

social discourses on ‘good’ nutrition, health, ecology etc. The attention to the “daily life that people lead”<sup>43</sup> (Kudera/Voß 2000) highlights the potential for action as well as for inhibition within a combination of various constraints that take effect through the interplay of different areas of everyday life. The analytical sensitivity for the interviewees’ specific, practicable prioritizations aims at an understanding that considers those aspects of the polysemic concept of sustainability that are relevant to daily eating practices and reveals food-related modes of governmental reflexivity in border regions.

### 5.3 GENDER SPACES

*Julia Maria Zimmermann and Christel Baltes-Löhr*

Gender-specific attribution and appropriation of spaces is traditionally seen as constituted along binary lines: the man is assigned the exterior space, the public sphere of work and economy, but also the geographical space, and foreign realms. The woman’s domain, by contrast, is the interior space, the private sphere at home or else the virtual space of relationships (see Wucherpfennig 2010). Both sexes appropriate the spaces attributed to them. In processes such as these, both the subject and the spatialized materiality is transformed. This creates genderized ‘regions’ in the subjects’ living environment as well as spatialized subjects of a gender discourse.

Within a pluridimensional concept of identity in which identity markers are seen as intersectional, we define ‘gender’ as a social construction that manifests itself in its dimensions as a physical, psychological, social and sexual disposition and is considered to be modifiable as well as plural (see Baltes-Löhr 2014). The actors are actively and discursively involved in the construction process and find themselves in an interdependent relationship of attribution and appropriation.<sup>44</sup> In much the same way that we have defined gender, we posit an understanding of ‘space’ that defines space as a materiality (physical space), as a social space, as an abstract, virtual or experienced space (see also section 2.2). Space, too, is considered to be modifiable and plural.

In this case study, we will examine the attributions actors use to create spaces through discursive-performative acts, the spaces appropriated thus and the effects that attribution and appropriation processes in turn have on subjects.

While the boundary between the genderized spaces is also permeable to some degree (see Baltes-Löhr 2000: 515), it nevertheless has an unmistakable reality. Thus the interviews conducted in the context of the present case study (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – qualitative survey) show significant gender-

**43** | Personal translation of: “alltägliche Lebensführung.”

**44** | When in the following we speak of ‘women’ and ‘men’, it should be understood that we are referring to representatives of subject forms and not to pre-social ‘natural’ entities.

specific connotations with regard to attribution and appropriation of spaces, as well as in the relation between interior and exterior space. Even so, the empirical results also indicate a heterosocial interstice, a 'border region' which is attributed to both women and men. With the help of the gathered quantitative data (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey) we will therefore examine whether gender-specific attributions and connotations can be deduced from public spaces. The selected spaces, eating and drinking places, places of physical exercise and open-air places are marked by complex and partly ambivalent materializations of a spatialized gender discourse. The study clearly shows that public spaces are for the most part attributed heterosocially, i.e. cannot be construed as being either specifically female or male regarding the presence of one gender. There is nevertheless a subliminal genderization at work indicating that certain spaces tend to be perceived as 'predominantly male' and others as 'predominantly female', and that gender-specific norms of behaviour and perception are connected to them. In a further step we will, proceeding from the evaluation of qualitative interviews, analyse the construction of genderized interior and exterior spaces in terms of their attribution of responsibility and competence (interior space) as well as the threat they constitute (exterior space). What becomes clear here is that the domestic interior space is connoted as mostly female and defined by women. What also becomes clear is that there is a tendency for the exterior space to exclude women under certain conditions, e.g. depending on the time of day, or on the way women move around in the exterior space, i.e. excluding them by turning it into a potentially dangerous space that can offer them no safety whatsoever. In this instance, diagnosing public spaces as heterosocial stands, to a certain degree, on shaky ground in terms of quality. As a result, the conclusion of this paper reaches contradictory findings suggesting that the binary division of space for the sexes has in part become muddled and disrupted. This disruption can, however, be interpreted politically as a gender-neutral liminal space by a situative deconstruction of the subject form of 'gender'.

### 5.3.1 Genderized Spaces

Using standardized questionnaires, we established which spaces respondents think are frequented predominantly by men and which predominantly by women or by both gender groups in equal measure. The specified spaces constitute exclusively public spaces that according to Wucherpfennig (2010) belong to the category of the male-connoted exterior space, while women tend to be associated with the interior space involving the raising of children, reproduction of sociability and maintaining one's personal network. In the following, we will examine in how far these materializations of a bi-spatial gender discourse apply.

