

UTPOST

2019



**DEN UTMÄRKANDE REVOLUTIONEN
STOKVELS - THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC SAVIOR
A GLIMPSE INTO MOLDOVA
SEX ÄR INGEN RÄTTIGHET
WE'RE NOT LIVING IN AMERICA, AND WE'RE NOT SORRY?**

UTRIKESPOLITISKA FÖRENINGEN UMEÅ

EDITOR'S NOTE

How can one even begin to describe 2019 in terms of international affairs? The President of the United States who recalled his troops from Syria despite massive critique. Turkey invading Syria. Instability in Venezuela. The civil war in Yemen. The ongoing protests in Hong Kong, Iran, and Bolivia, just to mention a few.

Sometimes, we need to understand the past in order to grasp the present. The importance of understanding history becomes clear when reading Isadora's article *Den utmärkande revolutionen* about the Iranian revolution and Helin's article *Stokvels - the South African economic savior*. The latter discusses oppressive structures, poverty and how informal financial systems can be the way out of poverty.

In the article *A Glimpse into Moldova* Artem, literally, gives the reader a glimpse into the current economic, social and political situation in Moldova. The article *Sex är ingen rättighet* discusses the Swedish Sex Purchase Act and alternatives to it from an international perspective.

The power of culture should never be underestimated. But what kind of culture do we meet in our everyday life? Can one talk about a cultural hegemony? Those questions are discussed by Sara in her text *We're not living in America, and we're not sorry?*.

As the editor, I'm very proud to present this year's edition of Utpost. I am thankful for the contributions from my incredible writers, whose articles together cover a wide spectrum of topics related to foreign affairs.

Raising awareness of foreign affairs is one of the main goals of UPF and Utpost: to stimulate thought and create discussion on how things are and how they could be.

My wish is that this magazine will affect you in some way, that it will teach you something you didn't already know, or that it will present something in a new light. I hope that it will create reflection about things that matter.

Take care,

Nellie Johansson



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DEN UTMÄRKANDE REVOLUTIONEN

TEXT:

ISADORA JAHANFAR THOLIN

I skrivande stund har de 82 miljoner invånare som bor i Iran precis fått tillbaka tillgången till internet som regeringen stängt av i över en veckas tid. Samtidigt har USA återinrättat ekonomiska sanktioner mot landet - sanktioner vars effekter slår mot den iranska befolkningen. I samband med ett beslut om en markant höjning av Irans bensinpriset har även våldsamma protester brutit ut i en majoritet av landets större städer.

Men det är inte första gången civilsamhället reagerar starkt på den islamiska regeringen. 2009 utbröt protester efter att valresultaten från presidentvalet presenterades. Händelserna kom senare att kallas 'den gröna revolutionen'. Demonstranterna menade att valet var riggat. Den gröna revolutionen väckte hopp om förändring hos många iranier som varit missnöjda med den politiska situationen i Iran - ett land som minst sagt haft en turbulent historia.

Tio år senare bryter protester ut igen.

För att förstå dagens stormiga situation i Iran kan det vara värdefullt att vända ett öga mot historien och mot det många skulle benämna som en vändpunkt i Irans historia: Den iranska revolutionen.

Det har gått 40 år sedan Mohammad Reza Shah, kung av Iran, störtades av det iranska folket. Ett tomrum som kunde fyllas av Ayatollah Khomeini, som varit i exil i 15 år.

Forskare världen över är fortfarande

förbluffade över att revolutionen 1979 i Iran faktiskt hände, för det var inte en revolution i den bemärkelsen västvärlden historiskt sett har definierat revolutioner. Den iranska revolutionen 1979 karaktäriseras inte av en stark motsättning mellan borgarklassen och arbetarklassen och det var inte heller en socialistisk revolution. Vad kan vi då säga att den iranska, eller islamiska revolutionen, var för slags revolution? Det går att urskilja tre utmärkande egenskaper hos den iranska revolutionen som gör den så otroligt fascinerande, än idag.

