in Stockholm and it started like a fun thing to do and a creative and a positive thing to do and then, as we discussed it more and more and got more involved, it became more and more ... like an *idea* that I really liked. But at the very beginning, in the first days, it was just like “Oh, let’s do something fun!” Yeah”

E: “Yeah, it was like Jenina who had the idea at the beginning.”

M : “Yeah, because she read about Ladyfest in ... somewhere else, I don’t know. But actually, I’ve been to a Ladyfest but I didn’t know, it was a big concert, I think it was in Amsterdam, 3 years before we did it in Sweden and I liked the concert but I didn’t know it was ... I though it was just a local ... one time thing but then, Jenina told me it was bigger and blablabla and then (---)”

E: “What did you like?”

M: “Well, I like that it was ... I mean, I’m interested in ... what do you say ... culture, I mean like art music and all that and I also noticed preferring female artists, females acts I mean, female musicians and then, I really would like to make a festival with only with female musicians and I’ve been playing myself with Anna <Mm> and we noticed, while we were playing how ... how difficult it is to be a female musician because you’re always different, so knowing how it is to be the musician, I wanted to make a festival for female musicians where they’re not female musicians only <Yeah> you understand that?”

E: “Yeah yeah, sure. But it’s really hard to rip out gender out of music because ... but yeah, like, as a musician, what are you playing?”

M: “What instrument? <Yeah> I’m playing the drums so that’s in a way even more unusual for a girl, I mean, if you’re a woman and you play piano, it’s not as weird as being a drummer.”

E: “But, did you think of the things like ... like self presentation when you go on a stage? Is it something you think about, the way you’re gonna act or the way you’re gonna dress or?”

M: “Yes, I was self conscious, I was. And I ... I mean, while we were playing in this band that Anna and I was in with a third girl, I wasn’t as aware as I am now of feminist ideas but I mean, I was aware a bit ... but in retrospective, I see that we tried to be “one of the guys”, I mean, that was what we were doing because we wanted to be accepted by this special crowd blablabla so, to be accepted, we though we had to act like the guys, we were really allergic with doing it the female way but now, I can see that we sort of restricted ourselves <Mm> because ... playing tight and hard and being cool and blablabla and ... well, we didn’t do it that well and I don’t think you have to do it that way to be good but, at that time, I did think that that’s what you had to do.”

E: “But what is the female way to make music?”

M: "I don't think there is a female way to do music but I think ... no, I just really don't think there is a female way but ... (---)"

E: "You were looking for the men's recognition ..."

M: "Yeah exactly, that's what I mean ... and to get that recognition, we had to do it, we though we had to do it in a special way like really ... I don't know how to describe it ... I know we spent a lot of time worrying that: if we don't get this right, people are gonna laugh at us. If we want to do this kind of music, we have to do it this way, otherwise, we're not gonna be good and we're gonna be ridiculous and ... as we were after men's recognition, we had to do it their way ad if we didn't do their way, we would be girls doing it you know <Yeah yeah> You're put in an awkward position playing this sort of hard-rock music being a girl because then, you really enter the male territory, I mean, if you play pop music, there are lots of female ways of doing it or lots of female have done it, I mean ... so you have lots of different ways or ..."

E: "So, at the end, did you get this men's recognition or ... because you were in this Smålands nation network <Mm> and so, did you felt that you were respected for the music you were doing?"

M: "Yeah, some. I mean, there is a label that put out our record and paid for it so that was recognition and that was a label that was quite male I think, only male bands and definitely not feministic so... yes we did but it was always struggling up hill I think, I felt that it was never really ... I mean, we were not really that good, I mean technically and it was what we wanted to be because being technically good is what gets guys to admire you but ... we were not that technically good so in that way, I don't think we ever succeeded. I think we did well but I wish at that time that I would have given myself ... the possibility to not be technically perfect because then, I could have accepted my way of playing much more easily than striving after this perfect (*she imitates a drum rhythm*) you know <Yeah> ... Frank Zappa <Yeah>"

E: "But in what way did you feel that you were restricting yourself? Not being women, in what way? In the way you were acting on stage or ..."