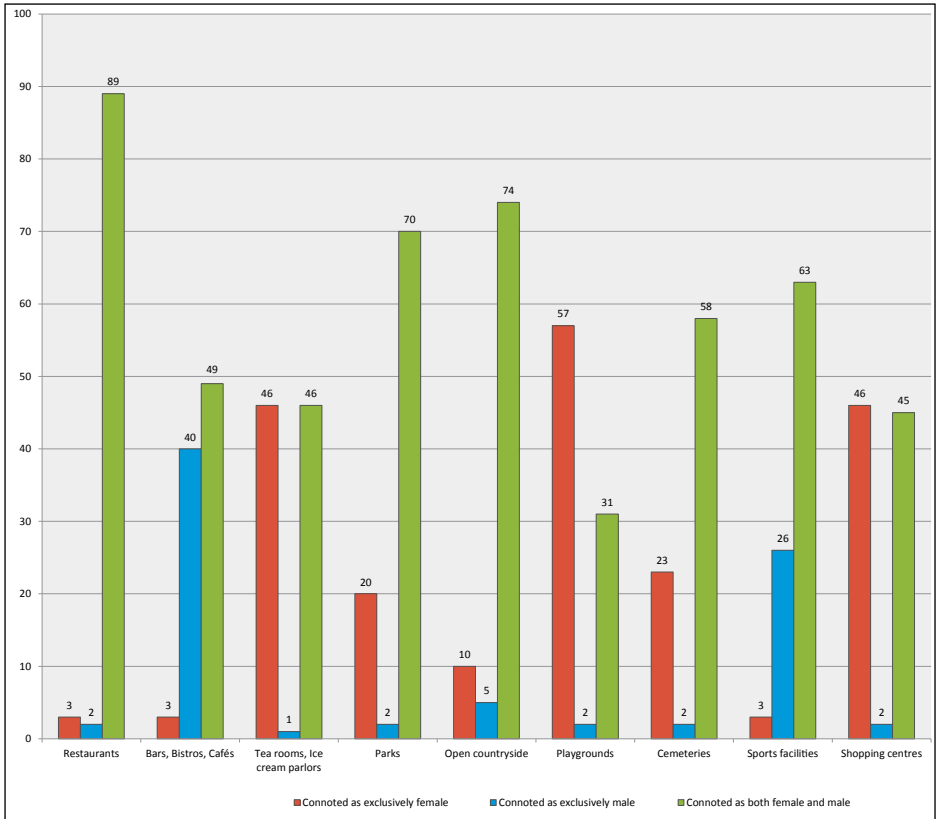


Figure 1: Gender-specific attributions of public spaces in percent (University of Luxembourg, IDENT2 2012/2013 – quantitative survey)

**Places of Public ‘Reproduction’<sup>45</sup>:  
Places of Personal Network Maintenance**

Restaurants, bars/bistros/cafés as well as tea-rooms/ice cream parlours<sup>46</sup> are establishments that provide restoration. But since these are in the public space and are only devoted to the consumption of food – the actual reproductive work, the preparation of the dishes, is as a rule invisible in these spaces – their original significance, and with it their respective genderized connotation, has broadened.

**45** | The term refers to the private reproduction of the individualized domestic management attributed in modern times to the female sphere.

**46** | The original German word here is *Konditorei*, a pastry shop where one can buy cake and pastry to take away or enjoy on the premises with coffee or tea. There is no direct equivalent in English, but ‘tea room’ is close enough, particularly in its function as a social place for predominantly female customers.

As Fig. 1 shows, restaurants are generally regarded as heterosocial places, while cafés, bars and bistros as well as tea rooms and ice cream parlors are connoted almost equally frequently as typically male or female spaces and as heterosocial spaces. These results can be explained with the fact that the mentioned spaces as a rule are not frequented by hungry individuals but specifically by groups and thus also serve personal networking purposes. Here we can distinguish three different gendered forms of personal networking: the afternoon coffee klatsch with cake is considered a traditional space of female homosociality (see Setzwein 2006: 46f.) and its publicly accessible equivalent are tea rooms and ice cream parlors. The network maintained here is of a private nature. The traditional space of specifically male homosociality is the bar, which is, however, frequented in the evenings. Bistros and cafés can also become places of male networking, but usually have a work-related connotation and are typically frequented during business hours. Thus the time of day also determines whether spaces are connoted as male, as female, or as in the following case, heterosocially. Because even though the evening visit to the restaurant is also used for maintaining one's professional network, it is generally more about cultivating private, mixed-gender contacts. According to the now outdated code of etiquette, in the evening women leave the interior space only in male company (see Schrott 2005). This applies particularly to the visit to the restaurant which thereby becomes both a 'male', because public, but also a 'female', because private, space (of social relations).