1. Världens mest populära revolution

Den iranska revolutionen är den hittills populäraste revolutionen. Men vad menas egentligen med det? Jo, det finns siffror som visar på att cirka 15 procent av Irans befolkning aktivt deltog i revolutionen. Att 15 procent demonstrerade på gator och torg och mobiliserade sig. Det må låta som en låg siffra, men jämfört med den franska revolutionen där uppskattningsvis 2-2,5 procent av befolkningen deltog och den ryska revolutionen där 1,5 procent av befolkningen spelade en aktiv roll kan man förstå att 15 procent av befolkningen är en stor andel. Den breda uppslutningen tvärs över olika politiska ideologier kan förklara det stora deltagandet.

2. Den första icke-våldsamma revolutionen

Ja, det är sant. Den iranska revolutionen var den första icke-våldsamma revolutionen. Men vad menas egentligen med det? När vi tänker på revolutioner kans-



ke många av oss tänker på gerillagrupper och militärkupper, eller giljotiner. Men den iranska revolutionen präglades inte av dessa element, även om det fanns gerillagrupper. Det som menas med 'den första icke-våldsamma revolutionen' är att man lyckades att störta Shahen av Iran med fredliga medel. Daniel Ritter, forskare inom politisk sociologi på Stockholms Universitet, definierar icke-våldsamma revolutioner som

'...a process of irregular, noninstitutionalized political and/or social transformation on the national level through organized or spontaneous mass mobilization where the accomplishment of revolutionary objectives does not depend on the use, or threat, of violence.'

Ritter menar att det främst är två faktorer som gjorde den iranska revolutionen till 'icke-våldsam'. Den första faktorn religion och den andra faktorn den internationella kontexten samt det fokus som låg vid mänskliga rättigheter. Amir Arjomand, en iransk-amerikansk sociolog, menar att den stora mängden av människor som deltog också bidrog till att staten hade svårt att rikta motsånd från demonstranterna. Revolutionen och revolutionärerna fanns överallt.

3. En oväntad vändning

Den tredje, och sista egenskapen, som den iranska revolutionen karaktäriserades av och som gör den unik är att det var en revolution som på många sätt resulterade i en motsatt riktning än vad många andra revolutioner tenderat att göra. Det finns många exempel från

historien där en revolution resulterar i ett mer sekulärt och liberalt samhälle. I den iranska revolutionen kan man påstå att det motsatta inträffade. De revolutionära krafterna kom till stor del från de konservativa prästerskapet där en återgång till det fundamentala islamistiska förespråkades, mycket som en reaktion på de liberala förändringar Mohammad Reza Pahlavi gjort under sin tid som shah av Iran. Man talar ofta om den iranska revolutionen i termer av en 'backlash' eller en motreaktion mot de liberala förändringar som ägde rum - en motreaktion mot 'den vita revolutionen' som de liberala förändringarna på 60- och 70-talet kom att kallas.

Säkerligen anade inte den stora delen av den iranska befolkningen som på slutet av 70-talet mobiliserade sig och stod upp mot Shahens auktoritära politik att Iran 40 år senare skulle vara styrd av en religiös elit där grundläggande mänskliga rättigheter kränks gång på gång.

Revolutionen som inte borde hänt?

Mycket kan sägas om den iranska revolutionen och de politiska implikationer den medfört. De paradoxala element som jag lyft skapar en förståelse för hur forskare än idag söker efter förklaringar till hur den kunde inträffa. Författaren av boken 'Revolutionary Iran', Michael Axworthy och forskaren Homa Katouzian, är överens om att revolutionen skulle kunna ha förhindrats om Shahen av Iran fattade beslut och implementerade andra policys. Det här är ett väldigt aktörsbaserat perspektiv som är värt att ifrågasätta, men som också bidrar med en intressant vinkel.



خیابان پانزدهم
بازار شهید



کوچه مسجد جامع
بازار بین الحرمین



کوچه معظم الدوله
پله نوروزخان



Idag lever ungefär två till fyra miljoner iranier utanför Iran, och många av dem flydde efter revolutionen. Landet som de en gång känt som sitt hemland finns idag till stora delar inte kvar på grund av revolutionens implikationer.

De demonstrationer som idag sker i Iran händer inte i ett historielöst vakuum. De har en långtgående historia präglad av paradoxala element. Många iranier hoppas, i och med de pågående demonstrationerna, på en mer radikal förändring av det iranska samhället - och den här gången kommer inte protesterna från prästerskapet.