M: "Not really but I mean ... being a drummer, I was very ... I would always wear clothes that were comfortable and that would keep my breast in place because you know, playing, I didn't want them to move and it was not so much that "oh, I don't want people to see my

breast” *but* I had to be comfortable <Sure> I couldn’t really wear a dress because that wouldn’t really work, I mean, I could but I didn’t feel comfortable so I just wanted comfortable clothes.”

E: “But, you lived in Smålands nation as well? <Mm> Like, for how many years?”

M: “Hum ... “

E: “I mean, that’s where you became a booking agent there?”

M “And that’s when I got to know Jenina. We were booking together and that’s one of the reasons we started it together because we were booking staff together before so it we sort of a natural way of doing the same thing that we’ve done already.”

E: “What was actually your job? Like you had to find artists to come to play in Smålands?”

M: “Yeah, but not really find them because the booking agencies just send you a lot of CDs and call you all the time and “do you want this band? They’re playing now blablabla” so you just have to choose among the offers, that’s what you do.”

E: “I don’t know for you but for Anna, you know it kind of ... just pup out, I mean the idea of becoming a booking agent, and she was like “Ok!”. Was it the same for you? Or was it something you really wanted to do from before?”

M: “No, it was more like ... this is what Anna had done and what the other girls in the band had done and this was what you could do if you wanted to be active at Smålands nation so, well I could do it as well. It was not really ... I wasn’t really good because my knowledge in music is not that wide ... I mean, I don’t know as many bands as Anna or Jenina do, I mean, I know some but I don’t have lots of lots of knowledge as they do (*the baby is screaming so she talks to him and take him on her knees*)”

E: “He wants some attention.”

M: “Yeah, well he’s getting bored so I will just hold that in front of him to keep him occupied for a while (laugh) Yep (*looking at me*)”

E: “Yeah, so you didn’t really actually though about how you wanted to do the Ladyfest or what role you wanted to give to it, it was more like a spontaneous thing ...”

M: “Yeah well I mean, just the first few days but then, we started talking about it really ... for me and Jenina it was, we were talking about how upset we were about the whole patriarchal society and then, we said we should do something you know, we should do a Ladyfest and then, we started to talk about how do we wanted to do our Ladyfest, how do we

wanted it to be like. While talking about this, you know I've got more and more excited and I really felt that it was ... exactly what I wanted to do, I mean, I really like the idea of ... of Ladyfest. Female artists, female organizers and ... and positive energy."

E: "Yeah, so you started to gather friends from here and there <Mm>, starting something ... at the beginning, were there some people coming from outside, just interested in the project or was it really really friendship based, you know, you have to know somebody to come in or ..."

M: "Yeah, I guess it was like that in the beginning because it was so small and nobody knew about it unless they were told about it by somebody they knew ... but I remember one girl who was doing Ladyfest the first year, Marie, she was living in this house, a few stairs away and I'd met her at one meeting that had to do with this housing and I knew she was a poet and she was doing a lot of poetry slam so I didn't really know her, we weren't friends, we just sort of say hello and I asked her because I knew she was active in that so ... it wasn't only friends but some were friends and some were just people we knew, we were only about 8 in the beginning (---)"

E: "It was obvious for Jenina that she would do it in Stockholm and not stay here."

M: "She was living in Stockholm."

E: "Oh, she was living there."

M: "Yeah, so it was obvious."

E: "Ok, then you started with Anna here? <Yeah> But so it was kind of natural at the beginning that you two would be like the leaders or coordinators or, how did you get to deal with that position?"

M: "Well, it was kind of natural because Jenina and I spoke about it and we said that we can do it in Malmö because Anna has been promoter of Smålands and I had ... so it was natural to invite her and I think Anna, me and Jenina met in Stockholm once and talked about it at a café and sort of drew the big lines of how we wanted it to be done I mean, "should men be allowed there or not, blablabla" and then, we just had our first meeting in Malmö, I can't really remember ... but as it was Anna and me who sort of called people and asked people, it was very natural, I think at least, that we sort of were ... how do you call it? <The coordinators> Yeah, the coordinators, yeah (laugh) so no, I didn't find that ... it wasn't difficult, to me at least."