### **Nature: Domesticated and Wild Spaces**

The questionnaires enquired about four open-air spaces: open countryside, parks, childrens' playgrounds and cemeteries. These are spaces that treat nature in different ways. Open countryside is a space where at the moment no discernible cultivation is taking place, which is therefore apparently little touched by human civilization. Parks by contrast are an example of domesticated, organized nature without being assigned a specific function. Childrens' playgrounds and cemeteries, on the other hand, show a clear functionalization: the systematic reshaping of nature here serves the aim of creating a specific social space. The childrens' playground is a space devoted to care work, and the cemetery too symbolically serves the purpose of maintaining family relationships which are renewed or confirmed by tending the graves of deceased loved ones. According to Würzbach (2004: 54), both spaces are connoted as female, while the park, depending on its use, can be connoted as both male and female. The open countryside symbolizes 'foreign lands', to be conquered by male pioneers and unfit to be entered by women (see *ibid.*). From this, one can conclude that in the gender-specific topography women occupy the more *cultivated* spaces and merely interact with domesticated, *socialized* nature.<sup>47</sup>

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**47** | Another example for this is horticulture, in particular the flower garden by the house. But Würzbach (2004: 54) defines the house implicitly as a 'natural' space, in contrast to the civilized and civilizing public space.

Our results permit us to partly question the suggested categorizations. For the interviewees, the open countryside is more of a gender-neutral place, as are parks. Childrens' playgrounds are seen, unsurprisingly, as chiefly female, but also heterosocial spaces. Cemeteries are regarded as a heterosocial space with a tendency towards female connotation (see Fig. 1).

### **Corporalities: Working on Oneself**

The body of the subject is both a constituent part of the space, a medium of appropriation of space as well as something appropriated and reshaped by spaces (see Wastl-Walter 2010: 68ff.; Strüver 2010). With regard to gender, working on one's bodily self is inextricably connected with the (im)possibility of appropriation of space. While the exercise of the male body is aimed at strength, stamina, speed – in short, at all those characteristics of the body which allow it to appropriate as large a space as possible – precisely the opposite is the case with the female body: it is supposed to be 'beautiful', attractive to the eye of the male beholder, not necessarily strong. The female body is the adornment of the interior space, not the instrument of the exterior space. The physical component of gender-specific subjectification is suggested in the questionnaire when dealing with sports facilities and shopping centres: sports facilities as spaces for exercising the body with the aim to optimize it in its functionality can be interpreted as male-connoted spaces, shopping centres with their clothes and shoe shops, perfume and jewellery departments, by contrast, as places of aestheticization of the body and thus as female-connoted spaces. Kerstin Dorhöfer (2000) furthermore suggests interpreting shopping centres as semi-public spaces of transition that have offered women since the 19th century access to spaces outside the private sphere, without doing anything to bringing about a change to their exclusion from the political-industrial city. They therefore find themselves beyond the interior space without however creating a liminal space in the sense of opening up gender-specific spheres. According to our findings these statements need to be differentiated (see Fig. 1): sport facilities are regarded by the interviewees as heterosocial spaces, even though with a strong male connotation. Shopping centres by contrast are seen in equal parts as female and heterosocial spaces: similar to bars/bistros/cafés and tearooms/ice cream parlors, contradictory discourses seem to overlap here.