STOKVELS - THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMIC SAVIOUR

TEXT & PICTURES:

HELIN BÄCKMAN KARTAL

Ending poverty, in all its forms and everywhere, is set as the number one goal in the First World Agenda targeting to reduce this complex challenge by the year of 2030. Poverty is a complicated phenomenon that is experienced by many parts of the world and is caused by a myriad of multifaceted factors such as global economic systems, socioeconomic structures of developing countries, social inequalities and vulnerabilities that tend to perpetuate social injustice. The magnitude of its severity differs from country to country, however, its effects affect the wellbeing and quality of life of humankind. South Africa is a country that has faced the challenge of reducing its poverty rates during many years. Attempts have been made on different societal levels in both formal and informal ways to try to gain as good results as possible. Though a quite complex current challenge is for these formal and informal initiatives to meet halfway.

Due to the legacy of the forty-six year long apartheid era, South Africa is still experiencing social and institutional tensions because of poverty, which is one of the many remains of apartheid. The country has commendably tried to enforce poverty alleviations post 1994, when the racially separated legal system permeated society. Still, the transformation of poverty into wealth creation and economic freedom is still a challenge in South Africa. According to the World Bank, South Africa is still the most inequalitarian country in the world in terms of both income and wealth.

In 1994 the majority of the population of South Africa dismissed the norms of racial separation, racial hierarchy and white superiority. At that time there was a big wave of a new way of thinking striking the country. The drastic changes brought new freedoms, rights and opportunities for political participation for black South Africans. The born frees, the young people who have spent most of their high school years in a pro-democracy curriculum, faced a society of no official rules of whom they are allowed to marry, where to walk or where to work.

In 1997, through several reforms, the government brought housing, access to water and health clinics to millions of poor people, which was some of the contributing factors to a fast-growing black middle class. Though, the democratization process also came with new issues to solve, since the new society needed to handle the issues linked to the former way of living.

The generation that experienced the apartheid period are in many ways perceived as the “lost generation” due to the lack of education when being denied access to schools, colleges and universities. The governmental water, household, health, and social security improvements might have improved the surrounding environment of poor households, but it did not necessarily improve the situation for rural poor households in the sense that they got empowered to rise their own living standards.



Microfinance is also a concept that has played a role in empowering poor households. The concept is all about providing people who are too poor to access general services from traditional banks with seminal services. This concept is not seen as a miracle on its own, though it has clearly shown a reduction of vulnerability by strengthening social security, food security and the ability to pay for basic goods. Though, research shows that the combination of these two areas, the microfinance concept and the above mentioned governmental improvements, has shown to rise the potential of severe improvements of rural households.

In relation to the fall of apartheid and the rise of the idea of a microcredit mo-

del, which is systems being used within microfinance institutions, the international development community wanted to establish a certain way of thinking in South Africa to empower the South African citizens. Due to the problem that the poor people are too poor to be able to get a loan from a regular bank, hopes spread that this system would bring jobs, reduce poverty and empower the people as a whole. Though that never became the case, since more and more people took loans they could not pay back, and the gaps between rich and poor people grew. Rich constituting the ability to not have to take loans for everyday needs.

High levels of inequality and corruption among the leaders have enforced

people to find ways to circumvent the formal institutions. Hence, the use of alternative lending systems has increased in poorer regions of the country. For example systems like loan sharks, micro loans and different types of savings clubs have increased. Though the concept has existed for centuries, there has been an uprise of the traditional Rotating Savings and Credit Associations (ROSCAs), which also is known as stokvels in South Africa. These associations consist of voluntary members who meet regularly and where each person makes an economic contribution to a common pot. Each and every one of the members benefit from the dividends, which often happens at the end of the year. It exists several different kinds of stokvels, each with a different purpose.

Stokvels are informal socio-economic institutions that have contributed to an opportunity to get access to credit and encouraged savings in a sense that poor people can afford, and it has a cultural importance for many. In South Africa, about twenty-three percent of the whole population are members of a stokvel, and it is estimated that it exists more than 800 000 different stokvels. Research shows that the existence of stokvels has played an important role in creating access to financial systems for poor households in a small-scale and sustainable way. Some researchers argue that stokvels should gain national support since it is an important mechanism for financial inclusion of poor households.