E: “But afterwards, it was like ... because, you were a coordinator at the second Ladyfest as well.”

M: “Yeah, I did and Anna as well but then, she stopped a few months before the Ladyfest because her son was being born, we got two new organizers and then, they started after the summer and I was sort of doing it with them and then, when this problem that we couldn't be at Inkonst, it was too much for me, I was really ... I wasn't really happy with doing Ladyfest, not as happy as I was the year before, I was tired, I was pregnant, I had school, that take a lot of my time and all these difficulties, practical difficulties : where to go, or where to have the bloody festival, where to get the money and to get people to get their things act together blablabla. I was ... I was just too tired, I wasn't as inspired as I was the year before so ... I just sat up “you have to take care of it” and the two new ... coordinators, they were much more up to the job and thrilled to do it so they said “no problem. We're gonna do it.” So I just stepped back more and more and they were actually doing it. At the very Ladyfest, the evening, I was ... I was the driver because I was the only one, no I wasn't the only one but it was obvious that I wasn't gonna drink because I was pregnant so I drove the car and I drove the artists to the hotel and to the venue and then, at 12 o'clock, I was too tired so I just went home, and I didn't really have that much responsibility during the evening so ... have you spoken to Mika?”

E: “No.”

M: “But you could have ...”

E: “Yeah, I had her phone number but then, she was too busy or something.”

M: “Yeah ok. Well, she was probably the main organizer at the end and she's also, she's studied before at Smålands nation as well ... and I mean, Smålands nation is the base, I mean if we haven't all been living there at the same time, it's usually the way you get to know people.”

E: “It's really interesting to see that it works really like a network, you know, somebody knows somebody that knows somebody ...”

M: “Yeah, very much a network.”

E: “Yeah ... but like, during the first Ladyfest when you were really more involved, did you had trouble in everyday life to be involved ... I guess it takes a really huge place in your life, and you were studying at the same time ...”

M: “Well, when we did the first Ladyfest, I was studying gender studies in Lund and that was ... it didn’t take up that much time, I mean, I could manage, I did skip ... a few exams but ... now, I study the psychologist program and that’s much more ... I mean, it’s really tight studies if you want to make it but I mean, gender studies were a bit more loose so this year was more difficult and I was more ... sort of up to it last year as well but yeah ... it can be a bit difficult to ... but you know, the last three weeks before the actual Ladyfest, there’s so much to be done, before that, it’s not really that time consuming, I mean, it depends on how much you want to get into it but it’s ok ... but the last two-three weeks, it’s just hectic, horrible and then, it’s very difficult to do anything else, at least, the way that we had built the organization, I think it can be done differently but the way we did it, it was very much work (---)”

E: “Yeah, you didn’t have these group works the first time?”

M: “No, exactly because it was very much up to Anna and me, so it was very difficult for her and me or really time consuming at least and she was working as well but I know she’s been saying that she was feeling very bad because she’s been doing a lot of Ladyfest job at her work <Yeah> and I had sort of not go to classes and not do the finals the last weeks ... but like I said, only the last weeks, otherwise, it was ok.”

E: “So, what do you want to do with these studies? What is your professional aim?”

M: “Well, psychologist. In four years, I will be ... in four years I will be done. I’ve done one and four to go.”

E: “Is it in Lund?”

M: “Yes, in Lund. I mean, I’ve got a break now but I will start again in September.”

E: “Yeah so ... for you, what are the rewards that you get being involved in Ladyfest?”

M: “Hum ... there are many rewards. I like the work during the procedure, I mean, the booking and the planning and the problem solving and ... the good ideas that people have you know, you know the joy that you feel when you see something that you like, it always make you happy, I mean, even if it somebody in the organization of Ladyfest that says “well, I’ve got this idea and maybe we could do this and this” and if it’s really well though through and clever, you know, that’s rewarding, every time somebody has a good idea and of course, it’s a lot of fun to ... I mean, you’re proud that you’ve done it, of course because it turns out really well and people are happy and like it (*the baby gets impatient*) Sh Sh, where is your ...