The evaluation of the quantitative data shows that the discursive classification of public spaces along traditional gender patterns is paradoxically something that seems to exist and not exist at the same time. On the one hand, most of the respondents make no gender-specific distinction in the attribution of public spaces. Nevertheless we can find, besides the heterosocial interpretation by the majority, partly significant gender-specific attributions. What we also see is that spaces are significantly less frequently classified as male than as female (see Fig. 1). The public space, thus the conclusion of the evaluation, is no longer male, as in the traditional spatial order of the sexes. It is primarily heterosocial, with a tendency towards feminization. However, even though the evidence provided by the data is

unambiguous, this conclusion should be treated with caution. Social geographers have suggested that in the course of the 20th century there has been a change in the function of public spaces and that in particular the downtown area has acquired an increasing significance as a privatized space of consumption, while the power centres of the state and the economy have been withdrawing from the city centres to segregated areas (see Friedrich 2010: 64). Even though this change of urban function did not necessarily have any consequences for gender-specific subject construction, women could thus become the typical users of urban space. However, female connotations have by no means displaced the male connotations of public space, but in the majority of cases have merely joined the existing ones. One can assume that the respondents based their answers on their own experiences and simply perceived women more vividly even while the sexes were possibly present in equal measure. The higher visibility of women would then not necessarily be due to a female appropriation of the space but to an irritating and therefore conspicuous deviation from the familiar norm. Finally, the quantitative evaluation of a space does not reveal anything about its qualitative interpretation. In order to decide whether and how spaces are constituted in a genderized way, it is therefore necessary to also include the results from the qualitative interviews.

### 5.3.2 My Home is my Castle – Female Responsibilities and Competences in Interior Spaces

The attribution of responsibilities of the domestic interior space – particularly the care activities – is defined by the respondents predominantly as female-connoted. The responsibility and competence of women is hardly ever questioned, but also not specifically brought up. In the qualitative interviews, the actual distribution of roles among the heterosexual couples frequently tends to be mentioned *en passant*. In this way groceries done by the woman turns into a ‘professional’ activity: “Hmm, my wife sometimes drives all the way to Trier to do the professional groceries”, whereas her real job as a teacher is ironized as a trip into the exterior space: “My wife played the teacher for a few years at the school here”<sup>48</sup> (male, 77, German Luxembourg, Luxembourg).

The following example reveals a strategy of changing the grammatical subject in the course of the conversation, something that can be observed repeatedly in the interviews. Actual responsibilities in the interior or exterior space are concealed by using a “we”, suggesting a commonality instead of the actual distribution of tasks. It is more coincidentally, in another context, that the separation of roles is ‘confessed’:

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**48** | Personal translation of: “Hmm, meine Frau fährt schon mal extra nach Trier, um den Berufseinkauf zu machen [...]”, “Meine Frau hat hier ein paar Jahre lang Lehrerin gespielt an der Schule.”

[about good food] “We could still cook, nowadays that’s no longer the case.” [italics by the authors]

[later, about his multicultural attitude] “I eat everything though, I don’t care where. I can do Japanese, Chinese, Russian, I don’t mind, I eat everything.

-But you cook in the Saarland style?

-No, not me, my wife”<sup>49</sup> (male, 49, German, Saarland).

Among the female interviewees, responsibility for the interior space is mentioned particularly when there are children living in the household. When this responsibility is no longer there it can be experienced as a relief. Cases where the man takes over the care activity are rare. The following citation therefore ‘deviates’ somewhat from the norm:

“No, I’m the one that does the groceries. The house, the garden, the admin, the kitchen, the groceries, I do all that”<sup>50</sup> (male, 42, Belgian, Wallonia).

The interior space is not limited to the home proper but also comprises those places necessary for maintaining the care activity. Thus, even though supermarkets are public spaces, they tend to be female-connoted. In the area covered by the survey, both men and women tend to move around mainly by car. Non-mobility can even turn out to be a privilege for men:

“And he [the son-in-law] also doesn’t provide for himself, his wife’s got to get the groceries and lug them home all on her own [...] a car is unnecessary [he says]. Even though they have two small kids”<sup>51</sup> (male, 49 German, Rhineland-Palatinate).

In the majority of cases men are attributed the competence for vehicles and technical things in general:

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**49** | Personal translation of: “Wir konnten immer noch kochen, heutzutage ist das net mehr so. [...] Obwohl, ich esse alles, das ist mir egal wo. Ich kann Japan, China, Russland, das ist mir egal, ich esse alles. -Aber kochen tun Sie saarländisch? -Nee, ich net, meine Frau.”

**50** | Personal translation of: “Non, les courses, c’est moi qui m’en occupe. La maison, le jardin, l’administration, la cuisine et les courses, c’est moi qui fais ça.”

**51** | Personal translation of: “Und er [der Schwiegersohn] versorgt sich auch nicht selber, seine Frau muss alles beischleppen [...] ein Auto ist überflüssig [sagt er]. Obwohl sie zwei kleine Kinder haben.”