However, tension arises from the conflict between the operations of stokvels and the expectations of the government. There is work in progress from the government to limit and possibly ban these informal financial networks since they are considered to be retrogressive and contribute to open a window for money laundering. The attempts to remake these informal institutions to formal ones is also made by local entrepreneurs, which has resulted in organizations like the National Stokvel Association of South Africa (NASASA). To exemplify, NASASA purports to be an organization that is a national attempt to organize and represent the stokvel sector in South African society. The founder Andrew Lukhele explains that one of the basic reasons for the organization's' foundation was that the practice of stokvels was seen as illegal according to The Banks Act. To briefly explain this, all deposit-taking institutions need a banking license and act through it to act legally on the market, which most of all stokvels do not have. NASASA was thus founded to represent and legalize the existence of stokvels, and they are now approved as an association that stokvels do not need more than to register with in order to operate in the market. Registration is free of charge, and one of the main thoughts for NASASA is to represent the stokvel members on a corporate and governmental level to try creating better conditions for the operation of stokvels. Lukhele subsequently reports that NASASA aims to ensure that all of the country's residents have the opportunity to reach financial services. He also argues that the entire population is encouraged to be included in the formal

economy, which is particularly important for those with low, or none, income. In that sense the government will have a better possibility to keep track of members, contributions and so on.

The uprise and growth of stokvels, and the uprise of these organizations, create a hidden conflict of social ideas. The clash that happens is that people who are involved in stokvels need to face organizations that want to earn money on their behalf, which comes in conflict with the foundational ideas of the existence of stokvels. Stokvels is all about cutting the middle man, to benefit the group of people who is engaged and not someone else. The attempt to formalize the informal systems might diminish the positive effects that stokvels have in an economic sense for poor households.

In an interview study there is a discussion regarding the assumption that poor people might want to borrow money from the formal sector, but that they rather are forced to borrow from the informal sector against their will. Though, the interviewees had expressed that the problem is not about that, the people rather choose to distance themselves from the banks and to fully engage in the informal economic life. The fact that people are not seen as credit worthy from the banks was rather perceived as the banks being narrow-minded. The people would rather choose the possibility to set their own terms, their own interest rates, and getting the possibility to negotiate, instead of engaging with an economic body that only looks in one predetermined direction.

A potential problem that might be causing a clash of ideas is one of the foundational reasons why NASASA was created. The founder Lukhele motivates the existence of the organization with that nowadays, according to the Banks Act, it is illegal to operate as a stokvel without being a member of this particular organization. This way of forcing the informal systems in being a part of the formal system can be a dangerous step from the governmental side. Many have expressed a strong skepticism against formalizing the stokvel systems, and it is a possibility that this can ruin the whole empowering purpose that NASASA purports itself to have.





A GLIMPSE INTO MOLDOVA

TEXT & PICTURES:

ARTEM ANGELCHEV SHIRYAEV

The country with perhaps the most underreported and unacknowledged fundamental democratic issues in Europe is the post-soviet country of Moldova. Moldova has always faced challenges - struggling with corruption at every step of the way in the pursuit of a more prosperous democratic society. The Moldavian society is polarized by the question of where to expand its relations - east or west, thus fuelling a tense political climate. This concise article will try to highlight the societal unrest and turmoil brought upon the country in a contemporary way.

The Moldovan people have not had an easy transition since the Soviet Union dissolved and the country regained their independence in 1991. Prior to the dissolution, Moldova was one of the more developed regions in the Soviet Union and had a rather high standard of living. The fall of the Soviet Union resulted in mass unemployment, economic instability and a deeply corrupt society. A breakaway state supported by Russia emerged. All of these issues are still prominent today and have not been solved.

The current GDP of Moldova is \$8 billion and the average salary is \$235 a month with pensions ranging between as low as \$65 to \$90. Living conditions are generally very poor. In order to survive, many families are forced, to a certain extent, to farm their own crops and livestock. Bigger cities endure higher standards of living - yet they still face struggles to make ends meet.