(I grasp his toy on the floor) yes, that one, thanks. And ... it always feels special to do it than to read about it or ... and it's always also ... I like to be part of a collective, I mean, that you've done things together, that you can have the party afterwards saying "oh we did this!" *(the baby screams again)* I think I have to change the dipper *(she goes to the bathroom with the baby, I turn off the tape)*"

(She comes back with the baby in her arms and stays, standing next to the table while holding the baby, she makes me understand that we can start again)

E: "Ok, I hope it's working. Yeah, hum ... for you, what would be the most important thing in Ladyfest? Like what role? To spread feminist ideas or like create a forum for the artists ... what would it be for you?"

M: "Well ... the main thing is ... to create a forum for female artists where they can sort of be just who they are and not be the female exception <Mm> and also, to, for the audience, to see female art without sort of considering whether it's female or not. I mean, I do believe that if everybody is female, you don't think of anyone as female."

E: "You really think this is working in the minds of the people coming?"

M: "I don't know if it's working because it's only one day, at one Ladyfest <Yeah> but I do know that it works every other day because every other artist or musicians, almost, are male and nobody consider them male, they just consider them artists <Mm> so I mean, I know it would take a lot more than just one Ladyfest but I mean ... that is as well proving our point in a way <Mm> Yes, I think it does. And it's as well really important in Ladyfest to gather feminists and artists, female artists together in a very inspired, positive, happy thing <Mm> because ... you have a lot of fun together and I think that is really important, it's usually ... yes, we're having fun together and I think that's a really important factor in ... in becoming a union, and to sort of feel sort of more connected to other people if you have fun with them and then just sort of ... *(the baby throw something on the floor, I pick it up and give it back to her)* (laugh) thanks."

E: "Yeah, even though like ... even if the political part is not the main thing, still I mean, you feel that you're serving the cause of feminism in a way."

M: "Serving the?"

E: "The cause or the fight or ..."

M: "Ooh yeah! Yeah I do feel that."

E: "You all like consider yourself feminists in the Ladyfest?"

M: "Yeah, definitely. Yeah, I don't think there was ever a feminist disagreement during the preparations or the discussions we had during Ladyfest. Really not, or maybe I'm just remembering the good things but I don't remember having a discussion ... I mean, I remember the first Ladyfest, there was this, we were talking about having this theatre act, it was called *The Ulrika Magnof song* (?) do you know Ulrika Magnof(?) <No> you know the *Magnof baden*(?), it was like a communist quite violent terrorist organization in Germany during the seventies <Ok> and the leader was a female and I think she died, I mean ... so she's sort of an icon of political blababla but she was female which was so unusual because she was a leader of a very violent terrorist organization and then there was this theatre play with only one female actress that was playing her, a monologue, I never saw it but I know the guy who wrote the script and the girl who was doing the acting and we were having only one performance at the Ladyfest and when we were discussing if we should have it or not ... somebody said ... no actually, it wasn't that play, it was another play, oh I'm sorry this is getting very long and confusing but it was a play about ... a play that a man had written about men's violence against women <Ok> and we were discussing whether we wanted it or not and then, there were a few different opinions whether we should have it or not but not very ... not really big discussions but I think that's the only thing I can remember and when we agreed, it was just the end (laugh)"

E: "So why do you think that like ... like there is kind of a natural pre-selection before like a woman who is coming to Ladyfest has to be ... because there are so many kinds of feminism. It feels like in a way, you all agree pretty much..."

M: "Yeah I think it's that way because we all sort of come from the same place. You know, gender studies or Smålands, usually that's the reason why we know each other in one way or the other so it comes basically from the same network, it's a very small community so we didn't really, we never involved the more radical feminists and I think they were sort of ... they never contacted us and I don't think we would have let them come in really."

E: "So there are some feminist's organizations that you know that are more like radical?"

M: "Maybe not ... well of course, I don't really know them but I know that Kikki, who was the technical, she was responsible for techniques, she's been ... I think she's the most radical but ... and she knows some of them but I don't really know them but I mean, there was also this you know *Feminism 2006* <Yeah, I've seen the posters> yeah and they were doing a *Feminism 2004* and know *them* but they are so much more politically interested, we are more a cultural festival so I mean, we were talking to them and "maybe we can help each other out blablabla" but we never did that much together because there was just so different... it was two different things."