“And when I’m running short [referring to the petrol in the tank], I say: ‘Hey, dear, I’m almost in the red.’ And mostly he’s got a full jerrycan anyway. [...] I hate getting petrol. I’m also too stupid to get the fuel tank lock opened”<sup>52</sup> (female, 44, German, Saarland).<sup>53</sup>

Here the subjectivation is linked to a drastic diminishment of one’s own technical competence and legitimizes the separation of spheres in the form of spaces of competence. In the case of the family’s groceries, however, it is the women that are attributed competence, while men are assigned an accompanying role: “The women say: ‘I’m the boss’, yeah, I always trot along and am allowed to push the trolley”<sup>54</sup> (male, 49, German, Saarland). What becomes clear here is that the interviewee does not feel as an equal partner, but an outsider who is “allowed” to do certain things, because the women, who are the ones who are actually in charge and competent, give him the permission.

That men experience the female-connoted sphere of care and relationship as something outside their realm of competence and potentially menacing is suggested in another context in the facetious answer to the question where men feel anxious: “At the shrink in a relationship counselling!”<sup>55</sup> [laughs] (male, 57, German, Saarland). The public space is rarely mentioned by the interviewees in a specifically gender-connoted way. This is consistent with the finding expressed above that it is frequently perceived as a gender-neutral space. The following excerpt from an interview suggests, however, that public spaces, even if they are mostly frequented by women, remain male spaces of competence:

“I’ve been twice to the theatre here in Trier with a good [female] friend of mine. The *Traviata*, that’s one of my favorite operas. The first time I was there with this friend of mine, and she didn’t know the first thing about opera, a young lady, I have to admit, I wanted to acquaint her a little bit with things cultural, and she really loved it!”<sup>56</sup> (male, 62, German, Rhineland-Palatinate).

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**52** | Personal translation of: “Wird es bei mir knapp [gemeint ist das Benzin im Tank], sag ich: ‘Ei Schatz, ich bin fast im roten Bereich.’ Und meistens hat er dann sowieso einen befüllten Kanister. [...] Ich bin so ein Tankmuffel. Ich bin auch zu dämlich, um mein Tankschloss aufzukriegen.”

**53** | We could, however, detect no principal gender difference regarding the interviewees’ refueling habits (see section 4.7).

**54** | Personal translation of: “Die Frauen sagen: ‘Ich bin der Chef’, ja, ich geh immer mit und darf den Wagen schieben.”

**55** | Personal translation of: “Beim Psychotherapeuten in einer Paarberatung!”

**56** | Personal translation of: “Ich war mit einer guten Bekannten zweimal hier in Trier im Theater. Die *Traviata*, das ist eine meiner Lieblingsoperen. [...]. Das erste Mal habe ich die Bekannte dabei gehabt und die hat noch nie was mit Oper zu tun gehabt, eine junge Dame, muss ich sagen, ich wollte sie mal ein bisschen in die Kultur einweisen, und sie war so was von begeistert!”

The exterior space is here presented as a cultural space, of culture in the singular *notabene* and exclusively understood as ‘high culture’, as a hegemonial interpretation of the actually multi-layered term. The “acquaintance with things cultural” or subjectification occurs via an already subjectivated subject which in this case presents itself, not quite coincidentally, as male towards a female object: in the interviewee’s narrative the term for his friend changes from the sexually more neutral “acquaintance” (“*die Bekannte*” in German) to “(young) lady” (“*junge Dame*”) – a term that can be read in an ironically detached but also pejorative way. Interpreted this way, a ‘lady’ is a female person that requires guidance by a ‘gentleman’ at all times. The use of the anachronistic terms gentleman/lady thus reproduces a gender relationship that is defined on different levels as dichotomous and asymmetrical.

### 5.3.3 Living in Dangerous Spaces – Women at Risk

We have established that the presence of women in the public space on its own says nothing about the qualitative reading of this space. The above citation suggests that despite female presence it is primarily men who in actual fact appropriate the public space, while, even though women also occupy it, a true spatial subjectification in the sense of an attribution of competence occurs chiefly in the personal interior space. It was also indicated that a possible feminization of the public space depends on the time of day: the visit to the tea room or the children’s playground suggests a daytime use, while come evening, the public space once more becomes male territory (this also includes male accompaniment of women). We will now examine in how far the public space can even become a space of perceived threat or fear for women.