Most youth move in order to attain a higher standard of living. Either they move to Russia, particularly to Moscow, or to European countries such as Italy, Romania or Greece, usually sending back parts of their wages to their families in Moldova. It's estimated that more than 25% of Moldova's GDP is due to remittances from abroad, and approximately 40% of the population work outside of Moldova.

Keeping these facts in mind will provide a more realistic perception of the impact caused by the following financial scandal. A scandal that is still sending shockwaves throughout the society.

In 2014 the three biggest banks in Moldova were defrauded of \$1 billion (12% of GDP at the time) primarily by Ilan Shor, a Moldovan businessman, by a series of advanced scheme for loans, money laundering and corruption. Where the essence of the scheme was to receive as much financing as possible without the intention of conducting real business. Essentially taking all of the deposits in the three banks, without the intent of repaying any of it and simply declaring bankruptcy when banks demanded their funds back.

This was done through a series of steps. Ilan Shor's personal company group, which consisted of 77 subsidiaries, were playing a key part of receiving the fund and transferring it forward through Hong Kong, United Kingdom and later into other tax havens - where the owners are anonymous, which makes it practically impossible to retrieve the funds or

locate them. This eventually led to the bankruptcy for the banks.

When the news of the embezzlement and corruption finally broke, the issues were proved to be just the tip of the iceberg. Keeping in mind these news were presented weeks before the parliamentary elections were to take place. At the time, it was still unclear what had happened: voters were uninformed, and societal turmoil erupted when the current Prime Minister Lurie Leanca, secretly bailed out the bank's bankruptcy, which created a deficit of 12,5% in the public finances.

Physical bank files, that provided evidence of transfers, were mysteriously in-

tercepted by robbers while being transported to the National Anti-Corruption agency. These bank files were shredded and burned. Later it was shown that the company transporting the files was owned by Ilan Shor, which resulted in him being arrested in 2015 by the National Anti-Corruption agency. Shor was later released and put into house arrest due to him cooperating with the agency.

Quickly investigations started, resulting in arrests and even quicker releases. As it turns out, not only were the bank managers taking bribes, but also politicians, judges (who were installed by the same politicians) and other businessmen. Conveniently enough, the politicians whom are members of parliament,





and therefore have immunity, cannot be prosecuted while in office, unless stripped of the privilege. Which has been practically impossible until the 2019 elections - five years after the scandal first broke.

Since the Moldavian people were fed up with criminals striving for power, after the 2019 elections and several months of difficult parliamentary negotiations, a new coalition was established under Prime Minister Maia Sandu in order to focus on the battle of corruption that had plagued the country. The coalition was supported by both pro-EU bloc ACUM and pro-Russia Socialists. Aiming to provide the means for the prosecutors to do their jobs, according to the law without interference from the

political scene. Promising to hunt down the criminals and return the stolen money.

However, the Sandu cabinet collapsed when it was ousted in a motion of no confidence in the Parliament, November 12th 2019. Sandu proposed a “short list” of candidates for the Prosecutor General’s position, a way of appointing her own prosecutors and it was interpreted as a way of “legally” pursuing her political opposition and rivals.

As of right now, Ion Chicu is the Prime minister without a cabinet and it’s yet to see what kind of agenda that will be pursued. However, one thing is certain, the political will to end corruption is more than present. With more than 60% vo-

ting against the Sandu cabinet, in the vote of no confidence, to stop possible corruption. It is believed that Chicu will try to fight corruption as his primary goal and negotiate with the rest of the parties to secure required legislation.

All while this is happening, the Moldovan people are proceeding to move out of the country, to search for a better life elsewhere. Previously populated villages are turning into ghost towns. Ruins of the former Soviet Union can be spotted at every corner, 30 years after its fall. Roads are deteriorating, with potholes along each one. These factors result in falling trust for societal institutions as a whole and the remaining population is generally older seniors who still remem-

ber the “good times” during the Soviet rule.

So, what is in store for Moldova’s future? How will the obvious corruption within the society decrease, and how will Moldova position itself in relation to Russia, the EU and USA? Most importantly the people wish to see the improvement of quality of life for so many living in poverty. As well as solving the obvious issue of emigration from the country, which will also have a longstanding effect on the society long term.