E: "But in what way are they more radical?"

M: "Well not more radical but more political because their festival was about lectures and discussions blablabla and ours was more about art and music and that can be political but it is not as explicit, we never had any discussions or lectures or anything and I do think that many of the girls doing Ladyfest *are* very radical but ... it doesn't show as much because it's a cultural festival so, I mean, it's not written out, the opinions of each ... organizer, of each girl."

E: "So, I have a really difficult question, I kind of wonder like, I don't know, what is it wexactly to be a feminist? Because some will say that, to be a feminist, you have to be active in some kind of way, in a political or cultural organization, some will say that it's just a feeling within yourself or ... what do you think about that?"

M: "Me personally? <Yes> Well I think you're a feminist if you, if you think that men and women are not equal and you do something to change that and it could be ... actively could be just in your everyday life but it could also be in an organization. I mean, you really do have to recognize that it's not equal *at all* and ... not just saying "well, maybe we don't get as paid all the time" I mean, that's not really ... enough."

E: "So, you told me a little bit about you talking about doing it separatist, but what were the arguments to finally not make it separatist?"

M: "Well, I think we discussed it because this is what you have to discuss <Mm> if you're gonna make something feminist, it's always the number one question, if it should be separa ... how do you say that <Separatist> yeah ... or not. And we sort of just discussed it more just to have it talked about, I mean, I think it was pretty obvious that it was not gonna be that because I mean, Jenina was really against it and I guess I was a swell but ... but I could have

done it separatist if we had talked about it long enough ... but I'm happy that it isn't, I mean, I'm very happy with the final decision. It was just me, Anna and Jenina who had this discussion "should we do it like that?" "oh, I don't think so blablabla" and then, we just decided, it was never really a big issue and it was solved pretty quickly."

E: "Yes. So what do you think of how Jenina did it in Stockholm? Or I don't really know a lot about it but I just heard about it, in the way they did it, maybe more commercial and staff."

M: "Who have you been speaking to?"

E: "Hum ... S."

M: "Ah Ok. Yeah, it's more commercial and I know about three of the girls that are active and ... I think it's alright the way they're doing it, I mean, I couldn't really say anything about it, judge it and ..."

(The first side of the tape is finished, maybe a minute passes before I put the second side on, we are now talking of Robyn, a female artist that the Ladyfest Stockholm would like to have)

M: "... I don't see what's unusual with what she's doing because she's a female singer and well, she wrote a few songs herself but she's most of the time co-writing with some other musicians and she's a good singer but that's what ladies always are, they're always the good singer, I mean, music history is full of great female singers, there's never been a lack of that but ... and I don't think that a good front singer is not such a statement, I mean, Jennifer Lopez is a front singer, well she's not a good singer but she's a front singer so I don't really see the difference I mean ... even just visually, she would look like any other female singer so that's why we don't want her to be booked because we had enough of that already, it's more interesting with musicians because that's what we don't have."

E: "Yeah sure, and I come to think of another group : Cat 5, you know? <Mm> I think they played this fall."

M: "That's the two girls?"

E: "Yeah and I was wondering, because I saw them in Blekingska Nation and then, on TV and when I heard they were at the Ladyfest, I was really really surprised because for me, they're not feminists. <No> I was just wondering what you think about that."

M: “Probably, you’re true. I never saw them play, I only heard a few songs, I was not involved in the booking so I don’t know, I’m sure you’re right about what you’re saying but I wouldn’t know. I mean, it’s a bit embarrassing but, me, the leader of the festival didn’t really know what was on stage because I was sort of taking my ... finger out of the booking so early so I didn’t know some of the bands, I never heard their songs, I wasn’t that interested and that surely shows the fact that my participation was sort of going ... down.”

E: “But do you see special reasons for that or just like you were tired or ...”

M: “I was tired and I was ... that sounds stupid but I was pregnant and I was sort of focused on the baby and other staff and I’ve done it already once so it wasn’t new to me and ... I was just too stressed, I wasn’t enjoying it, you know every problem was like a big obstacle to me it wasn’t like “ok, we can deal with it, we can do it!” it was more like “oh no! lets just not do the whole thing” that was always my sort of first thought, I just wanted to drop it. Yeah, so I can really see now that it was a good thing that I withdrew and I should have done it earlier, really because I don’t think I was very ... I was more negative than positive and therefore, I didn’t really care what the bookings were, I just wanted to get things over with it, the second time, not the first time.”