In principle, threat can be experienced both in exterior and in interior spaces. In actual fact, women are more frequently victims of violence in the interior space at the hands of family members, partners or acquaintances (see European Commission 2010: 55; Ruhne 2011: 30f.). Nevertheless, it is almost exclusively the exterior space that is considered potentially dangerous and is constructed as such (see Becker: 62ff.). This also becomes evident in the interviews.<sup>57</sup>

Often the interviewees experience the nocturnal public space as a space of threat:

“I’d say there certainly are [places where women feel threatened]. Dark corners, generally speaking. Not here, not in Saarburg, but in Trier, Luxembourg, specially around the station, it’s so labyrinthine there. I wouldn’t want to wander about there alone after dark”<sup>58</sup> (male, 49, German, Rhineland-Palatinate).

**57** | Only few interviewees commented on domestic violence in connection with gender-specific spaces of threat.

**58** | Personal translation of: “[Orte, an denen sich Frauen bedroht fühlen] gibt es schon. So allgemein, dunkle Ecken. Bei uns nicht, Saarburg nicht, aber Trier, Luxemburg, gerade

So this interviewee considers “dark corners” not only threatening for women but also for himself. Not infrequently the first impulse is to not specifically differentiate the threat in terms of gender, which leads to a logical break in the narrative when the interviewee involves himself directly in the narration and creates a certain ambiguity about whether he is reliving the threat in the sense of a self-identification as a woman, or whether he regards the threat all the more serious for women because he is also experiencing it himself as a man. In a few cases, the existence of a threat is denied altogether, but eventually, after further inquiry, admitted, which in some extreme statements even turns into a kind of definition of the female condition:

“For a woman it’s, well, it’s... it’s normal. Well, I mean, normal, no, it’s not normal, but women, true. We, we don’t have, how shall I say, the same rights. Yes, but we’re more at risk than men”<sup>59</sup> (female, 66, French, Luxembourg).

Threat as female normality may be inexpressible, but it remains, according to the testimony of this interviewee, a reality. Another statement is notable in that it presents women not as potential victims of crime but rather as a “problem”.

“For a woman, that’s quite typical, really. Everywhere you have corners where it’s dark and someone could be lying in wait for you. [...] The same with paths in the woods or in residential areas that peter out into the woods, if you walk through the park at night, that’s where women are the problem on account of getting assaulted one way or another”<sup>60</sup> (male, 29, German, Saarland).

Without saying it in so many words, the interviewee is suggesting that women who at night go to less frequented public places basically have to reckon with the possibility of becoming victims of sexual assault. This kind of culture of ‘victim blaming’, which partly blames the violence committed against women on their behaviour, or at least sees it as a contributing factor, can also be found in other statements – also from women:

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am Bahnhof, da ist es so verwinkelt, da würde ich nicht unbedingt gerne alleine im Dunkeln hingehen.”

**59** | Personal translation of: “Pour une femme, c’est, voilà, c’est, c’est normal, c’est. Enfin, c’est normal non, c’est pas normal, mais les femmes, c’est vrai. Nous, nous n’avons pas les mêmes, comment dirais-je, pas les droits. Si, mais, nous sommes plus en danger que les hommes.”

**60** | Personal translation of: “Also als Frau eher so ganz typisch, da gibt es überall Ecken, wo es dunkel ist und einem einer auflauern könnte [...] Also auch Wege im Wald oder Wohngegenden, die in den Wald übergehen, wenn man da jetzt nachts im Park lang läuft, da sind Frauen eher das Problem wegen Übergriffen in irgendeiner Form.”

“OK, of course, sometimes you have to mind how you dress. If you don’t want to get molested you shouldn’t wear a miniskirt. You shouldn’t provoke people, that’s simple common sense”<sup>61</sup> (female, 28, French, Saarland).

A male interviewee links the same ‘improper’ dress to a specific public space and a specific time as well as to an ‘inappropriate’ way of occupying the space:

“After all, I don’t need to go to the station at ten o’clock at night and then strut about in a miniskirt... at that time the incentive to get yourself raped is of course higher than when you go there at ten in the morning”<sup>62</sup> (male, 29, German, Saarland).