So many wishes for improvement. Hopefully, the elected cabinet will be able to tackle all of these fundamental but challenging issues.







SEX ÄR INGEN RÄTTIGHET

TEXT:

NELLIE JOHANSSON



Den svenska kriminaliseringen av sexköp är under ständig debatt. Den svenska sexköpslagen kriminaliserar de som köper sex, utan att kriminalisera de som erbjuder sex mot ersättning. Kriminalisering av sexköp flyttar fokus från de i prostitution till de som köper sexuella tjänster - vilket innebär att distinktionen mellan ofrivillig prostitution och frivillig prostitution blir irrelevant. Lagstiftningen bygger i stora drag på ett antagande: att det är efterfrågan på sexuella tjänster som leder till prostitution. Utan efterfrågan, så inget utbud.

Under hösten 2019 presenterade RFSL, Riksförbundet för homosexuella, bisexuella, transpersoners och queeras rättigheter, att de vill avkriminalisera sexköp både i Sverige och internationellt. Ett ställningstagande som inte gick

obemärkt förbi och åter satte diskussionen kring kriminaliseringen av sexköp på agendan.

RFSL är långt ifrån ensamma om att vilja avskaffa lagar som kriminaliserar sexköp, även stora människorättsorganisationer som Amnesty International och Human Rights Watch förespråkar en avkriminalisering av sexköp.

Men vad finns det då för alternativ till en lagstiftning som kriminaliserar sexköp? Ur ett internationellt perspektiv finns det en rad olika modeller. I Nya Zeeland tillämpas en så kallad avkriminaliseringsmodell där varken den som säljer eller köper sex är kriminaliserad. I en sådan modell finns ingen lagstiftning som kriminaliserar eller gör det straffbart att köpa sex mot ersättning - under förutsättningen att det sker under frivil-



liga former från båda parter.

Avkriminaliseringen i Nya Zeeland har kompletterats med lagar som ska skydda den i prostitution på olika sätt. Man har exempelvis infört rätten till a-kassa från den dag den i prostitution slutar att sälja sex mot ersättning. Den grundläggande tanken är mer eller mindre att en sådan modell ska främja arbetsrättsliga villkor och säkerhet för den i prostitution. En förutsättningen för en modell likt den som tillämpas i Nya Zeeland är att resurser läggs på mjuka styrmedel - alltså på omfattande sociala insatser.

I Tyskland tillämpas en så kallad legaliseringsmodell där varken den som säljer eller köper en sexuell tjänst är kriminaliserad. I en sådan modell måste däremot vissa strikta krav vara uppfyllda för att det ska vara tillåtet att erbjuda sex mot ersättning. En legalisering av sex mot ersättning innebär således en reglering av staten. Kraven som ställs kan tänkas slå mot redan utsatta grupper, mot individer som har svårt att uppfylla kraven som ställs och därför fortsätter att kriminaliseras.


Vad finns det för likheter och skillnader mellan en kriminalisering av sexköp, en avkriminaliseringsmodell och en legaliseringsmodell? Till att börja med följer det olika normativa och språkliga begränsningar av de olika modellerna. I en kriminaliserande lagstiftning blir det exempelvis inte tänkbart att se prostitution som ett legitimt arbete eftersom kunderna är kriminaliserade. I en avkriminaliseringsmodell, likt den som tillämpas i Nya Zeeland, går det å

andra sidan att anlägga en syn på prostitution som ett arbete. Av detta följer även en terminologi där det blir möjligt att uttrycka sig i termer av sexarbetare. Att benämna de i prostitution som just sexarbetare är på sätt och vis ett ställningstagande i sig. Inte minst kan man ställa sig frågan kring huruvida man bidrar till att en vidare normalisering av sexköp genom att klassificera prostitution som ett arbete och de i prostitution som sexarbetare.

Terminologin blir åter relevant när det kommer till arbetsrättsliga villkor och möjligheterna till organisering i arbetstagarorganisationer. Parterna i fackliga konflikter består av arbetstagare och arbetsgivare. Med arbetsrättsliga villkor följer skyldigheter mot en arbetsgivare. I sammanhanget kan arbetsgivare innebära en hallick eller en konstellation i en liknande form. En arbetsgivare som utmärker sig genom att göra vinst på människors kroppar.

Oberoende av modell, oavsett vilken åsikts man har, tycks ett huvudsakligt problem kvarstå: att säkerställa säkerheten för de i prostitution. Hur kan man stärka villkoren för de som säljer sex mot ersättning, och viktigast av allt: hur ska man tillgodose dessa människors tillgång till sina egna mänskliga rättigheter? De olika modellerna presenterar olika angreppssätt för att tillgodose denna säkerhet. Men vems säkerhet är det egentligen som prioriteras i de olika modellerna? En kritik som kan riktas mot ett förbud av sexköp är att det kan leda till att de i prostitution tvingas till att förbi sin egen säkerhet för att tillgo-





dose sexköparnas säkerhet. Det finns även studier som visar på ett samband med kriminaliserande lagstiftning och en rädsla för att söka hjälp hos exempelvis socialtjänst och polis. Frågan blir således om en kriminalisering av sexköp kan resultera i att livet för de i prostitution blir ännu mer otrött.

I slutändan handlar det om att olika länder har skilda förutsättningar för att tillämpa olika modeller, policyer och lagar. Kontext spelar roll, men det gör även problemformuleringen: hur problemet formuleras och vilka antaganden om verkligheten som ligger till

grund för hur problemet framställs. Det är av vikt att en jämställdhets- och rättighetsträvan återfinns i problemformuleringen, och det har betydelse huruvida denna strävan återspeglas i lösningarna som presenteras.

Oavsett hur man ställer sig i frågan kring en kriminalisering av sexköp bör man ha följande i åtanke: det rör sig om människor och det rör sig om rättigheter.

Sex är ingen rättighet, men rätten till sin egen kropp är det.



WE'RE NOT LIVING IN AMERICA, AND WE'RE NOT SORRY?

TEXT:

SARA ANDERSSON

Den här krönikan ska handla om hur jag blev radikaliserad på youtube. Innan du sätter kaffet i vrångstruppen: - Nej, jag har inte gått och blivit IS-anhängare. Jag har blivit amerikaniserad, något som kanske ter sig mildt i jämförelse till hur brutal en radikalisering kan vara.

Det tog ett tag att inse det, men jag har fastnat i youtubes algoritmer. Det började med John Olivers "Last week tonight", en lättsam politisk samhällssatir med tydlig kritik mot Donald Trump, konservatismen och protektionismen. Ett klipp, sen ett till. De är fiffiga på youtube, helt plötsligt dyker det upp en massa klipp med liknande innehåll. Numera tittar jag inte bara på John Oliver, utan även Stephen Colbert, Seth Meyers och Trevor Noah förekommer allt mer frekvent i mitt flöde. Hela jag blir allt mer amerikaniserad.

Jag har aldrig satt min fot på amerikansk mark, men ändå känns det nästan som att jag är en del av USA. Sedan barnsben har jag blivit influerad av allt som är amerikanskt, och på senare tid har jag landat i den obekväma insikten att jag har bättre koll på den dagsaktuella politiken i USA än på den svenska. För att inte tala om hur extremt bristande mina kunskaper är när det kommer till aktuella samhällsfrågor i våra grannländer. Danskar är väl mer eller mindre bara rasister som sysslar med undermålig djurhållning och som frodas under liberala alkohollagar?

Jag är omsluten av amerikansk populärkultur: jag slänger mig med engelska ord och uttryck och lyssnar på flera podcasts om amerikansk politik. Samtidigt så har jag börjat känna en viss avsmak. Har vi fallit offer för en ny våg av kulturimperialism? Vid första anblicken känns frågan melodramatisk, kanske rent utav lite vulgär. Det låter ju som något som en nationalist skulle säga. Men ju mer jag tänker på det, desto tydligare blir det: i och med internets intåg i våra liv

ligger bokstavigt talat en hel värld av information, kultur och underhållning framför våra fötter.

Trots att denna uppsjö av kultur och information finns tillgänglig för alla med en internetuppkoppling är det till allra största del den amerikanska som når fram. Som en naturlig följd av det formas och byggs våra världsbilder utefter den amerikanska, och andra perspektiv får stryka på foten. Propagandakrigen och kulturimperialismen från Kalla krigets dagar lever kvar, om än i en annan form. Internetjättarnas algoritmer har styrt oss in i en amerikansk kulturhegemoni, som till skillnad från tidigare decenniers kulturella imperialism ligger nästintill helt utanför statens kontroll. Den informella makten över kulturen har slagit rot hos ett fåtal mäktiga företag.

Ju mer jag tänker på det, desto djupare verkar det amerikanska inflydet har rotat sig i vårt medvetande. Det har blivit en norm och något som vi inte reflekterar över eller ifrågasätter, men kanske har vi ändå nått en brytpunkt? Det är lördagkväll i Umeå, det är oktober 2019 och temperaturen letar sig ner förbi nollan. De första snöflingorna faller på cykelturen ner till stan. Jag och ett gäng vänner befinner oss på ett kokande dansgolv och tillsammans skriksjunger vi ut textraderna till we're not living in america med en extra emfas på strofen "and we're not sorry". Helt plötsligt känns det helt rätt och sant. På klubbens vägg står det "fuck america" och det kan inte kännas mer som att det ligger rätt i tiden: känslan av avsmak inför USA är tillbaka.

Kanske är det lika bra att bara logga ut, säga peace out till USA och öppna kurslitteraturen istället?

A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear members of Umeå Association of International Affairs,

A new decennium is around the corner which means another year with new challenges, possibilities and expectations. But first, let's go through what happened in the second half of 2019.

The protests in Hong Kong have, since its beginning in March, been a hot political topic worldwide. "Hong Kong: Protests and Democracy" was our first lecture. We invited Johan Englund, an analyst specialized in Chinese relations, from the Swedish Defense Research Agency. Johan presented the situation from a historical and futuristic outlook. In order to give our members a wider perspective on the situation in Hong Kong we also invited the Chinese Embassy to have a lecture from their point of view.

Our successful concept of Afternoon Tea has continued to engage more members. During one Afternoon Tea, one of our members held a presentation about Fridays for Future and Extinction Rebellion. After an increasing demand for continuing on the topic of

climate change we invited Krister Holm, head of communication at The Swedish Committee for Afghanistan. He held a lecture about the climate situation in Afghanistan.

The rising trends of extremism internationally sparked an idea of organizing and educating ourselves upon the topic. Thus, we invited Philip Schlaffer, a former far-right extremist from Germany, who now actively works with young people to prevent extremism. He held two lectures on the topic, which were organized and made possible by cooperating with the Political Science department, Student Union and Folkuniversitetet.



In November we had our long-awaited trip to Kiev, Ukraine. Our first student visit was a full day excursion at the Chernobyl exclusion zone which included the newly placed sarcophagus on reactor 4 and the ghost city Pripjat. Our second visit was at the organization "Stop Fake" which was founded in 2014 by Ukrainian students and professors to counteract and fact-check Russian propaganda and fake news. Later we also visited the Swedish Embassy in Ukraine in order to get an inside look into their work. Back home

in Umeå, the trip was finalized with a long interview in P4 Västerbotten.

Our mother organization Swedish Association of International Affairs (SAIA) finally had its annual election meeting here in Umeå, which was highly appreciated. As the host association, we organized an extraordinary winter party which was an enjoyable experience for both our board and our members. The semester ended, as tradition, with a Human Rights Week, which we arranged together with other local organizations. As the president, I am very proud and thankful for being part of this organization and I hope that everyone apprecia-

tes the work that we have done and will continue to do. It feels like we all have grown, together with our members, both as individuals and as a board. Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge everyone that supports UPF!

I am looking forward to what next year will bring us.

Linnea Sterlinger Agerstig



GET INVOLVED IN UTRIKESPOLITISKA FÖRENINGEN

WE ARE ALWAYS LOOKING FOR PEOPLE INTERESTED IN JOINING OUR
DIFFERENT COMMITTEES, BRING YOUR SKILLS AND IDEAS AND
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