E: “Yes yes, sure. But we were talking earlier about the fact that in Sweden, Ladyfest is more accepted and staff but ... do you really think that there were some people that came at the Ladyfest that were not feminist at all, that were completely not interested in gender or ...”

M: “Well, I know one that I invited but she left pretty early (laugh) but ... no I don’t think so, you are preaching to the converted, I’m aware of that and ... but I mean, people do read about it maybe in the paper and then, sort of just ... get used to the idea and I think that’s one of the reason why you’re doing it, people will know that it’s been happening, it’s not as radical, but second time they read about it and then, eventually its gonna be something really natural ... but I know that the people that get there, I mean, people that come, the visitors are really the ones that are interested in the beginning <Yeah> but I mean ... there’s nothing wrong with giving them what they need (laugh) you know, or us what we need.”

E: “But as you could observe, were there a lot of men as well in the crowd?”

M: “There were more men in Malmö than in Stockholm, it’s what the people of Stockholm told me, the ones that were at the both, the first year. I mean, I think we were ... it has been said that it was about 70% women and 30% men in Malmö and I think that’s quite good, I

mean, it could be more in a way but ... and in Stockholm, it was less and I think that the male audience in Stockholm, they had a live karaoke for the audience and there were a lot of men who participated in that and sort of being loud, singing, blablabla, you know, taking a lot of space. It never happened in Malmö but ... that was the good thing I think because ... the men sort of kept one step away, they were sort of ... they were respectful, at least, that's how I found it that way, that's my experience but ... I wasn't in Stockholm, that's what I've heard and maybe I sort of heard something and then made my own assumptions about what I heard so ... it's not a fact."

E: "But I think it's really interesting this fact that, for once, it's an event, an evening that is concentrated on women because they have to adapt themselves and ..."

M: "Yeah, they do but it's not all the time."

E: "Yeah, I guess."

M: "You know, the karaoke thing."

E: "Yeah. But that thing that is really interesting, like in the organization itself, the fact that you're all women. In what way do you think it's really influencing the behavior of everybody?"

M: "Well I know. Well, as soon as there is a man around, he's just gonna talk a lot more than the women are, I mean, it's that way everywhere and I always ... I see it all the time and I'm so annoyed at people who don't want to see it, I mean, in my class, where we study, there's 45 of us and I think it's about ... 15 guys and if you just time, count the time that men talk out in the room and women, I mean, the men are taking so much time, they're talking and talking and talking, they're talking about themselves, or they're making a lot assumptions blablabla and when women talk, they sort of ask questions that are relevant for the whole group and men sort of "*I think that blablabla*", there's a big difference and I've been having discussions with people in my class and they just won't see it, they say "No, it's because of their individual backpack" and I mean, it's still ... it's very obvious everywhere you go, I mean ... really! you should have seen when we went to look at the hospitals when we were having ... where to give birth, because you can choose where you want to do it and we were about 8 couples and there was only the men asking questions and this was about you know giving birth, women were going to do it but it was the men asking "What kind of food do you have? And what time blablabla? And how is this blablabla" and women were just quiet so

even when it's about having a baby, giving birth that is really not up to the men, ever, the men are taking the ... so I mean, it's obvious, really, if we had a guy involved, he would talk a lot more and collect a lot more ... and he would sort of make a bigger impression than what we would sort of ... percentagly ... you know what I'm saying."

E: "Yes, I understand. But I'm kind of surprised, or not surprised, I mean, of course it's this way kind of everywhere but when I compare my own experience in France and here, I really feel and that was really striking for me when I came here that ... when you go out and stuff, I had the feeling that you saw much more like strong women and much more shy guys and I'm really used to this really machist mood <Mm> so I was kind of surprised when I talked about that with some girls that told me "No, that's not true" but still I feel ... but I still think that men here, at least some of them, some I've met, sort of have some of these ideas as well as that are really not that machist you know, that don't have to prove themselves that they are men all the time."

M: "No, it's not as extreme here I guess. I mean, I've never been to France, I don't really know anything except of my prejudice and my prejudice is that French men are really macho and blablabla so ..."

E: "But you did live in London for a while so what was your experience?"

M: "Well, I was in a music school and there was ... you could either be a drum student, a bass student, a guitar student or a vocal student and I was the only girl playing an instrument, there were not ... all the girls who were there were singers, all the time, that's you know ... and well, and even when I lived in London, I was sort of hanging out with people that were sort of not the average London block but there were those London blocks ... horrible, I mean, I really hate that lad mentality, you know the football-beer-drinking-guy, there's a lot in England but I wasn't hanging out with them. <Yeah> ... yeah, I guess the Swedish guys are more used to ... shut up sometimes but I mean, still."

E: "Sure, sure. And in the organization, do you really think that some women that are used to shut up most of the time really stand up in the Ladyfest?"

M: "Oh yeah, there are many very strong women in the Ladyfest organization and many of them are very aware of ... and this is why I think there were never a really big political discussion I mean, most of us had the same feministic analysis of the society, we were sort of convinced of the same things so ... it was not really an issue but ... some are more opiniated

than others but that's normal I guess but I do think that with men active, that would make a big difference and I would never think that was a good idea to have any men active at organizing the Ladyfest, maybe on stage but not in the organization, so that's really what I think should be separatist, definitely."

E: "And one thing that interest me as well is the Do-It-Yourself thing, that you don't select the girls that are getting involved, you don't ask any kind of qualification or something <No> But does it really work well this fact you know that anybody can do anything?"

M: "Well, it works well ... in a way. Well I think it works well but it's always difficult with the ... if you're doing something and not getting paid, it's difficult to really *ask* something to people, you know "You should deliver this or should come to the meeting and blablabla", it's all voluntary so you can't really put pressure on anyone. In a way, you can, because I mean, you could say "If you don't do this, you can't be, you can't join us" <Yeah> you could say that but then you have to be very specific of what is asked for each and every person and we will never ... I mean, the organization works, I mean, the form of the organization was not really well though through ... but I mean, I can't blame anyone for that because we just did it and then, it sort of grew as we went along and "How are we going to do this? And who is going to do what? And blablabla" but ... what was the question?"

E: "About the DIY thing, is it working well and staff ..."

M: "I think it's working quite well but ... it's always, I never think you can avoid that problem that some people are doing a bit more and some people are doing a bit less and you have to be really aware of that or you have to have a really strong idea of how you want, what you want from people who are participating, what your demands ... not qualifications but what you want them to do. If you're really specific about that, then you won't have that problem but ..."

E: "So in that sense, was it what you did the first time, I mean, every time there was a new girl coming, especially the first year when you were a more restricted group, did you like ... had a chat with each of her, explaining the organization and "You would have to do that" and ... ?"

M: "No, not at all. It was always "Oh you're new, oh well, welcome and do what you want." And I think also because we didn't have this chat that you mentioned, we also lost some people that could have done a lot but they were never sort of ... maybe they joined too late or

maybe they didn't know anybody well enough to really be ... active so I think, at least one girl I'm thinking of was very very qualified, I mean, was very capable, she could have done a lot of things but we sort of lost her because we never ... (*the baby screams, she talks to him a little bit*) I mean, if we really had a very specific, well "Welcome this week and do this stuff and blabla", she could have been more involved but she sort of came in, was very active and then nobody really picked her up and I think we just lost her. (*she takes care of her baby for a little bit because he's getting really impatient*)"

E: "You know that there are a lot of movements that are kind of beginning for whom hierarchy is really something negative <Yeah> so every body is like that, based on DIY thing and I guess this has good points and bad points."

M: "It does. I mean, I do believe in hierarchy in a way, I mean, if it's very ... if you constantly discuss it and you keep an open discussion about how it's working and if you're very aware of who's taking up more space and I mean, I know I was taking a lot of space, I was talking a lot and I mean ... being ... because the organization was the way it was, me and Anna doing so much, we were also very dominant which is negative I think, I mean, when I think about, when I look back, we did a lot of things and we were ... and that's negative I think, I would have liked it to be more spread out but it's very difficult, I mean, running a group, an organization, and how to make the most people able to do as much as they want to but I mean, I wish I knew how to do it but I really don't."

E: "Yeah, I don't think it's possible to know, there's no special formula."

M: "No, no but I mean, I'm very ... I've not really been active in organizations that much. At Smålands Nation, it was just (*face expression meaning "nothing"*)"

E: "Yeah. But just one last thing, because Ladyfest, I mean back home, was really ... most of their statements were about homosexuality and I wasn't in the Ladyfest last fall but I cannot really feel it really much, like as a statement"

M: "The what?"

E: "The homosexuality."

M: "No, not existent."

E: "Not existent at all?"

M: "No, not really, I mean, I don't think there were that many gay women really involved, I mean, when I think about it, I only know one and she was not even active in 2005 ... yeah, I

guess that's a way we didn't really succeed, it was very heterosexual, very white, very I mean, there are a lot of ... if you want to criticize, I don't mean you but if anyone wants to criticize the Ladyfest in Malmö, there're many points on which you can do it, I mean, it was not perfect, definitely and ... I also find it hard that we would have this discussion because we *were* heterosexual white university student, so middle-class really but it's difficult, if that's who you are, how can you sort of change it <Yes> so we would be a group of white heterosexual academics discussing ... I mean, it'd be ... we would have to make the group more diverse to change it I think."

E: "But so that was not really a concern when you like chose the artists ... were there some gay acts as well?"

M: "I think there were yeah. But it's also difficult, I mean, it's difficult to do that without being the male organizer getting a woman on stage to make it equal. "Oh, lets have a gay" because then you are ... we are a group with power, I mean, obviously because we got all this money actually ... we're not like a Turkish or Iraqi female group, we are a group with quite a lot of power, even though we're not male ... oh, there's so much, I can't really ... we were discussing it that we wanted you know not to make it a white heterosexual festival but we ended up doing it quite a lot anyway because it's difficult to be really aware of it without being sort of, without ... "Oh we're going to have one gay and one ..." that doesn't feel good either <Yeah> so it's difficult if you're an homogenous group form the beginning."

E: "Yeah, I was talking with Anna about that, the fact that if you want to make a more diverse group, you really have to put a lot of energy in it, to really go and reach people and staff <Mm> and that makes it hard as well."

M: "Yeah, I guess. Yeah and then, it sort of become a goal in itself and it takes a lot of time because the goal is to make a festival and if you have a sub-goal to make the group very diverse, then you have to work on that I mean, there's not that much time for the people being active ... I mean, it's easy to say "Well, we can't do everything" and it's true but it's also too easy to say it."

E: "True. But I think it's a natural consequence of a network organization <Definitely> because if you have another kind of structure based on qualifications, then, different people could come but if it's friendship based ..."

M: “Yeah, that’s what happens but ... it should be discussed more and maybe we could say that that’s one of the points, one of the things we didn’t do very well I mean, I you should see what didn’t go.”

E: “But so, do you plan of getting involved in the next, if there’s a next Ladyfest?”

M: “Yeah, I plan on getting involved but I’m not gonna be the project leader, definitely not and I don’t think I’d be good and I think it’s time for somebody else to do it, I feel like I’ve been dominating too much really so and I’m not interested in ... I would really like just to help to make it work and enjoy the process ... *(the baby becomes really really impatient)*

E: “Yeah, I think I’m okey, we really talked about everything I wanted to talk about.”

M: “Are you sure? Because if you want to stop because of him ...”

E: “No no, I don’t want to stop because of him, I think I really ...”

M: “You’re done.”

E: “Yeah.”

So I turn of the tape and we keep on talking while I take my staff together.

We keep on talking about Ladyfest in France and in Sweden. She tells me they made profit for the two festivals and I tell her that I though they had much more financial difficulties in France. She tells me that she finds the comparison very interesting and she suggests the idea of taking the Ladyfest as a representative of feminism in different national or cultural context. I tell her I find it very interesting. She asks me to send it to her when the thesis is finished; I assure her it will be done. And then, I’m ready, say goodbye, wish good luck for everything and leave.