In contrast to the previous citation, the danger is potentially not that of being molested, but rather of being raped. Furthermore the danger is not named as such but phrased as an ‘incentive’ for the perpetrator, which delegitimizes the victim’s perspective which the use of the first person singular might have suggested. As with the above reference to “dark corners”, here too it is suggested that at night the public space is no space for women. That this means discursively limiting women’s freedom of movement is only rarely mentioned:

“That’s a question you can ask yourself in any instance of aggression, but with sexual violence against girls there is unfortunately often the tendency to put some of the blame on the victim, and that as a direct reaction, mind you [...]”<sup>63</sup> (male, 42, Belgian, Wallonia).

A threat for men is sometimes denied outright or even ridiculed by interviewees of both sexes: “Maybe in the hospital, when the doctors come at them with their syringes, but otherwise...”<sup>64</sup> (female, 34 Jahre, Belgian, Luxembourg). Or: “Listen, I’m six foot tall, I weigh 110 kilos, I’ve learnt to defend myself, I’m really not scared to go anywhere!” [ironic laugh]<sup>65</sup> (male, 42, Belgian, Wallonia).

**61** | Personal translation of: “Gut, klar, manchmal muss man aufpassen, was man anzieht. Wenn man nicht belästigt werden will, muss man nicht unbedingt einen zu kurzen Rock anziehen. Man muss die Leute nicht provozieren, das ist menschliche Vernunft.”

**62** | Personal translation of: “Ich muss ja nicht mehr um zehn Uhr nachts zum Bahnhof gehen und dann mit Mini Röckchen durch die Gegend stolzieren ... dass natürlich dann der Anreiz, vergewaltigt zu werden, höher ist, als wenn man morgens um zehn Uhr da hingehet.”

**63** | Personal translation of: “C’est une question qu’on peut se poser dans le cas de n’importe quelle agression, mais dans le domaine des agressions sexuelles sur les filles, on a malheureusement souvent tendance à un peu culpabiliser la victime, et ça comme conséquence immédiate [...]”

**64** | Personal translation of: “Krankenhaus vielleicht, wenn die Ärzte mit der Spritze auf sie zukommen. Aber ansonsten...”

**65** | Personal translation of: “Ecoutez, je mesure un mètre nonante-deux, je fais cent dix kilos, j’ai appris à me défendre, je n’ai pas vraiment peur d’aller nulle part! [ironic laugh].”

When narratives feature men becoming victims of violence it is qualitatively different from that against women; it comes from ‘outside’ and so acquires the savour of the inevitable or even of war.<sup>66</sup> According to the statements of some of the interviewees, the violence that women fall victim to is considered as basically preventable by women dressing appropriately, moving around in company or simply avoiding certain places at certain times of the day. If they still enter the space of threat they should behave in an adequate – i.e. invisible – way, or, if possible, become ‘masculine’:

“I remember when we were students, I had a friend who was really very masculine. And she was very very wary. She said: ‘when I go home alone, when I’m obliged to go home alone, I dress up as a guy.’ She put on a hooded jumper, she was very tall, she sort of did the swagger... And that worked great! I think that’s really a good technique! [amused laugh]”<sup>67</sup> (female, 33, French, Lorraine).

### 5.3.4 Conclusion: Degendered Transitions

The evaluations of the quantitative and qualitative surveys have shown that men and women perceive neutral spaces as well as spaces with specific gender attributions differently. In the first case, we are dealing with an appropriation of spaces (subjectivation), while in the second case it is subjectification processes (attributions) that take effect. In both cases spaces are genderized and have a genderizing effect on the actors. When spaces are brought up as a subject matter, this takes place in a gender-specific framework of activity. What is remarkable here is that it is mostly female spaces of activity that are brought up (groceries, domestic work and child care), while male spaces of activity are only rarely mentioned, primarily referring to things technical. Thus it is still women that seem to be the ones in charge of the household, particularly when children need to be taken care of. The role of men is limited to that of an assistant, what Baltes-Löhr (2006: 189) refers to as threshold activities.

However, taking into account which spaces are not invoked in a genderized way – these include the realms of work, business, leisure time not explicitly examined in this study – and bearing in mind the attributions of spaces made by the interviewees, which in their clear majority have revealed no gender-specific connotations, then we can say that women are definitely present in the public

**66** | The narrative about crime featuring proletarian male migrants in so-called social hot spots is common in the entire survey area and deserves separate attention. We do, however, wish to emphasize that it is defined intersectionally and also specifically gendered.

**67** | Personal translation of: “Je me souviens, quand on était étudiantes, j’avais une amie qui était très masculine, en fait. Et elle, elle était très méfiante. