



Bachelor of Science Programme in Development Studies (BIDS)

Building tunnels, burning bridges

A feminist critical discourse analysis on the gender-infrastructure nexus in the case of planning inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands

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Abstract

This study concerns hegemonic claims of knowing and how they manifest as discourses on interconnecting infrastructure planning on the Faroe Islands. The archipelago can be considered a substantial infrastructural project, with several sub-sea tunnels in the construction and planning-stages. Following the increasing attention to the gendered nature of infrastructure planning, this study travels to the North Atlantic Ocean to examine the relations between gender and infrastructure.

Applying a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) to the Faroese Agency of Public Works planning reports we have been able to identify a masculinist planning discourse formulating gendered planning objectives. The analysis will therefore examine both sides of the gender-infrastructure nexus: how gender relations impact infrastructure, and how infrastructure has gendered outcomes. By positioning the study in the field of island studies, especially drawing on the evolving strand of island feminism, we address the main research question: Applying a feminist critical discourse analysis, how can the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, be understood as a gendered development project? By challenge the masculinist understanding of space, we conclude that interconnecting infrastructure planning on the Faroe Islands is a gendered development project.

Keywords: gender-infrastructure nexus, feminist critical discourse analysis, masculinism, islandness, interconnecting infrastructure development, Gendered development

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1. Introduction

This dissertation is a study filled with fantasies and desires of defying nature's spatial barriers. It will examine the connection of things: infrastructure, gender, islands, ocean, and how their relations shape and are shaped by discourse. It is a quest to untangle the tangible.

Almost ironically, or rather poetically, infrastructure is crucial for connecting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Infrastructure is a strong symbol of prosperity and success, that is perceived to literally and figuratively pave the way for the future (Filion, Keil, 2017; McFarlane, Rutherford, 2008). Infrastructure itself is a target in SDG 9, *Industry, innovation and infrastructure*, with socioeconomic stability and resilience at its core (un.org).

Infrastructure inevitably means change, and it has the power to build a path towards the advantages modern life promises. However, this path is filled with assumptions of what kind of change is needed and desired.

Planning and constructing infrastructure is a development project with limited understanding of its gendered nature. However, the relation between gender and infrastructure has lately gained growing attention from international organizations (OECD, 2020; unwomen.org). As infrastructure is necessary for reaching many of the SDG's, being blind to gender cuts the connection between positive outcomes and a vast amount of the world's inhabitants (ibid; ibid.).

On the Faroe Islands, infrastructure is a strong symbol of development and progress. The small society is frequently facing challenges that arise from being a small nation. The country has announced that it is actively applying the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and is integrating the goals as guidelines for addressing existing and future challenges on the islands (government.fo, 2020). Currently, it is especially the smaller islands that are facing challenges, including out-migration, lack of labour market possibilities, relatively high unemployment and low incomes (faroeislands.fo, 2019). Throughout recent decades, most social infrastructure such as education, health and childcare, as well as both public and

private jobs, has centralised on the main island, leaving the periphery struggling to survive, some argue (utoyggj.fo). One of the major tactics to remediate the resulting challenges faced by outskirt islands made by the government is the construction of hard infrastructure such as inter-island linkages.

This study will critically address the discourses on interconnecting infrastructure planning on the Faroe Islands and examine who is granted access to the narrative on prosperity and success. It will be a journey through sub-sea tunnels on the North Atlantic seafloor, guided by Karides (2017) call for island feminisms, while thinking with the archipelago and looking through a feminist lens. Although it is a long and complex road, applying a critical perspective will make it possible to turn theory on its head and address the unequal gender relations that wait at the end of the tunnel.

2. Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this study is to critically explore the discourses that drive infrastructure planning on the Faroes Islands, with emphasis on inter-island linkages, and how they reflect gender relations. The focus on inter-island linkages is used to critically challenge the assumptions and ideologies upon which infrastructure planning is built. This means questioning the justification and motivation of grand and expensive infrastructure projects, which have a comprehensive impact on the society as a whole, as well as on individuals' daily lives. The gender lens is applied both to critically inspect and assess how the planning reports address gender, and to examine how gender relations are reflected therein.

Thus, the aim of the study is to critically discuss development planning that takes shape as inter-island linkages, and examine its gendered structure.

The research questions will be answered by taking a feminist geography approach to the qualitative case study.

The main research question is:

Applying a feminist critical discourse analysis, how can the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, be understood as a gendered development project?

To answer the main research question, two sub-questions are posed. These will enable us to undertake the practical steps towards a sound answer for the main question and will support the approach to reaching the aim. The sub-questions are:

How are the discourses on the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, reflecting masculinism?

How is the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, gender-blind?

2.1. Delimitations

This study is like the quest for the island. It is an adventure that demands bravery, and a bit of recklessness. Nevertheless, in order to draw a reasonable map of the path that awaits, it is necessary to determine which way not to go. In other words, it is a complex study that takes a specific position in the quest for critical insight. This can result in misunderstandings, assumptions and biases (Van Dijk, 2001:3)¹. Therefore, in order to conduct a sound and transparent research, this section will address what this study will, and will not do.

The focus of the study is on inter-island infrastructure planning. Although infrastructure has many functions, this study will focus on infrastructure as an enabler of the movement of people. Movement and mobility are also concepts that comprise various acts, from an evening walk to migration. Here, the main focus will be on the every-day, short-term and repetitive movement of individuals. In addition, the literature reviewed approaches this subject with various terms like transport, mobility, daily travel, etc. In this study, the term infrastructure will be used as a comprehensive concept that includes the various terminology used. This decision has been made both to create a consistent and readable study, but also in order not to confuse the specific modes of movement and travel.

Hence, the subject of this study is the physical fixed linkages – sub-sea tunnels. Although an interesting and important topic, specific transportation, especially public transport, will not be directly discussed. However, as transport, both private and public would not be possible

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without fixed linkages such as roads, bridges and tunnels, the literature used in this study includes discussions on transportation and modes of travel.

It should also be mentioned that the research questions focus on inter-island linkages and specifically sub-sea tunnels. In the planning reports sampled and analyzed, these projects are addressed in the overall category *interconnecting infrastructure planning*. Therefore, when addressing interconnecting infrastructure throughout the study, this includes inter-island linkages like sub-sea tunnels.

This research is examining gendered discourses in the sampled planning reports. It does not claim to gain knowledge on actual experiences or outcomes of infrastructure planning, neither will it formulate assumptions on this. In addition, in order to narrow the focus, and because of lack of available data, the research only includes reports produced by the Faroese Agency for Public Works, Landsverk. Therefore, it will not generalize or argue that the identified discourses belong to any individual perspective or institution other than Landsverk.

2.2. Thesis structure

This study begins with a presentation of the case and insight into the specific context in which it exists. Secondly, it will give an overview of previous research on the gender-infrastructure nexus, and place this study in the field of Island Studies. Following, the theoretical framework will be outlined, and the analytical lens will be discussed. Fourth, the methodology, including an overview of the sampled data, as well as a section on FCDA will be presented. Thereafter, the analysis will be presented and discussed in two sections, addressing both sub-questions respectively. Following the analysis is a discussion and conclusion on the findings in the analysis, where the main research question will be discussed. The dissertation ends with a comment on future studies and a personal reflection on the research process.

3. Setting the scene – a tunnel away from the future

This chapter will present and discuss the background of the study. Firstly, it will examine the environment in which the research is placed – the Faroe Islands. Secondly, it will take an in-depth look at gender-relations on the islands, before lastly discussing the interconnecting infrastructure projects that are at the core of the study.

3.1. An archipelago in the North Atlantic

Now we have arrived at the case of this study, an archipelago situated in the North Atlantic Ocean, with its closest neighbor 300 kilometres away. The Faroe Islands, an advanced modern society, consists of 18 islands, of which 17 are inhabited by approximately 50.000 people. The Faroe Islands are an autonomous territory within the Danish kingdom, and have been self-governing since 1948 (faroeislands.fo, 2019).

What this study will refer to as the outskirts islands, in Faroese *útoyggj*, are islands not directly connected to the biggest island where the capital Tórshavn is located. The study will refer to the island Streymoy, where Tórshavn is located, as the centre island.

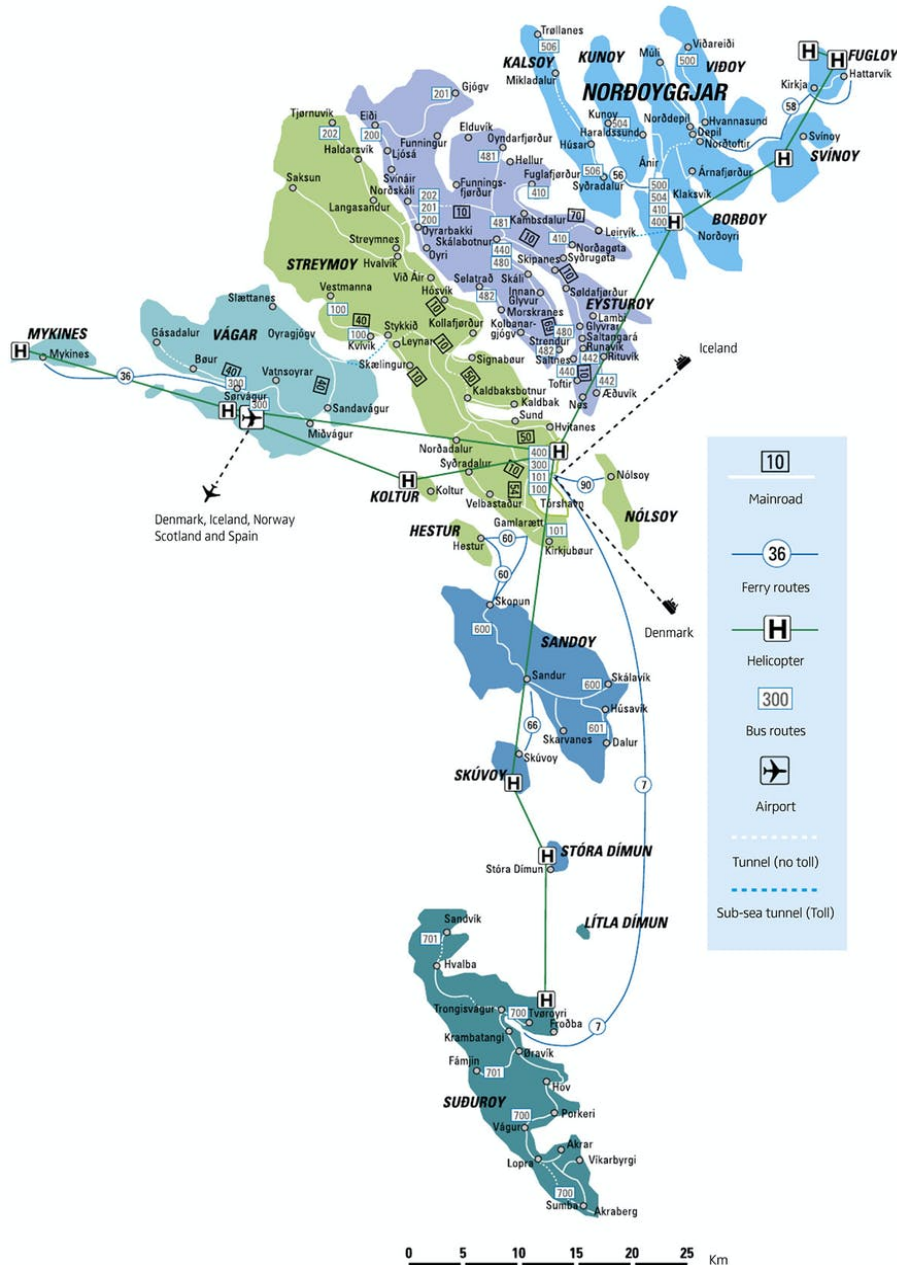
3.1.1. The Faroe Islands – an infrastructural project

The feeling of driving through a mountain or underneath the sea floor will always spark some excitement. This taming of nature attracts a specific type of admiration. Soon, Faroese infrastructure will feature on the big screen alongside 007 in the coming James Bond movie, where a helicopter will be flying through a tunnel on the small island Kunoy (Egholm, 2019). The sub-sea tunnel currently being constructed has also been visited by TopGear and a bright red Bentley (Ford, 2019). Being amazed by the clash of small villages, wild nature and modern infrastructure the article states: *“This big tunneling project seems like overkill, seeing as how the Faroe Islands has a total population of only 50,000. But there’s some weird stuff going on that makes the Faroe Islands possibly the most fascinating infrastructure project in the world.”* (Ford, 2019:Online)

As the article formulates, the Faroe Islands is an infrastructure project in itself, with 476 km of public road, 30 km tunnels and 33 km sub-sea tunnels.

There are currently 18 tunnels on the Faroes, two of which are sub-sea tunnels, and three connecting bridges. This makes it possible to drive through six islands consistently without sailing. In addition to the two operational tunnels, two others are currently being constructed, one of which is due to be completed this winter, the other in 2023, and a third is in the planning process with aims of being finished in 2030. If these plans become reality, the Faroese seafloor will house an additional 48 km of road, including the longest sub-sea tunnel and only round-about in the North Atlantic Ocean (Landsverk.fo, a).

Figure 1. Map of the Faroe Islands



Source: guidetofaroeislands.fo

Looking at the Faroes as an infrastructure project, it does fulfill the five C's of an infrastructure megaproject: *colossal*, *captivating*, *costly*, *controversial*, *complex*, and subject to issues of *control* (Frick, 2008). These are projects that can be perceived as so-called privileged development, with the objective to change the structure of society (Flyvbjerg, 2014). The size of the islands of course affects what can be understood as *mega*, as a megaproject on a small archipelago will not entail the same as a megaproject on a continent. Nevertheless, the infrastructure hype defined by the five C's which is present on the Faroese

society, in Faroese called *tunnilsrúsur*, has defined its infrastructure planning since the first tunnel was constructed in 1963 (Hvalbiartunnilin, a mountain tunnel).

It is the Faroese Agency for Public Works, Landsverk, that has the responsibility of all public infrastructure planning in the Faroes (landsverk.fo, b) The institution belongs to the Ministry of Finance (fmr.fo, 2018).

Although economic and social wealth has been situated in various places on the islands throughout history, it has been centralised in Tórshavn over recent decades. This centralisation has resulted in the construction of a centre-periphery relation - both perceived and in practice. One could say that there is a hierarchical geographic relation between the islands (utoyggj.fo). For example, the sub-sea tunnels themselves are named after the island they connect to the center island. This can both create a feeling of ownership, as well as creating a perceived distance. No tunnel is called “Streymoyar tunnilin” (the name of the center island), creating a clear center-periphery image.

3.1.2. Gender relations on the islands

The Faroe Islands are currently thriving on its ocean wealth, a source of income that penetrates its history, culture and identity (faroeislands.fo, 2019). The fishing industry is the main industry on the islands, an industry that has experienced extensive industrialisation over recent decades, and now consists of around 97% of the total export (norden.org, 2019). To briefly put this into perspective, the fishing industry in the Faroes consists of 48% more than the Norwegian oil-derived wealth per inhabitant (hagstova.fo, 2020a). Historically, men gained the household income at sea while women were main caregivers (Hayfield, 2018). Although the socio-economic structure of Faroese society has changed recent decades, the traditional gender relations still exist to some extent. The ocean persists with being a male dominated space, leaving the Faroese economy as well as labour market gender-segregated (hagstova.fo, 2020a).

In general, women have a high participation rate in the active workforce in the Faroese labour market (hagstova.fo, 2020b). However, the majority of Faroese women hold part-time jobs, working less than 50%, which is reflected in the significant gender wage gap (hagstova, 2020a). There are not a noticeable amount of men working part-time. On the other hand, around one in six labour-active men have remote jobs that require them to be away for a

longer time, many of which are at sea (Hayfield, 2018). Very few women hold similar remote jobs.

Hence, space plays a role in the structure of the labour market and its social impact. Coping with distance is a crucial aspect of island life (Hayfield, 2018). In her study on women's perceived mobility on the Faroes Hayfield (2018) found that: "*Despite high female labour market participation rates and family policies similar to other Nordic countries, historical relations to the sea as a male space, profoundly impacts gender relations and understandings of the division of (care) labour*" (Hayfield, 2018:1149).

This impacts the perceived mobility possibilities that are produced by traditional gendered relations and the assumption of men having prioritised right to mobility (ibid).

In addition, Gaini and Nielsen (2020) have reflected on the spatial aspect of the gender segregated labour market. They argue that in the contemporary Faroes, mobility is a resource that is crucial to a functioning daily life for the individual (Gaini, Nielsen, 2020:5). With the changes in the labour market as well as spatial relations the old Faroese saying "*bound is boatless man*" should today be translated into "*bound is carless (wo)man*" (ibid.). Thus, women find themselves in the space between the traditional and the modern.

These unequal gender relations extend into other structures and institutions. For example, Hayfield (2020) has also examined discourses on gender, care and labour, analyzing the political discussion on the parental leave system in the Faroe Islands (Hayfield, 2020:101). She found that although women are integrated into the labour force, the dominating discourse perceives men's work and mobility more important and unavoidable (Hayfield, 2020:111). She further stresses the impact of spatial conditions to the dominating discourse: "*At the same time, dominant discourses of islandness powerfully frame understandings of the nature of men's care work*" (Hayfield, 2020:113). Thus, the North Atlantic which can be viewed from every city and village in the Faroes has for decades, and still is, a masculine space, continuously dominating the societal discourse.

4. Literature review

This chapter will discuss the literature reviewed which has made it possible to position this study in the broader research interest. First, it will discuss studies that have examined the relation between gender and infrastructure, and move beyond the tangible reading of

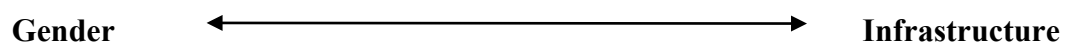
infrastructure development. Thereafter, the field of Island Studies is presented and the relevance of this field for this research will be formulated.

4.1. The gender – infrastructure nexus

Infrastructure has the power to move mountains. Or, at least remove the natural complications a mountain has for modern society. However, as this section will make clear, infrastructure can also build additional mountains of boundaries and obstacles.

A diverse and comprehensive body of literature on the gender-infrastructure nexus exists. The literature reviewed and found relevant for this study have in common a critical perspective on previous and contemporary infrastructure development. It can be divided into two strands or areas of focus: how gender affects infrastructure planning, and how infrastructure has gendered outcomes. The literature on gendered infrastructure planning addresses how unequal power relations and domination formulate project objectives and goals. Literature on the gendered outcomes examine the gendered trade-offs and impacts of infrastructure projects. These two strands interact to a great extent, and several studies touch upon both issues. Nevertheless, they will be discussed separately in order to give a clear picture of the arguments and conclusions.

When critically addressing discourse in planning, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of the context, including previous studies. Therefore, this study exists in-between the literature on gendered outcomes of planning, and the gendered impact on planning. The literature review therefore addresses previous studies relevant when answering the two sub-questions in this study.



4.1.1. Gendered infrastructure planning

It is now decades since scholars began questioning the nature of infrastructure planning, which, it is argued, is a public sector continuously failing to integrate diverse experiences (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:5). Although the constantly growing body of literature addressing gender-blind planning, as well as increasing attention from international organisations, infrastructure continues to be built on masculinist assumptions and asymmetric power relations (Law, 1999; Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019). As Siemiatycki, Enright and Valverde (2019) argue: “*Thinking through the gendered production of infrastructure reveals*

the fundamental dynamics of difference and hierarchy upon which modern society is being built” (Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019:13).

Studies critically examining discourses of infrastructure planning have identified dominating narratives, blind to a diversity of needs, social positions and identities (Levy, 2013). Studies that have applied a critical perspective on the motivations for infrastructure planning have identified the dominating discourses, that are widely blind to a diversity of social positions, identities and needs (Levy, 2013). Historically, men are viewed as those who have literally and theoretically paved the way for infrastructural development, and the masculinist bias in the infrastructure sector persists (Siemiatycki, Enright and Valverde, 2019). This has resulted in decades of planning being based on assumptions of male rationality and the travel behavior of the rational economic man (Urbina and Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019).

In economic geography, planning based on the rational economic man disregards contextual variables, and instead believes to possess all necessary knowledge to reach maximized utility (Urbina and Ruiz-Villaverde, 2019). This utilitarian planning paradigm is based on objectives to plan for mobility that can enhance economic access and activity, approached by reductionist knowledge and top-down planning (Scholten and Joelsson, 2019:2).

This critical insight has made scholars argue that, although often the opposite is assumed, infrastructure projects are not ideologically neutral, but are based on assumptions instead of empirical realities (Levy, 2013). Some have further argued that masculinist and genderblind infrastructure planning has directly worked against inclusive, equal and accessible spaces, and is still blind to the context in which it exists (Greed, 2019:33). As Levy (2013) argues: *“It (infrastructure) does not recognize at least three critical issues central to transport and transport planning, namely the different social positions and multiple identities of transport users; the social construction of space, public and private; and the politics of transport in the context of social relations” (Levy, 2013:49).*

Hence, scholars argue that although infrastructure has been and still is addressed as an apolitical project, it should be regarded as a political issue (Law, 1999). Although perceived apolitical, analysing infrastructure planning gives an insight into the political work of choosing between competing interests (Scholtn and Joelsson, 2019:8). As Scholtn and Joelsson stress (2019), it is no incidence that the voices not heard in the planning process are

the voices overheard when addressing various other social topics and issues (Lindkvist Scholtn, Joelsson, 2019:27).

While SDG 9 is renewing the international focus on infrastructure development, scholars are stressing that the social context is still missing in sustainable infrastructure planning, now overshadowed by environmental issues (Greed, 2019: 28).

This has made Greed (2019) argue that the masculinist understanding of travel patterns and behavior is dominating the sustainable infrastructure paradigm and the more diverse needs are ignored and even frowned upon (Greed, 2019:29). She stresses, *“One feels a sense of déjà vu, recalling previous generations of transport planners who condemned ‘women car drivers’ and their essential journeys (for work, school, shopping and childcare) as leisure journeys that got in the way of the journeys of the male bread-winner”* (Greed, 2019:33).

However, the masculinist biased infrastructure development is not inevitable. For example, in Groningen in the Netherlands, planning is adopting an inclusive understanding of travel patterns, and in order to ease trip-chain distances, childcare institutions are planned with close proximity to schools (Greed, 2019:38).

4.1.2. Gendered infrastructure outcomes

While the grand narratives on infrastructure development assumed inevitably positive outcomes, gender analyses have made infrastructure reveal itself as limited. The focus on infrastructure as a link to economic opportunities and work has dominated both the planning paradigm and the critical literature (Law, 1999). Travel patterns not based on economic objectives had to wait to be assessed by the literature, and is still waiting in most planning objectives (ibid). When the literature on the gender-infrastructure nexus moved beyond focusing on travel-to-work patterns, they started to address broader social outcomes. In the body of literature including studies on mobility, accessibility, the gendered division of work, and segregated spaces, it is clear that infrastructure can both produce and reproduce social inequalities for all marginalized groups in society (Porter, 2008; Dobbs, 2007; Levy, 2013). More specifically, infrastructure can ease or complicate daily travel needs and patterns as its presence can support or constrain movement, and enhance or limit access beyond economic interests, where trade-offs can result in increased time-poverty and enhance the gendered private-public divide (ibid; ibid; ibid.).

Planning based on gendered masculinist assumptions result in a planning process that fails to deliver gendered data and insight. For example, study on official travel surveys in Spain found that travel objectives of care and chain trips are not addressed, leaving those who make these journeys invisible to planners (Sánchez de Madariaga, Zucchini, 2019:150). The study stresses that in reality, between women and men who engage in the labour market, women's trips connected to social reproduction are three times higher than that of men (ibid:164). Only relying on calculable outcomes that infrastructure planning favors results in the neglect of broader societal impact. Limiting the assessment of infrastructure projects to measurable entities makes it difficult to conclude the actual social outcome of these projects. Geographic proximity is not merely a measurable variable, it includes emotional meanings and experiences that is connected to a wider context and situation (Scholtn, Joelsson, 2019:2). In addition, it also creates a distance between the user and the professional assessment of the success or failure of a project (ibid.).

Planning informed by the travel needs and patterns of the rational economic man is based on the assumption that daily travel is the journey from A to B, usually with the home in one end and economic activity on the other (Law, 1999). This understanding of daily travel patterns is based on the assumption that the public and private is separated (McDowell, 1993). This has gendered implications as work and home are not always experienced as separate and the respective activities are not clearly divided (Oberhauser, Fluri, Whitson, Mollett, 2018:7).

A study on travel patterns in Sweden shows that although women are widely integrated in the labour market and gender is integrated in official transport planning, cultural norms and values affect the gendered variation in time-poverty (Scholten, Friberg, Sandén, 2012). Conventional understandings of daily travel lacks the understanding of norms and values, which affects the impact infrastructure has on daily lives (ibid). Hence, gendered infrastructure planning can both be the consequence and cause of social exclusion (Dobbs, 2007). Dobbs (2007) argues that when planning has considered women's infrastructure needs, they have been categorised as travel poor alongside travel restricted social groups like elderly people (ibid). She argues that the limits to infrastructure pushes women to make life decision that disempowers them and takes away their free movement, both physical and social (ibid.). Furthermore, when gender has been included, it has been from an essentialist perspective, not addressing intersectional positions and relations (ibid).

In addition, based on studies conducted in Sub-Saharan Africa, Porter (2008) argues that infrastructure planning with the objective to ease time-poverty by enhancing mobility, has limited positive outcomes, especially for women (Porter, 2008). Although infrastructure exists, it does not automatically mean that women have access to it (ibid). Infrastructure planning for mobility usually benefits those who are already mobile, and thus enhances the inequality with those who are not. As Porter (2008) argues, this results in increased gender inequalities and power asymmetries as men are already, in most cases, more mobile prior to the infrastructure development (ibid).

4.2. Studying islands on their own term

This research positions itself in the field of Island Studies. Islands have sparked much romantic and mystic emotions in fictional works, and are consistently visualized merely as a destination that can be reached from, and exists in relation to the mainland (Depraetere, 2008). McCall (1994) named the pursuit of thinking with the island *Nissology* (McCall, 1994). With the objective to place the island at the centre of research, Nissology moves the focus from mainland to the island, and studies islands on their own terms (ibid).

The field of Island Studies began when the universalised development agenda reached islands in the global south (Grydehøj, 2017). The field applies a critical perspective on the application of paradigms and discourses created on the bigger mainland, downscaled to fit the island (ibid).

Conducting a study using an island study lens therefore means questioning the continental paradigm and discourses dominating spatial studies, and instead develop concepts and understandings inside the island sphere itself (Baldacchino, 2008; Baldacchino, 2017). In addition, the field actively challenges the conventional image of the island as small, isolated, vulnerable, backward and fragmented (Baldacchino, 2006). With the aim of addressing the diversity and complexity that define the island, Island Studies literature has challenged these images of the island and criticises their negative impact on islands, islanders and island culture (Baldacchino, 2017; Kelman, 2018; Foley, 2017).

Therefore, with the aim at turning the discourse on its head, instead of studying the islands of the world, Nissology is studying the world of islands (Baldacchino, 2006).

An approach to creating a counter-narrative is the usage of the concept islandness (Stratford, 2003; Stratford, 2008). Islandness is a very strong sense of place, sometimes difficult to understand when observed from the mainland. It is not possible to argue that the island creates a stronger sense of place than other places (ibid; ibid.). However, the feeling of place, islandness, is continuously present and penetrates most island societies (Hay, 2006). Hay (2006) argues that although there is no universal conceptual or theoretical understanding of islandness, the island is connected to a specific type of phenomenology (ibid.). The theoretical understanding of islands lies in the context-specific spatial relations; it is the importance of place that is a universal island experience, creating islandness (ibid.).

For example, Stratford (2008) has stressed that urbanisation has brought the mainland idea of economic development to islands (Stratford, 2008). While globalization has reached the islands with the aim of integrating them into the world, it has arrived with the assumption that the island will always be economically disadvantaged. She gives the example of Tasmania where inappropriate economic development limits development possibilities – an approach to growth that disregards an islanders connection to place and feeling of islandness. Thus, she argues that development on the islands must understand that a sense of belonging is stronger than the quest for the economic prosperity given by modernisation (ibid.).

Another example is the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), where the mainland perception of an island gets intertwined with mainstream climate change narratives, and the island is conceptualised as isolated, vulnerable and helpless (Baldacchino, 2017). Thus, implemented development projects risk reproducing the disempowering narrative of the island (Baldacchino, 2017). The SIDS become captured, not by their size or placement, but by the mainland imaginary of these places (ibid.). Climate impact assessment methods cannot be shrunk in size and applied to an islandscape (Foley, 2017). Instead, context specific Islandness needs to be integrated into the assessment process, to create a comprehensive and inclusive knowledge production in the specific island context (ibid.). Thus, the growing field of Island Studies calls for a counter narrative, stressing that island are actually resilient, innovative and mobile (Baldacchino, 2017, Kelman, 2018).

4.2.1. The archipelago

The case and focus of this study is the archipelago, which has gained specific attention inside the Island Studies literature. This strand of island studies, coined *thinking with the archipelago* comes from a relational turn in the field (Pugh, 2013).

Studying the archipelago has been argued the last missing meta-geographical focus in geography (Stratford et. al. 2011). It becomes the study of constant movement and relations, challenging the image of islands being surrounded by barriers, boundaries and borders (Pugh, 2013). Studies on the archipelago examine archipelagic relations, and question how they can inform the spatial formation of connections and relations (Stratford et. al. 2011).

Thus, thinking with the archipelago becomes an approach to counter-map and challenge the dominating understanding of space and place (Stratford, 2013; Pugh, 2013). As Stratford et. al. (2011) argue: “*Such counter-mapping requires a double-destabilization: dislocating and de-territorializing the objects of study—the fixity of island difference and particularity—and constituting in their place a site or viewing platform by which they are perceived and analysed afresh and anew*” (Stratford et. al. 2011:114).

The archipelagic geography is contradictive and the spatial relations can be grouped into three topics, land-ocean, island-mainland, and island-island (Pugh, 2013). It is especially the inter-island relations and how they connect to the ocean that is of interest for this dissertation. Island-mainland relations, as mentioned in the section on delimitations, is an equally important topological relation. Nevertheless, this study is focusing on the two other main topological realities on the archipelago, the inter-island relations and how they connect to the ocean. Thus, this study agrees with Pugh who stresses that using the relational turn when studying the archipelago should take into account the relations that connect the island with cultural processes not necessarily merely on land (Pugh, 2016).

Scholars have expanded on the understanding of the role of the ocean (Hayward, 2012). On the archipelago, the ocean is not a static border, but has an active role which is integrated into an islanders history, identity and reality (Hayward, 2012). It further challenges the idea of inter-island relations naturally becoming a hierarchy of central and peripheral places. Firouz and Nielsen (2020) stress that *thinking with the archipelago* must eliminate the binary understanding of geographic relations between islands, both when studied from the outside, and the archipelago’s own perception of its spatial relations (Firouz, Nielsen, 2020:7). They

argue: *“The world is polycentric in the sense that what counts as centre and what counts as periphery for the individual person is dependent on his or her interests, perceptions, and feelings of belonging”* (ibid.).

This study will think with the archipelago as it deepens the understanding of how inter-island relations and island-ocean relations influence the discourses in the interconnecting infrastructure planning.

4.2.2. Islands as gendered spaces

In addition to placing itself inside the field of Island Studies, and adopting the understanding of spatial relations from studies on the archipelago, this study is guided by Karides (2017) call for an island feminism (Karides, 2017). She emphasizes that: *“Although places and spaces are gendered, oriented by sexuality regimes, class and racial hierarchies, and sculpted by coloniality and national status, Island Studies scholarship barely has considered how life and opportunities on island and between island are shaped by these factors”* (ibid:30). It is therefore about time that gender becomes integrated into the field (ibid). Is not an approach that should be limited to one sphere of the world (Karides, 2020). An island feminist is an inquiry relevant for islands in the Global South, as well as islands in the Global North.

The book, *Gender and Island Communities* (2020), published earlier this year is an important contribution to the evolving field (Gaini, Pristed Nielsen, 2020). The book comprises academic articles on the relation between gender and islandness, and how they are intertwined.

For example, of particular relevance for this study is Pristed Niensens (2020) study on current social realities in Southern Greenland. She found that men and women had different personal relationships to place. This was especially evident in their mobility patterns, where the local men were highly mobile, swithing between being home and abroad. Women, on the other hand, although also mobile, showed another kind of mobility. Often women who move do not come back, whereas men are more flexible, frequently moving to and from. This pattern is visible throughout the West Nordic areas, also the Faroe Islands. She stresses that: *“Differences in the type and degree of mobility thus depend on both place of origin, and gender, as well as social expectations for gender roles”* (Pristed Nielsen, 2020:51).

The articles in the book paint a picture of islands as gendered spaces, influencing the lived experiences of islanders (Gaini, Pristed Nielsen, 2020). The various studies stress that the relations between gender and the island are unique, and deserve a dedicated focus.

This study is joining the quest for the Feminist Island Study and integrates gender into the act of thinking with the archipelago and placing the islands at the core of the study.

5. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework is crucial for this study as it supports the critical stance the research is taking (Wodak, Meyer, 2008). Although infrastructure, development, gender, and islandness are distinct concepts, they will be connected in this chapter, and together formulate the framework in which this study exists.

First, the chapter will discuss the theoretical approach to examining gender on islands. The Island Studies literature has given insight into the concept of islandness and its gendered production, which will guide the analysis. This concept will be placed in feminist geography in order to theorise the relationship between space, place and gender, and its linkage with infrastructure development. Thereafter, the concept masculinism will be discussed and its importance for the research will be stressed. At last, it will formulate how the theoretical framework informs the practical work.

This is a theoretical framework that gains insight into issues that are not static, but plural, diverse and context-specific. The general concepts and overall perspectives will be discussed, but it is important to keep in mind that the case of this study is always present. Thus, the theoretical conclusions and formulations will always be formatted to the specific context of the study.

5.1. Feminist Geography

The foundation of the theoretical framework is formulated from a feminist perspective on space and place (McDowell, 1997). In the field of geography, space is often perceived as the abstract, and place as the specific. Applying a feminist perspective challenges these ideas, arguing that place is not static, and space is not neutral (Oberhauser, Fluri, Whitson and Mollett, 2018:7). Instead, space and place interact with social identities and categories, together with power structures and dynamics (ibid:7).

Thus, the theoretical framework is guided by a critical assessment of the spatial production of gender as well as the gendered production of space, and how they interact with power relations, creating gendered restrictions and limitations to place (McDowell, 1997).

Traditionally, the field of geography was perceived as an a-theoretical field. Although theory often is understood as the inquiry of universality, feminist geographers have argued that diversity and difference can also obtain a theoretical understanding (McDowell, 1991). Thus, feminist geography is based in the conceptualisation of diversity and plurality instead of universality (ibid). It is a critical approach, addressing power inequalities and hierarchies of knowledge production (ibid.).

This study perceives the feminist perspective to be an answer to the call for alternative knowledge inquiry from the field of Island Studies (McCall, 1994). A theory of island relations that is regarded to as plural and diverse can be strengthened by connecting it to feminist geography. At the same time, it makes it possible to address missing insight into gender relations on the island.

5.1.1. Feminist postmodernism, post-structuralism, and situated knowledges

Feminist postmodernism and poststructuralism is intertwined with the feminist geography framework. Formulating a framework based on postmodernism means critically assessing the dominant narratives and ideologies presented by modernisation discourses (Bondi, Domosh, 1992). It challenges enlightenment ideas and processes of knowledge creation. From this perspective, knowledge and narratives are created by discourses from dominant and socially constructed hierarchies of power. Unattached universality and objectivity is not obtainable, and essentialist discourses must be addressed (ibid.).

The poststructuralist perspective argues that language is not fixed, but created by culture and society (McDowell, 1991). Identity is discursively created, and gendered subjectivity is socially constructed (ibid). A poststructuralist perspective challenges power hierarchies and the creation of asymmetric power relations. It critically addresses the hegemonic masculine western narrative and gives space to marginalized voices, and turns to alternative knowledge creation (Oberhauser, Fluri, Whitson and Mollett, 2018:16, 17). In addition, this study adopts the feminist critique of science arguing that knowledge is situated (Haraway, 1988). This

means that knowledge and experience is embodied and affected by place, space and social context (ibid).

This theoretical foundation has guided the formulation of the research questions, as it makes it possible to address the discursive creation of the grand narratives in planning. Furthermore, it demands alternative and inclusive insight, based on the understanding of knowledge production being situated. Thus, it is a foundation that gives the necessary tools to examine the gendered power inequalities on the Faroe Islands, through analysing the discourse in planning reports.

5.2. The gendered production of islandness – towards an Island Feminism

This study joins the scarce literature connecting feminist theory and methodology to Island Studies. There is no clear formulation of a theoretical framework based on Island Feminism. Instead, it should be addressed as feminisms, a diverse approach that is framed to the specific context and inquiry (Karides, 2017; 2020).

Karides (2020) stresses that island feminisms are the missing strand of Island Studies, that actively challenges inequalities on islands and addresses social justice and equity (Karides, 2020). She further argues that the existing understanding of islandness is missing crucial gendered insight, and that *“(t)hese early conceptions of islandness remain limited, if they fail to theorise gender and race inequity and social justice and social movements as they occur on islands”* (Karides, 2020:22)

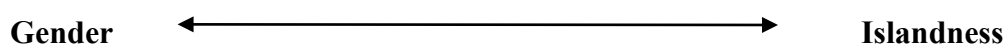
This study follows Karides (2020), who stresses that: *“Gendered experiences cannot be successfully analysed without the application of an intersectional feminist perspective. For islands, this approach is embodied by island feminisms, a sociological and human geographical approach which highlights the intersection of island place with social conditions and identities”* (Karides, 2020:42). Therefore, there are two intersecting variables that define the theoretical framework, these are islandness and the contextual reading of the ocean as a masculine dominated space.

In the literature review, the concept of islandness was presented. It has been widely discussed and used inside the field of Island Studies. This study follows the definition of islandness formulated by Stratford (2008): *“No less powerful than place-based identifications among*

plains or mountain or forest peoples, islandness might be described as a particular (and inevitably contingent) sense of being in place, although no inference is made here about that sense being necessarily harmonious” (Stratford, 2008:161). In addition, Gaini and Niensens (2020) formulate its formation in practice as an intervening variable: “(...) *part of the intersection of social circumstances which circumscribe the lived experiences of all women and men”* (Gaini, Nielsen, 2020:2). Thus, islandness is the feeling of place, guided by emotional connections and identity (Stratford, 2003; Stratford, 2008).

The concept of islandness has two functions when applied in the analysis. Islandness will be applied as a critical reading of place, space and identity, making it possible to address the spatial production of gendered discourses. In addition, it gives contextual insight, reminding the reader of the underlying gendered relations and power structures. Thus, another variable is applied to the gendered understanding of islandness – the ocean. Drawing on the presentation of the case in the background, the ocean as a masculine space influences the context-specific islandness and its intersection with gender (Hayfield, 2018). Therefore, alongside the literature discussed in the previous chapter, where the ocean is perceived a dominant actor in the creation of relations on the archipelago, it is also dominant in the creation of a gendered islandness.

Looking to the neighbouring island Iceland, Loftsdóttir (2015) argues that industrialisation and modernity as a core in the perceived release of Iceland’s colonial ties, became integrated in Icelanders self-perception. As the neoliberal idea of industrialisation was led by men, the production of individuality and prosperity, crucial for the Icelandic identity, continues to be linked to masculinity (Loftsdóttir, 2015). This reflects back the continuous gendered inequalities, where success and modernity is perceived masculine (ibid). In the case of the Faroes, the source of modernization is the ocean, which continues to be a masculine space, and reflects every aspect of society (Hayfield, 2018). Thus, the gendered production of islandness dominated by the ocean, reflects the existing gender relations and power inequalities present in the case of the Faroe Islands, meaning that the feeling of place is perceived from a masculine perspective. Therefore, masculinist is dominating the context-specific islandness, and is the dominant discourse impacting planning when guided by modernisation ideas of development and progress.



5.3. Masculinism

At the core of the theoretical framework is the concept masculinism. The concept stands in contrast to the perspective on knowledge production and relation between gender and space as discussed above in the section on feminist geography. Thus, it is a concept concerning knowledge production and claims of knowing (Rose, 1993:11).

It must be mentioned that masculinism and masculinity are two distinct concepts. Masculinity is an identity, saying something about the characteristics of being masculine. It is not static but fluid, changing through time and space and intersect with other social categories (Whitson, 2018:56; Hopkins, Noble, 2009). The masculine identity is a part of all spaces, also the ones identified as feminine, like the home (ibid).

Masculinism on the other hand is an ideology, existing as an opposition to feminism and feminist approach to social equity, assuming that gender equality already exists, and argues explicitly for men's rights (Bain, 2009:487; Nicholas, Agius, 2018:2). It therefore accepts gender hierarchies, and is often entangled with neoliberal individualism (Nicholas, Agius, 2018:3). The previous studies discussed in the literature review have made it clear that addressing the masculinist ideology is crucial for a feminist critique of infrastructure development.

Masculinism has origins in Enlightenment thought, and positions itself as the neutral rational man (Nicholas, Agius, 2018:1, 14). As Rose (1993) argues:

“Masculinist rationality is a form of knowledge which assumes a knower who believes he can separate himself from his body, emotions, values, past and so on, so that he and his thought are autonomous, context-free and objective” (Rose, 1993:14). Bain agrees, explaining the feminist perspective on masculinism in practice:

“Masculinist work, feminists argue, is not pluralist, sensitive, or dynamic; instead, it excludes, marginalizes, and silences other subjectivities and interpretations in the process of knowledge production about the world”. (Bain, 2009:488). Hence, masculinism assumes itself being objective, and holding detached universal knowledge and insight, placing itself as the master subject (Rose, 1993:7; Bain, 2009:488).

Masculinist structures are often subtle, accepted and challenging to identify, and even more challenging to confront (Bain, 2009). They are often perceived as logic and moral, existing as a natural social structure that supports and accepts male domination, taking the ideological

shape of patriarchy (Nicholas, Agius, 2018:5, 6). But, as Nicholas and Agius (2018) argue, in contrast to patriarchy: “...it does not describe a top-down power or structure, but rather a productive discourse that shapes what is knowable” (Nicholas, Agius, 2018:11). Its hegemonic presence excludes everyone, both men and women, who is not compatible to the rational neutral man, that is male, white, heterosexual and economically active (Bain, 2009:487; Rose, 1993:11). However, because of its patriarchal nature, it generally benefits men while it subordinates women (ibid.).

Gillian Rose (1993) was one of the first scholars to use the concept in a geographic context. She argues that masculinism has, and still is the dominating discourse in the field of geography (Rose, 1993:12). She argues that “...various forms of white, bourgeois, heterosexual masculinity have structures the way in which geography as a discipline claims to know space, place and landscape” (Rose, 1993:137).

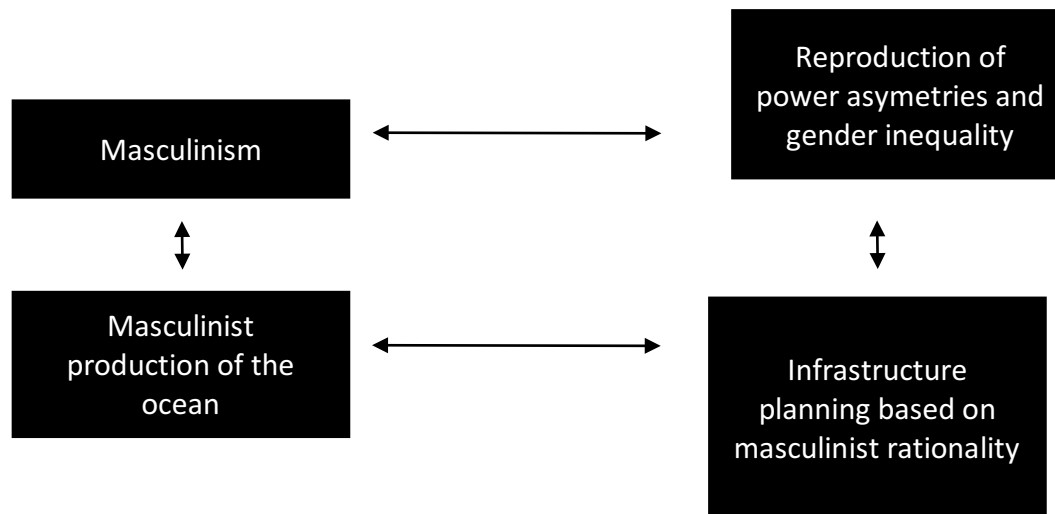
Geography applies the masculinist gaze, where “the viewer has the power to control what is seen and how it is seen” (Bain, 2009:489). Thus, masculinism has defined the gender of geography (Rose, 1993:12). Applying the concept in geographic research makes it possible to address gendered assumptions and hegemonic discourses, and gives insight into why gender inequalities still persist (Rose, 1993:12; Nicholas, Agius, 2018:1).

Geography continuous to be blinded by the masculinist gaze and rationality, and by critically applying this concept, this research will examine its impact on infrastructure development (Bain, 2009:490).

5.4. From theoretical framework to analytical lens

The theoretical framework complements the FCDA approach to the research, and creates the frame for the analytical lens. This will make it possible to apply a critical perspective, and contextualize the analysis. In order to understand the interconnected process of the gender-infrastructure nexus in the specific case of inter-island infrastructure in the Faroes, it has been visualized in the diagram below (Figure 5.4.1.)

Figure 2. Diagram visualizing the theoretical lens



Source: own figure.

Formulated for the specific case and context of this study, this means that the masculinist domination of islandness, based on an understanding of the ocean as a masculine space, informs infrastructure planning to follow masculinist rationality, which produces and reproduces gendered inequalities and power relations.

The interconnected process can be viewed as a circular relation.

This means that gender inequalities and hegemonic power relations support infrastructure planning based on masculinist knowledge production, which reproduces an islandness dominated by masculinism.

Hence, this study will examine how these interconnected relations are discursively produced and formulated in the planning of inter-island linkages.

6. Methodology

Studying geography does not always require the researcher to position oneself geographically and be physically surrounded by the subject of the research. As Aitken (2005) argues, getting an insight into and understanding of a subject in human geography sometimes requires you to examine context that does not take a physical shape (Aitken, 2005:233). The methodology for this study has been formed to conduct critical research without physically moving (Aitken, 2005:234, 247).

This chapter will present and discuss the methods that has made the practical process of this study possible. First, it will discuss the philosophical basis of the dissertation. Thereafter, it will present the research design, including data collection and analysis. Also, it will discuss the practical application of FCDA. At last, ethical considerations and limitations are discussed.

6.1. Research design

This study opposes the research approach to the island that perceives it merely as a so-called laboratory (Baldacchino, 2018:3; Pugh, 2016). However, it should be stressed that the island is both the subject and focus of this study and it recognises the island as an ideal place to study and observe global phenomena and mega-trends, making it possible to comprehend complex issues and relations (ibid; ibid). Therefore, this research finds a qualitative single case study design appropriate, making it possible to gain in-depth and critical insight into the discursive relations in a specific context (Bryman, 2012:66). This means that the case of this study has been chosen because of the problem being examined, and because of the context in which it exists (Bryman, 2012:417). In addition, the FCDA supports a qualitative design as it focuses on the linguistic aspect of social relations (Lazar, 2007).

6.1.1. Philosophical reflections

A note on the philosophical basis of this study is relevant, as it gives insight into the assumptions on which the methodological decisions are made (Bryman, 2012:8). The philosophical understanding of the methodological approach to the research is present throughout the study, from the research questions to thinking with the archipelago, and feminist theoretical framework. The action-oriented knowledge inquiry is formed out of a critical realist perspective (Bryman, 2012:20, 32).

The critical realist perspective argues that a real as well as an observable world exists, meaning that epistemology and ontology exist in relation to each other, but are not the same (Bryman, 2012:29). Hence, the material world exists independently of discourse, but is understood and recognized in relation to it, meaning there exists material and non-discursive practices that are intertwined with discursive observations (Bryman, 2012:29). From this theoretical perspective, language creates our social observable reality which is subjectively

comprehended, meaning discourse is an interpretation and socially constructed knowledge of the real world (Bryman, 2012:537).

6.2. Data collection

Although constantly existing in the Faroese society's perception of self, identity, culture, history and economy, there is limited available literature explicitly on infrastructure development in the Faroes. Contrary to what might then be assumed, this has entailed a thorough and focused data collection process, and the scarce data collected has been chosen because of its relevance, and not merely because of its existence.

An FCDA does not require a specific sampling process (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:28). To sample relevant and comprehensive data, that will support the validity of the study, the sampling process went through different stages that have been deemed most reliable. First, purposive sampling was used to collect data that could be connected to the research questions (Bryman, 2012:416). Thereafter, when it had become clear that all relevant and available data was written by the Faroese Agency for Public Works (Landsverk), the institution was contacted to discuss the research, and possible additional data. Landsverk informed about additional data sources, that were found relevant and added to the sample. As such, the sampling strategy applied aspects of snowball sampling in addition to probability sampling (Bryman, 2012:424). During the conversation with Landsverk, the institution underlined that the documents sampled for this research are the most comprehensive reports on interconnecting infrastructure planning, including both social and practical aspects of the planning process. Neither the institution nor the Ministry of Finance have additional planning or decision-making indicators and processes not stated in the documents sampled for this research.

The sample size has also been considered, keeping in mind that it needs to be large enough for the findings to be valid, but not too large for an in-depth single case study (Bryman, 2012:425). Based on the data sample, four published reports, two online sources and one book were deemed appropriate. An overview of the sampled documents, their relevance and contribution is found below.

Table 1. Sampled Documents

| Document name and source | Content | Relevance |
|--|---|--|
| <p>Document 1. <i>Føroyar sum ein býur. Samferðsluætlan 2012-2024. Strategi og mál.</i> - <i>Landsverk, 2012.</i></p> <p>The Faroe Islands as one city. Interconnecting infrastructure plan 2012-2024. - The Faroese Agency for Public Works. 2012.</p> | <p>Public report on overall plan and purpose of interconnecting infrastructure in the Faroe Islands from 2012 to 2024. Only the first half of the report is sampled.</p> | <p>The document is relevant as it gives comprehensive presentation and explanation of the overall planning objectives and strategies of interconnecting infrastructure planning from 2012-2024. Meaning, it concerns projects currently being constructed.</p> |
| <p>Document 2. <i>Samferðsluætlan. 2018-2030.</i> - <i>Landsverk, 2019.</i></p> <p>Interconnecting infrastructure plan. 2018-2030. - The Faroese Agency for Public Works. 2019.</p> | <p>Public report on overall plan and purpose of interconnecting infrastructure in the Faroe Islands from 2018 to 2030.</p> | <p>The document is sampled as it focuses on interconnecting infrastructure planning for the coming years. It places infrastructure planning in a broader social context.</p> |
| <p>Document 3. <i>Samferðsluætlan. 2018-2030 / Framhald.</i> - <i>Landsverk, 2019.</i></p> <p>Interconnecting infrastructure plan. 2018-2030. Continuation - The Faroese Agency for Public Works. 2019.</p> | <p>Continuation of the public report on interconnecting infrastructure in the Faroe Islands from 2018 to 2030. While the first report focuses on an overall plan and purpose, this report is more specific and focuses on smaller projects.</p> | <p>The document is sampled as it is connected to Document 2, and gives reflections and comments on specific goals and aims, as well as environmental considerations and the peripheral locations.</p> |
| <p>Document 4. <i>Landsverk Sjeyti. Ársfrágreiðing, 2017-2018.</i> - <i>Landsverk, 2018.</i></p> <p>The Faroese Agency for Public Works seventy years old. Annual report, 2017-2018. - The Faroese Agency for Public Works.</p> | <p>Latest annual report on current and future infrastructure projects.</p> | <p>This document is sampled as it gives comprehensive insight, comments and reflections on the objectives and aims of current projects and planning.</p> |

| | | |
|---|--|--|
| <p>Document 5.</p> <p>Gaini, F. Jacobsen, H. 2008. <i>Mynstur Broytast</i>. 1st ed. Landsverk.</p> <p>Gaini, F. Jacobsen, H. 2008. <i>Changing patterns</i>. 1st ed. The Faroese Agency for Public Works.</p> | <p>Book published by Landsverk 60 years after the institution was established. A comprehensive insight into the history of infrastructure development in the Faroes.</p> | <p>The book is sampled as it balances the more technical planning reports, and gives a picture of what perceptions and narratives the institution itself has on its own history and social impacts, as well as contemporary reflections and statements given by the institution.</p> |
| <p>Document 6.</p> <p>Ferðsluplanlegging. (Online). Landsverk.</p> <p>Traffic planning (Online). The Faroese Agency for Public Works. Available at: https://www.landsverk.fo/fo-fo/borgari/ferðsluplanlegging (Accessed 15 Aug. 2020)</p> | <p>Information on traffic and transport planning, sampled from the institutions web-page.</p> | <p>The information is sampled as it gives short and clear explanation, and is formulated as a continuous statement, that is not connected to a planning report.</p> |
| <p>Document 7.</p> <p>Íløgur komandi árini. (Online) Landsverk.</p> <p>Investments the coming years. (Online). The Faroese Agency for Public Works. Available at: https://www.landsverk.fo/fo/samferðsluaetlanin-2018-2030/stoerri-iloegur-komandi-arini/inngangur-til-iloegur-komandi-arini (Accessed 15 Aug. 2020)</p> | <p>Information on current and future investments, sampled from the institutions web-page.</p> | <p>The information is sampled as it gives short and clear explanation, and is formulated as a continuous statement, that is not connected to a planning report.</p> |

6.3. Data analysis

This section will first discuss the applied FCDA approach to the analysis, in order to give a transparent and comprehensive discussion on practical aspect of the critical stance this study takes. Thereafter, it will explain the analytical steps that have been conducted.

6.3.1. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

This study approaches the research from a critical standpoint. By analyzing discourse, the objective is to identify the linguistic formulation of perceived social reality (Bryman, 2012:356). This is possible as discourses are socially produced, as well as producing the

social (Van Dijk, 1993). Applying a critical perspective to discourse analysis (critical discourse analysis, CDA) means that this research is problem oriented, explanatory and is positioned in social, historical and cultural context (Van Dijk, 2005:466, 467). As Van Dijk (2005) stresses: *“More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power abuse (dominance) in society”* (Van Dijk, 2005:467). A CDA is constantly aware that discourse is formed by dominance, is situated in time and space, and validated by hegemonic social power (Wodak, 2001:3²). Thus, as historical, cultural, and ideological contexts shape discourse, context is crucial in the analysis of discursive practices (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:5).

More specifically, this study will combine the CDA and a feminist perspective, conducting a feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA). The FCDA examines issues that concern gender relations, and applies critical feminist perspectives and theories to the analysis (Lazar, 2005:3). This research therefore follows Lazar (2005) who stresses that: *“For feminist CDA, the focus is on how gender ideology and gendered relations of power are (re)produced, negotiated and contested in representations of social practices, in social relationships between people, and in people’s social and personal identities in texts and talk”* (Lazar, 2005:11). Hence, applying the FCDA supports the critical inquiry for exploring how power relations, structures, and strategies take discursive shape (Van Dijk, 1993). Thus, this study will examine the relationship between language and power, and address how this relationship is discursively formulated in the sampled documents (Wodak, 2001:3³).

Therefore, this study applies the concept of critique as an approach to examine the micro and macro level of discourse, and how they are connected (Van Dijk, 2005:467; Wodak, Meyer, 2009:19). The micro level is language and discursive interaction and agency, while the macro is the structural and institutional manifestation of power and dominance (Van Dijk, 2005:467). It means that the research is analyzing the micro-level, being the discourse of interconnecting infrastructure planning, and examining its relation to the macro-level of structural power and dominance of hegemonic masculinity (Van Dijk, 2005, p. 470).

² Downloaded chapter, page number does not match the published book.

³ Downloaded chapter, page number does not match the published book.

In addition, this study follows Wodak and Meyer (2009) who argue that, as concepts used in a CDA is interpreted and formulated differently by various scholars, a discussion of the definition of concepts used is necessary when conducting a CDA (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:2). As FCDA is used as an analytical tool in this research, it is necessary to underline how it will contribute. The literature on critical discourse analysis is vast, and it has been necessary to be selective in order to give a clear explanation of its usage in this study. In addition to concept discourse, that has been presented above, and the critical perspective, the other concepts applied in the analysis are:

Power and domination: This study will apply the concept of power as social domination (Lazar, 2007). It will especially integrate the concept when addressing who holds access to the discourses identified in the planning reports (Van Dijk, 2005:469). Thus, it follows Lazar (2007): *“Modern power (and hegemony) is effective because it is mostly cognitive, based on an internalization of gendered norms and acted out routinely in the texts and talk of everyday life”* (Lazar, 2007:148).

Hegemony: This study applies the Gramscian understanding of hegemony, which is social domination that is accepted as an inevitable part of our daily lives (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:8; Van Dijk, 1993). For example, Lazar (2007) argues that gender is a hegemonic ideology that takes a subtle form and is mostly perceived natural. Thus, it is structural, meaning that its domination and power abuse is not present merely as an individual action, but impacts social institutions and social practices (Lazar, 2007).

Ideology: This study follows Wodak (2001), drawing on Habermas and the Frankfurt School, that language is ideological and a tool of domination and social power (Wodak, 2001:3⁴). As Lazar (2007) underlines, *“From a critical view, ideologies are representations of practices formed from particular perspectives in the interest of maintaining unequal power relations and dominance”* (Lazar, 2005:7). They take the shape of symbolic meaning in social interaction and are based on accepted assumptions, becoming a subtle presence in everyday life, mostly exercised with social consent (Van Dijk, 1993; Lazar, 2005:7).

⁴ Downloaded chapter, page number does not match the published book.

Gender: It is also important to mention that this study applies a concept of gender that is beyond the binary understanding of man and woman. Gender is not a binary essentialist category, but a social category which intersects with other social categories (Valentine, 2007; Lazar, 2007). Hence, it applies the term intersectionality, formulated by feminists of colour, addressing the variety of social categories that constrain and disadvantage the individual (Valentine, 2007).

An intersectional analysis is important in the field of geography as it gives insight into how social categories intersect with space and place, and systems of oppression and domination which are spatially produced (Valentine, 2007). This study therefore stresses the importance for feminist geography to incorporate intersectionality and examine its spatial component, and how space impacts subject formation (ibid).

6.3.2. Analytical process

The practical steps of the analysis have been guided by the *Miles and Huberman Framework* for qualitative data analysis (Punch, 2005:197-199). The software program Nvivo has been used to code and break down the data (Bryman, 2012:594). The data analysis has not been a linear process, but has applied a circular process to coding, displaying and drawing conclusions, while placing the finding in the specific context of this study (Punch, 2005:197-199). This has made it possible to identify the more subtle discourses in the data, as well as identifying possible confirmation bias (Bryman, 2012:289).

6.3.3. Ethical reflections and limits to the data

The ethical reflections made when conducting this research, which also address the limits to the data, concerns the positioning of the research, and its impact on a transparent and valid research process.

Approaching the research from FCDA, this study does not aim at being neutral. Critically analyzing research from a feminist perspective is not an objective process (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:7). Instead, addressing positionality and critical self-reflexivity is crucial in feminist research (Lazar, 2007). It means that this study is aware of the position of the researcher, and actively addresses the standpoint of the critical perspective throughout the study (Lazar, 2007). This gives a critical self-insight as a researcher that can address possible biases (ibid.). Thus, explicitly positioning the research as critical makes it possible to be reflective and

transparent, and address biases that impact the validity of the study (Wodak, Meyer, 2009:7). Therefore, in order to enhance transparency, ensuring the internal validity of the research design has been a core consideration while conducting the study, as well as contextualising the critical standpoint, and explaining every step of the analysis.

In addition, it must be mentioned that all documents sampled for the analysis are written in Faroese. Therefore, all quotes included in the analysis have been translated by the writer of this study, whose first language is Faroese. Furthermore, in order to enhance transparency and address any possible bias, as well as avoiding misinterpretations and flawed translations, all translated quotations have been proof read and discussed with a native Faroese speaker with no knowledge of the context of this research.

6.3.4. Generalizability

This research does not aim at generalising, but rather aims to contribute to the field of feminist Island Studies. Conducting a single case study cannot obtain generalizable results (Bryman, 2012:69). Furthermore, the specific context in which this study exists cannot be fully replicated. Instead, it will hopefully find a place in the growing academic interest, that welcomes its specific context in which the theoretical framework and critical knowledge inquiry have been formulated.

7. Analysis

The analytical process was guided by the main research question: *applying a feminist discourse analysis, how can the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, be understood as a gendered development project?*

In order to answer the main research question, the analysis is divided into two parts, each addressing one of the sub-questions:

How are the discourses on the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, reflecting masculinism?

How is the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, genderblind?

Section 7.1 and 7.2 will identify the main discourses in the documents, and how they are intertwined with masculinist ideologies. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 will more specifically examine

the practical approaches to infrastructure planning and its objectives which are found in the planning reports. This will make it possible to discuss how the infrastructure planning is genderblind and risking gendered outcomes. Thus, the analysis will first approach one side of the infrastructure-gender nexus by examining how masculinism impacts infrastructure planning in the Faroe Islands. Thereafter, it will switch the focus and examine the genderblind planning process and objectives that can lead to gendered outcomes. At last, the findings will be discussed and connected to the theoretical framework to examine how infrastructure planning on the Faroe Islands can be understood as a gendered development project.

7.1. Masculinist knowledge production

The road towards critical insight begins with an analysis of interconnecting infrastructure as a development project. This section will stress that interconnecting infrastructure in the Faroe Islands as a development project is based on a masculinist production of knowledge, which informs a masculinist understanding of space, and from which planning is formulated.

This section of the analysis draws mainly on Rose's (1993) seminal critique of geographic knowledge, discussed in the theoretical framework. In her work on the gendered field of geography, she states:

"The founding fathers of geography wanted to render the world amenable to the operation of masculinist reason, and thus sought a kind of knowledge that would apply universally. This project required just that rational, objective gaze at the world which so many feminists have associated with dominant masculinities..." (Rose, 1993:7). Hence, masculinist knowledge production positions the knower as objective and neutral (Rose, 1993:7). Taking this position in practice means: *"...in order to be completely objective, the subject or knower must be able to transcend his or her historical, social, and personal worlds, and to remain wholly detached from the object being studied"* (Bondi, Domosh, 1992:203). The field of geography is based on a masculinist rational objective gaze, and neutral knowledge inquiry, resulting in an understanding of space, place and nature as a singular and universal whole, that can be fully comprehended (Rose, 1993:7)

In contrast, insight from feminist geography argues that place is plural and diverse, and variously experienced by different intersecting social identities. Thus, knowledge is situated, and all geographic knowledge is formulated from a subject position (Haraway, 1988).

The production of masculinist knowledge is identified throughout the documents, where the dominating discourse on interconnecting infrastructure as a development project positions itself as neutral and objective. For example, Document 4 states:

Landsverk is free from the influences of private interests, and considers it its duty and responsibility to connect the country in a natural manner. The public institution insures the integrity of the whole and is both independent of political and other interests, and prioritises all of its projects accordingly. Sectional interests must therefore not affect the overall goals, which insure the integrity of the whole (Doc. 4:4).

Examining the quote in-depth, the text argues that Landsverk can only secure a sound infrastructure planning if it positions itself as neutral, and aims for a perceived detached knowledge inquiry. This claim supports the objective knowledge production that informs masculinist geography, by arguing the necessity of a neutral standpoint. In addition, it presents the idea of space being a singular comprehensive entity, that should be addressed as a whole. Therefore, it excludes the intersecting social identities other than masculinist rationality, and the understanding of space as plural and diverse (Rose, 1993:3).

In addition, the masculinist understanding of space is reflected in the documents when analyzing the interconnecting infrastructure plan as a development project. Infrastructure planning is framed as an apolitical project that comprehends true insight into spatial needs, while political and other interest, that argue for diverse experiences, have a negative impact on the sound and natural implementation. As Document 4 further emphasizes:

It is no secret, and is to be expected, that politicians will try to procure as much as they can for their voter bases, but if no one takes into considerations the needs of society as a whole, the building of society becomes very random (Doc. 4:5).

Based on the quote above, it is possible to state that Landsverk distances itself from what the institution understands as random or chaotic spatial planning. Thus, Landsverk places itself on one end of rational infrastructure development, and political interests on the other. If political actors are joining Landsverk on the rational end of the planning process, they need to take nothing more than a financial role (Doc. 1, Doc. 7). Thus, the more distance there is between Landsverk and the political sphere as well as interests other than those technical in nature, the more neutral and objective is the decision-making and planning process.

Document 7 emphasizes that prioritization and decision making is informed by which projects have the most positive impact on society, a process which is not politically discussed. Instead, Landsverk finds it a responsibility and obligation to stay neutral, and will actively work against specific interests (Doc. 4). The documents therefore oppose feminist insight into spatial relations, and instead adopt a perspective on space being a neutral sphere that requires objective interference. Thus, infrastructure as a spatial development project follows Rose's (1993) argument on geographic knowledge: *Geographical knowledge aims to be exhaustive. It assumes that, in principle, the world can be fully known and understood* (Rose, 1993:7). This perspective on space is evident throughout the documents, where the objective knowledge of space requires infrastructure planning to be based on professional and technical expertise, that gives true insight into the needs of spatial development planning (Doc. 1, Doc. 2, Doc. 7).

Arguing that it is possible to obtain a generalized perspective on space supports grand narratives of progress (Bondi, Domosh, 1992). Infrastructure as a development project is one such narrative, where the masculinist knower informs the interconnecting infrastructure planning, and creates the perception on infrastructure being an inevitable part of modernization and progress. Such grand narrative is based on the claims to objective and universal knowledge, and places the knower as the master subject position, arguing all experiences to be the same (Bain, 2009:488).

This has a gendered dimension, as taking the master subject position agrees that no other experience exists. Therefore, the discourse based on the grand narrative can persist, and not include a more diverse reality, as it does not recognise that there is such a reality (Rose, 1993:9). With interconnecting infrastructure being a masculinist development project, it thus subjugates any reality different from the rationality of modernisation. The discourses on infrastructure as a development project identified in the documents are supporting the masculinist narrative on modernisation. Addressing the relation between the narrative on progress and its material embodiment as infrastructure has therefore been possible, although challenging, as spatial planning uses language created by men (Rose, 1993:71). In the documents, this relationship appears several times as the discourse on "*at byggja land*", which directly translated means, *to build land*, but means *to build a country* (Doc. 3. Doc. 5). This phrase is used as a slogan, and appears both when infrastructure as a tool of development is addressed, as well as the objective of contemporary interconnecting infrastructure planning. As it is stated in Document 5:

We fight against nature in order to build a country; we create culture out of nature. New patterns in the landscape are drawn, projected and realised (Doc. 5:87).

In the quote above, interconnecting infrastructure as a development project is justified by the masculinist gaze on nature, existing as a source of consumption.

It is possible to follow this discourse into contemporary infrastructure planning, where the current objective is to develop and sustain a comprehensively interconnected society. The perceptions on space evident throughout the analysis are mostly based on symbolic meaning and narratives that are used to formulate the discourse of a universal public good, which actually produces and reproduces social inequalities and power hierarchies (McDowell, 1993; Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019). This is for example stressed in document 4, where the interconnected infrastructure objectives are explained:

This with the goal of solving this great and important task for the Faroese society – to insure the integrity of the whole (Doc. 2:3).

The quote above is connected to the understanding of space in an archipelago as being disadvantaged, and the goal of infrastructure as a development project being to build a country, where interconnecting infrastructure development is a tool to connect the fragmented space on the archipelago.

All documents stress that the overall objective of interconnecting infrastructure is to link the country together in order to sustain progress and a sound society. This is in line with the discourse that Siemiatycki, Enright, and Valverde, (2019) argue is not only dominating infrastructure planning, but also based on masculinist ideologies: “...*infrastructure as a way of representing universal connectivity and totality is essential to modernity’s masculine pursuit of progress*” (Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019:9). Therefore, it is a discourse that claims to comprehend society as a whole, seeing space as a phenomenon that can be soundly connected.

Focusing on the construction of inter-island linkages, and placing this discourse in the island studies literature, the narrative of infrastructure as a development project being inevitable progress and necessary for a modern society, is justified by presenting the archipelago as spatially disadvantaged (Baldacchino, 2018). It is underlined in the texts that nature creates barriers, and the goal of interconnecting infrastructure is to defy nature (Doc. 5). The documents create a picture of island life being impossible without infrastructure. Rather, the

documents frame what is desired and viable is shaping the archipelago as one city and make Tórshavn a natural centre, therefore eliminating the archipelagic conditions previously shaping society (Doc. 2). Again, Landsverk formulates that the objective of infrastructure as a project is to comprehend space as a singular entity, taking the material form as one city (Doc. 1).

The documents draw heavily on the feeling of islandness, and the role of space and place in the identity of the Faroese people. They interlink the planning of interconnecting infrastructure with Faroese identity. As Document 5 emphasizes:

The more difficult existence on the islands were, the more the inhabitants fought to remain in the Faroe Islands. While other people might have packed their bags and returned to their roots, these determined newcomers for various reasons would rather die than go back. But they managed to create a real society here, out in the North Atlantic. With indomitable determination, good spirit and and tremendous working power, these ancestors built the country that we have inherited. With experience, knowledge, tools and technology, humans have conquered nature (Doc. 5:60).

Drawing on Roses (1993) statement quoted in the beginning of this section, her critical examination of the field of geography can be applied to the quote above. The Document claims that, by staying on the islands, the islander has grasped the space in which he lives, and has therefore survived the harsh natural environment. Thus, without infrastructure, the islands would continue to be backward and fragmented, but as islanders it is in our nature to defy spatial barriers, and therefore infrastructure is the natural tool to sustain island life.

In conclusion, the discourse on interconnecting infrastructure as a development project is based on grand narratives of modernity and progress. By placing itself as neutral, it supports a perceived objective masculinist knowledge production, that disregards space as plural, and therefore excludes any other possible development and planning trajectory

7.2. The master subject position

Moving from the analysis of the discourses on interconnecting infrastructure as a development project being based on grand narratives of modernisation, and following a masculinist knowledge production, this section will examine the impact of the masculinist knower taking a master subject position. Taking this position, the knower generalizes his experience (Bain, 2009). As Bain (2009) stresses: “*This masculinist knower never*

problematizes his own positionality nor considers the potential partiality of his perspective” (Bain, 2009:488). Hence, it pushes for a universal masculinist rationality, that is assumed to be unbiased and objective (ibid.). Drawing from feminist geography, this becomes a gendered power relation, as arguing something to be rational, it must inevitably contrast something irrational (Rose, 1993:9). The feminist critique of the masculinist knower as the master subject stresses that it excludes experiences of all intersecting social identities different from the white, heterosexual, economically active man (McDowell, 1993). These excluded experiences become marginalized and regarded irrational or irrelevant in the shadow of the master subject (Rose, 1993:9). All quotes included in this section reference Document 5, as this is the text that draws most on emotions and sensibilities. However, it should be kept in mind that all sections in the analysis are connected and should not be read as findings existing in a vacuum.

In the text, the masculinist rationality formulated from the master subject is based on the ocean being a dominant actor in the relationship between identity and space. It has been discussed in the theoretical framework that islandness and the ocean are considered variables in the spatial production of gendered discourse in infrastructure planning. The ocean is also a visible variable in the analysed Document:

The ocean has its maelstroms, its currents, its fishing grounds, which the Faroese know as well as the mountains and their valleys. The ocean has created the casings of our culture, and all life is reflected in the ocean in faroese literature (Doc. 5:87).

As stated in the quote above, the ocean is perceived as a co-producer of a shared identity. It is in line with Loftsdóttirs (2015) argument on gendered power relations, where the masculinist perception on progress and modernity continues to construct the shared Icelandic identity. As mentioned in section 4.1.2., the ocean is the source of industrialisation and economic growth on the Faroe Islands. However, it is a dominantly male sphere, and therefore narrates the history of the building of a country where the man is at the center (Hayfield, 2018).

The documents on interconnecting infrastructure follow this production of islandness, where the masculinist knower takes the master subject position, and therefore generalises the shared identity. This hegemonic discourse takes a subtle and neutral form. It applies a masculinist gaze on the relationship between infrastructure and mobility (Bain, 2009:488). As Hayfield (2018) argues, on the islandscape, where distance plays a crucial role, mobility becomes a

tool of power impacting gender relations (Hayfield, 2018). And on the archipelago, the ocean plays a crucial role in the understanding of mobility, acting as a source of power and domination (ibid.). This masculinist discourse is visible in the quote below:

The ocean is endless, and a man in a boat is free; infinite riches can be found in the belly of the ocean. This spirit, which originates from from a hunting culture, lives on in the people, even though it is land and air routes which the people know best from daily life today. We are a nation of mariners on land, who transform the landscape, as if it were endless as is the ocean (Doc. 5:88).

Here, the Faroese people as a whole are addressed as people at sea, although as mentioned, the ocean has always been a sphere heavily dominated by men. Thus, Landsverk generalizes the identity of every Faroese individual, making the male experience the universal.

In the case of interconnecting infrastructure on the Faroe Islands, the idea of mobility is derived from the understanding of the ocean as a source of freedom and prosperity. By constructing roads, Landsverk has expanded this freedom to exist on land instead of merely on the ocean. Therefore, more specifically, the masculinist master subject takes the shape of masculine mobility from ocean to the road. By arguing the male mobility which is based on masculinist individual freedom and economic progress is rational, it is argued that the opposite is irrational (Rose, 1993:9).

Today, the perceived freedom that defines Landsverks idea of islandness takes the shape of the private car. Several of the documents stress that the Faroe Islands is a driving nation, possessed by a *motor-mania* or a *car'ism*. The car is perceived as a symbol of modernization as stated in the quotes below:

The car represents a liberty which people never before have known, and the car is related to the technological and societal moderinsation of the Faroe Islands (Doc. 5:74).

Based on this quote and the quotes above on the ocean, it is possible to state that the idea of mobility has been taken from the context of man at sea to man on land, with the car as the embodiment of modern masculinist individual freedom of movement. Hence, instead of the boat, the car has become the islanders identity.

Drawing on Hayfields (2018) study on gendered mobility on the Faroe Islands, she found that the assumptions on the car being a source of individual freedom, is not reflecting actual

experiences (Hayfield, 2018). On the contrary “...practicing mobility may be a compulsory mobility, framed around remoteness and relations to the sea, implicating women’s mobility” (ibid:1140). The discourse on mobility identified in the text follow the master subject as it only discusses one experience. As stated in the quote below:

For many young men in the Faroe Islands, the car has a very high priority in daily life, and it is much more than a tool for movement which enables one to travel from A to B (Doc. 5:226).

Here, masculine experience of the car as a symbol beyond travelling is explicitly addressed.

The car as a masculine symbol is not questioned or critically assessed in the text, but rather perceived as a natural process from the ocean to the road. Thus, the old Faroese saying “*bound is boatless man*” has become “*bound is carless man*” (Doc. 5:60). As the text further state about this transition:

It was especially men who drove cars in the beginning. Those who before had steered boats and ships now sat in the driver’s seat (Doc. 5:74).

From a critical feminist perspective, connecting the idea of rationality to the male experience of the changes in mobility, means that there is no space for any other narrative (Rose, 1993:7). Thus, the documents indicate that by placing the objective and neutral knower in the master subject position, the discourse on the expansion of mobility, even when addressing specific experiences, is limited to the man.

Placing this in previous studies, Dobbs (2007) stresses that other social identities than male can access this type of mobility (Dobbs, 2007). However, women who prioritize family and taking the role of care-givers, often find themselves in a conflicting position, for example in having to hold a part time job (ibid.). As Hayfield (2018) found when studying mobility in a Faroese context: *[...] Faroese women consider mobility possibilities in light of values associated with family and gender. Consequently, in practice, their access rights to commuting or long-distance work do not match those of men.* (Hayfield, 2018:1145).

Nevertheless, this insight is missing, and although document 5 is filled with tales of the men who have imagined, constructed, and used infrastructure on the Faroes, women have only been mentioned twice. Once, in relation to young men finding personal freedom in cars, where the texts states:

The car holds a high status and has many tasks to perform. It is a valuable property, which the owner proudly can present to friends and acquaintances. It is a private “space”, which can be used for parties and socialising with friends and acquaintances. In the car, the young man

himself controls the speed and the route, the music and the conversation. The car can also be used to come into contact with girls, who will happily go for a ride through the dark night. The car represents a sweet freedom, which young people long for and look forward to (Doc. 5:226).

In the quote above, the car is a symbol of masculine individualism and freedom. Focusing on the two last sentences, the female is described as a visitor who enters the masculine sphere, and this experience is generalized. This subjugates the female to only being a visitor, or someone who borrows the masculine freedom. The only other time someone other than the generalized experience, or a specific male individual, is referenced, is in a historical reference of the construction of a tunnel. Here, a woman wanted to walk through before it was constructed but was denied access, after which the local construction workers got nervous because she supposedly was a witch.

In conclusion, the discourse on mobility that is formulated from the master subject position is based on the understanding of the ocean as a masculine place, that then informs masculinist rationality. The documents push for an experience that they claim is shared by all islanders, but in reality disregards any possible alternative reality.

7.3. Gendered planning objectives

The argument posed above on the master subject position formulating rationality and subjugating other subjective experiences also takes a more practical shape. This section therefore moves from infrastructure as a development project to the interconnecting infrastructure development in practice.

Further examining the discourses on interconnecting infrastructure as the inevitable quest to a spatially connected archipelago, the documents stress that the objective is to make it easy to travel to and from work, regardless of where on the islands the individual lives. Hence, the interconnecting infrastructure planning defies nature and natural barriers to economic activity.

Feminist geography has granted critical insight into the spatially constructed masculinist society (Whitson, 2018:79). From a masculinist perspective, space is perceived to be everywhere, and being extensively accessible (Rose, 1993:37). This is in contrast to the

argument of feminist geography, stressing that space has gendered meanings, granting some access and control, while excluding others (Whitson, 2018:79).

In the practical objective of the interconnecting infrastructure planning, the masculinist rational understanding of space and how it interacts with the individual is translated into planning that aims to give individuals freedom to situate their public and private spheres within greater spatial distances. As Document 1 states:

Considering the current pattern of residency, we must have an infrastructure, which makes it possible for people to settle down and work wherever they would prefer to. In the same vein, the infrastructure shall not be an obstacle for the locations of services, culture and educational institutions, and businesses (Doc. 1:6).

Other types of travel needs are also mentioned in the documents, for example to and from education and health care facilities. However, it is continuously stressed that:

Particular emphasis is put on the conditions for those who travel to and from work (Doc. 1:7).

The quotes above argue that interconnecting infrastructure will enhance individual freedom by making the archipelago spatially connected, and therefore grant endless travel choices. This objective further supports the idea of the Faroese society being a driving nation. Thus, it reflects individualism and that individual freedom depends on a person's access to a private car.

In addition, using word query in Nvivo shows that the travel to and from work is mentioned more than 20 times through the documents, more than any other type of travel. This creates a hierarchy of travel needs and behavior, where non-work travel patterns are perceived less important than the travel to and from economic activities (Greed, 2019:33). Thus, this planning objective is based on the discourse on economic development being at the core of nation building and the idea of progress, which is intertwined with the main discourse on infrastructure development addressed in section 7.1.1.

The quotes above have further implications for the aspect of the objective that concerns the spatial separation of the public and private sphere. Feminist geography has granted critical insight into the spatial construction of gender relations found between the proximity of the private and public sphere (Oberhauser, Fluri, Whitson and Mollett, 2018:9). As Whitson stresses: *“From the perspective of feminist geographers, the physical organization of the city,*

as well as access to and control over its spaces, are critical aspects of the construction of gendered and sexualized identities and inequitable power relations” (Whitson, 2018:79).

The spatial separation of the private and public sphere might not have implications for the individual with access to a private car and who is able to make endless travel choices.

Nevertheless, in the case of interconnecting infrastructure planning, autonomy is based on the masculinist identity (Rose, 1993:64). Therefore, in a gendered labour market, masculinist spatial planning systematically excludes women from public spaces (Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019; Greed, 2019:29). As Rose (1993) argues: *“The limits of women’s everyday activities are structured by what society expects women to be and therefore to do. The everyday is the arena through which patriarchy is (re)created – and contested” (Rose, 1993:17)*

Thus, the production and reproduction of power hierarchies and domination by the enhanced distance between public and private spaces is an dominant component in gendered infrastructure planning.

The analyzed documents are blind to this critical feminist insight. Although they do not directly argue for a greater gendered division of the public and private, they continuously argue that the objective of interconnecting infrastructure planning is to reach a greater possible spatial separation of the public and private spaces.

In the documents, the objective of limiting perceived spatial proximity by promoting enhanced distance between home and work is translated into practical spatial planning. *Framkomuleiki* means the ability to arrive, *atkomuleiki* means accessibility, and *flytføri* means mobility. These three concepts are used whenever the outcomes of the interconnecting infrastructure plan are discussed. In the documents, accessibility (*atkomuleiki*) and the ability to arrive (*framkomuleiki*) are placed in relation to each other. As Document 2 states:

Arrivability refers to the extent to which the conditions of travel between cities and villages in the country are fast, good and safe. Accessibility refers to the extent to which travelers can travel between roads, residencies, work, and other activities. It is not possible to prioritise a high degree of arrivability while maintaining a high degree of accessibility. Thus, the interconnecting infrastructure is developed such that the arrivability only negatively affects road safety and the environment as little as possible, while the country gains as much utility from the investments that are made in the interconnecting infrastructure (Doc. 2:12).

While accessibility is connected to easy travel to e.g. work or services, the ability to arrive is the conditions of the connection between roads, cities and villages, which includes calculating speed. Thus, the main objective is to enhance the ability to travel between habited places, while the aim is to enhance easy usage of the infrastructure as a medium to travel to and from work. Although the documents argue to consider both, the ability to arrive is mentioned 22 times and as a concept on its own, while accessibility is only mentioned 8 times and always in relation to the ability to arrive.

The ability to arrive is formulated from the planning paradigm of maximized utility, and stresses that the investment in the infrastructure is based on what financially gives most back. Technically, it is calculated from speed and travel costs. This concept is connected to overall goal of supporting *flytføri*, which means mobility. Mobility is argued to be inevitably connected to infrastructure, and a universal ability in a modern society. As stated on Document 3:

Mobility and the interconnecting infrastructure are the main pillars of a modern society. It is a prerequisite for a competitive industry, for development of residential areas, cities and countries, and for the welfare of citizens (Doc. 3:6).

It is only the ability to arrive, and not accessibility that is connected to mobility, and in the quote above, these are directly connected to infrastructure as a main pillar of modernization. How the concepts are practically connected is formulated in Document 6:

The goal of the infrastructure is mobility – to be able to travel from place to place – and arrivability, which is the travel time, flexibility, and quality of the trip (Doc.6:Online).

Thus, the investment in an infrastructure project should be guided by its ability to maximise utility via fast travel to and from work, making it possible to expand a growing society and still sustaining economic progress.

From a feminist perspective, mobility is situated and cannot be objectively understood or comprehended (Scholten, Joelsson, 2019:2). As Scholten and Joelsson argue:

“The particularities of mobility imply that those engaged in movement cannot be reduced to flows or numbers, but must always be considered as embodied and material” (ibid:2).

Thus, planning universal mobility cannot be reached by a detached and neutral knowledge production. Nevertheless, Landsverk generalizes an experience based on masculinist rationality, on which it positions its main objectives. By dominantly focusing on mobility and

the ability to arrive, Landsverk excludes the necessity of having access to infrastructure in order to benefit from its implementation. As Porter (2008) stresses in her paper on gendered infrastructure outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa, without considering necessary access to the infrastructure, its impact on mobility will mostly benefit those who are already mobile (Porter, 2008). In this case, planning for traffic and the car owner risks marginalizing those who do not have unlimited access to the interconnecting infrastructure.

At last, the sustainable development goals and SDG 9 have also reached interconnecting infrastructure planning on the Faroe Islands. However, sustainable planning gets limited attention, and is only mentioned in sections where the environment and nature is affected by infrastructure (Doc 2; Doc 3). Hence, the integration of the SDG's only includes the environmental aspect of sustainable planning, and ignores the social. As Greed (2019) argues, this is not a shocking reality as infrastructure planning does not consider travel needs and patterns beyond masculinist rationality of any importance (Greed, 2019:27). Thus, it continues to be blind to the gendered social outcomes of planning, although arguing to access the sustainable planning paradigm.

In conclusion, the planning objective is focused on the ability to arrive and mobility being individual freedom, instead of choices bound by space. Although the planning process is including objectives formulated from the sustainable planning paradigm, they are limited to technical considerations of the environment and nature.

7.4. Genderblind data

The analysis will lastly address the practical process of planning on which decision-making is based. The documents explain various approaches addressing several aspects crucial for successful outcomes. It should be kept in mind that the planning models are aiming at reaching the objectives discussed in the section above. This section will give a brief analysis of the core steps of the approaches.

From a masculinist perspective, space and spatial interactions are supposed to be comprehensible (Rose, 1993:38). The core aim is to visualise knowledge, through which a true image can be drawn (ibid). Hence, masculinism is based on a positivist approach to science (ibid:42). As Bondi and Domosh (1992) argue: "*Geography, like most other social*

sciences, has continually sought such types of knowledge, privileging scientific results that could be replicated, seeking the formulation of laws that would certify that the world's truths are independent of the observer” (Bondi, Domosh, 1992:203).

The inquiry of comprehensible and tangible knowledge is translated into the practical planning approach to interconnecting infrastructure.

The traffic model that informs current infrastructure needs and the impact of future projects is based on population data, work places, commuting traffic and traffic data (Doc. 2). Emphasis is put on traffic data, that is argued to be a crucial variable in the planning and decision-making process. Document one explains what variables are included in the traffic data:

We first and foremost refer to the counting of vehicles, in addition to types of vehicle, driving direction, and that speed also can be confirmed/established. We refer to the yearly average travel speed in both directions (Doc. 1:33)

This data is then used to make traffic projections in order to estimate future travel patterns and behavior. The projections are based on individuals' need to go from A to B, as Document 7 stresses:

The foundation of travel projections is the needs of people to travel from A to B. This can be to travel to and from work, do shopping, and to drive to various leisure-time activities (Doc. 7:Online).

In addition, Document 3 gives more insight into the variables included in the projections:

The projections of travel are done with a basis in the information on travel numbers, road structures, inclination/lack(?) of roads, max travel speed, consumption tax (?), number of vehicles, numbers of inhabitants, number of workplaces, and number of people, who travel between villages and work (Doc. 3:10)

The decision-making project is based on a project evaluation where a cost-efficiency analysis is made in order to calculate every saved hour of travelling (Doc. 1). Lastly, after the construction of a new project, the main evaluation is based on changes in traffic, calculated using electronic traffic counters (Doc. 4). There is no further information on long-term evaluation that exceeds the variables included in the collection of traffic data.

Based on the quotes above, it is possible to connect the practical steps of interconnecting infrastructure planning in the Faroe Islands to the positivist and absolute knowledge inquiry of masculinism. Overall, the terminology used when explaining the planning process distances itself from the human aspect of infrastructure usage. The language is neutral, and

addresses traffic, cars, speed and other tangible variables. Landsverk stresses that they present future projects to the public institutions culture and history, and the environment, where they ask for specialised evaluation. However, these evaluations are only on the possible impact on sites, such as a nature area or a historical site (Doc. 2; 7).

This insight can be compared to previous studies, where Scholten and Joelsson (2019) have found that genderblind infrastructure planning reduces travel patterns, behavior and needs to measurable variables in order to both examine the possible impact of a project (Scholten, Joelsson, 2019:2). The interconnecting infrastructure planning process examined in this research is an example of such reductionist approach to complex issues.

Placing this finding in the broader field of previous studies on the gender-infrastructure nexus, it has become clear that the planning process is gender-blind. The variables and indicators do not gain an insight into diverse travel patterns, behaviour and needs. Instead, planning and decision making is guided by reductionist data that is perceived objective. Thus, the planning process is based on a masculinist perspective on place and space, and ignores insight gained from feminist geography arguing that space and place interact with intersecting social categories (Oberhauser, Fluri, Whitson and Mollett, 2018:4). This is a common blindness, found in most infrastructure planning (Siemiatycki, Enright, Valverde, 2019). As Levy (2013) stresses: (...) *we do not have a deeper understanding of the trade-offs diverse women and men have made in their decisions to travel, which requires complementary qualitative research* (Levy, 2013:58).

Therefore, as long as infrastructure planning is exclusively based on measurable variables that merely focus on traffic data instead of on infrastructure's social impact and on diverse human needs, it will remain gender-blind.

In conclusion, it is evident that Landsverk perceives the planning of infrastructure merely as a technical process, where there is no room for considering outcomes beyond calculable observations. It is therefore a knowledge inquiry that informs the objective knower, whose perception is governed by a limited view.

7.5. Discussion and conclusion

The analysis has mainly analysed silence. It has been a process of examining the relation between power and language, identifying the domination over access to the discourses in the data. Applying a FDCA to the documents on interconnecting infrastructure planning in the Faroe Islands has made it possible to critically identify the present discourses, their dominant voice and their subtle silence, and thereby address the sub-questions.

The analysis has discussed how interconnecting infrastructure planning reflects masculinism, as well as how it is genderblind. Based on the analysis, it is possible to state that a masculinist knowledge production is dominating the planning discourse. It positions the masculinist knower as the master subject, and therefore on top of the power hierarchy of the claims to knowledge, pushing for a hegemonic understanding of space. In practice, it becomes visible as Landsverk argues that spatial planning must be objective and apolitical, as interconnecting infrastructure is a neutral development process.

In addition, the masculinist perspective on space, perceiving it as a singular entity and accessible for all, supports the planning objectives that aims to connect all areas in the archipelago. Based on the grand narratives on modernisation and progress, a modern society needs a centre that is reachable from every corner of the country, which then enhances individual freedom, giving access to economic activity regardless of spatial distance. It is justified as the spatial composition of the archipelago is a disadvantage to a modern and economically active society. As the islander has always defied harsh nature, it is inevitable that the contemporary islander defies nature by constructing interconnecting infrastructure. This further supports the discourse on mobility that was discussed in section 7.1.2 making it evident that Landsverk's understanding of mobility is intertwined with the narrative of male movement based the idea of the ocean as a source individual freedom and rationality. Therefore, the archipelagic topology and the ocean become the material conditions that support and co-create the dominant masculinist discourse on interconnecting infrastructure as a development project.

The masculinist ideology on which interconnecting infrastructure in based has gendered impacts on the planning objectives and process, as it formulates the objective to limit perceived physical distance and enhancing the proximity between the public and private sphere, continuously supporting a gendered labour market. As the social benefit is perceived

inevitable, and the need and usage rational and natural, the user can be reduced to a traffic data point. The focus remains on cars instead of the drivers, without addressing the individuals not already on the road. Therefore, it means that diverse travel needs and behaviour of intersecting social identities do not have access to the main public discourse of infrastructure planning. The spatial hierarchies and inequalities that Landsverk's aims at elimination become reproduced as gendered hierarchies of mobility and access. Thus, the planning based on the objective to limit the perceived physical proximity, instead produces and reproduces gendered boundaries. Therefore, interconnecting infrastructure planning results in asymmetric power relations and hegemonic masculinist planning strategies.

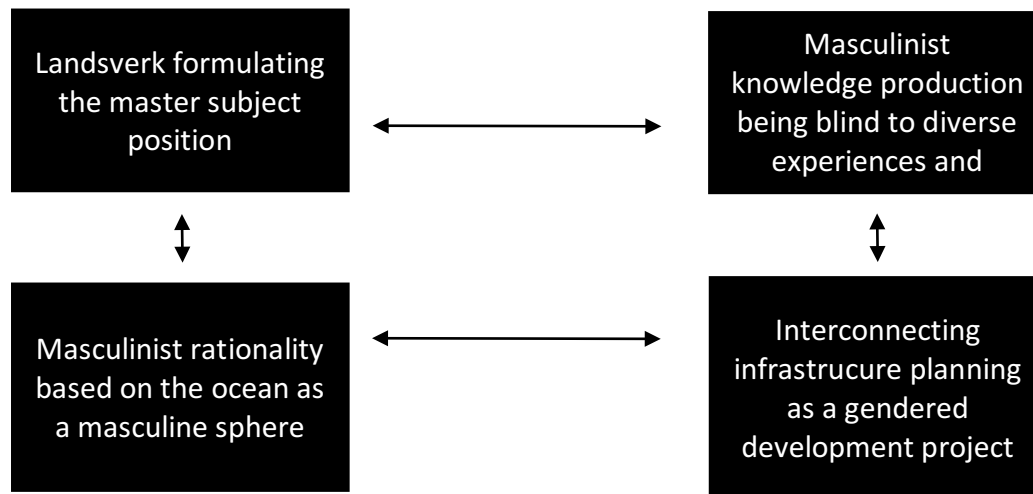
Further examining the findings from the analytical lens formulated in section 5.4, it is possible to apply them to the diagram showing how the gender-infrastructure nexus is intertwined with masculinist knowledge production, which produces and reproduces gender inequalities and power asymmetries.

The masculinist knowledge production, from which the interconnecting infrastructure planning is derived, produces masculinist rationality that informs planning of interconnecting linkages, with the objective of enhancing individual freedom of movement, and accepts the proximity between the public and private sphere, therefore being blind to gendered travel needs and patterns.

Turning this circular process around, it means that the interconnecting infrastructure planning being blind to gendered travel needs and behavior sustains a limited understanding of how space is experienced by intersecting social identities, thus continuously planning for masculinist rationality that then results in a production and reproduction of a dominantly masculinist society.

This process is visualized in diagram below (figure 3):

Figure 3. Diagram visualizing the analysis



Source: own diagram.

To sum up, the masculinist discourse justifies gender-blind planning, while the gender-blind planning supports the masculinist planning discourse. Hence, the masculinist discourse on infrastructure planning takes the material shape of sub-sea tunnels.

Placing the research in the field of Islands Studies and a broader academic discussion on the gender-infrastructure nexus has allowed us to formulate a sound and focused study, and by applying a FCDA, it has been possible to answer the sub-questions. At last, based on the findings in the analysis, and the discussion above, this study can address the main research question:

Applying a feminist critical discourse analysis, how can the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, be understood as a gendered development project?

In conclusion, this study argues that the planning of inter-island linkages on the Faroe Islands, with a specific focus on sub-sea tunnels, can be understood as a gendered development project.

This study has visualized the bridge between the masculinist knower as the master subject, producing masculinist knowledge that informs interconnecting infrastructure as a development project, and its gendered planning objectives. It is a bridge built by asymmetric power relations and hegemonic masculinity, supported by the production and reproduction of

gender inequality. Hence, infrastructure is not merely a physical phenomenon that enables travels, but a bridge between masculinist social structures, and its impacts in practice. Making this co-dependent linkage visible has made it possible to identify the impact of the archipelagic topology on the dominating discourse, as well as the role of the ocean as a masculine space. Thinking with the archipelago through the field of feminist geography and examining gender relations from a critical perspective has challenged the mapping of the islands as places habited by singular individuals and experiences. This research concludes with the hope for this study to spark an awareness of spatial planning on the Faroe Islands that in the future will burn the masculinist bridge, and instead construct sub-sea tunnels based on diverse travel needs and patterns, and thereby support a feeling of islandness that reflects an embracing archipelago.

8. Future research and personal reflections

This study has been inspired by the scholars who have showed me the path home, including but not limited to: Baldacchino, 2008; Karides, 2017, 2020; Pristed Nielsen, Rodríguez-Coss, 2020; Hayfield, 2018. Their articles have made the process less lonely, and consciously reminding me that this study is born out of love of my islands.

There have been times when I have had to question whether I was writing this dissertation as a woman and an islander, or an islander and a woman. There is, unfortunately still little room to be both. Critically examining the strong symbol of prosperity that has become the image of strength and independence on the Faroe Islands has been met with a lot of scepticism – sometimes making me feel like I have abandoned my identity as an islander. Nevertheless, with the support of scholarly work that demands to be heard, and my fellow islanders who feel left out of the story of progress, I have begun my travel home.

This study began with the wish to put forward silenced voices and diverse experiences, conducting a qualitative in-depht study on women on outskirt islands, drawing a more diverse picture on interconnecting infrastructure outcomes and impact. Ironically, as the world shut down, I was stuck on an island that was not my own. However, these voices are still silenced, and a focus of future studies.

This dissertation is hopefully the beginning of a sustained interaction with Island Feminisms. It will be a long journey, but I am positive that one day my narrative, alongside any intersecting identities whose voices are silenced and marginalized, will be sound of the ocean that embraces my islands.

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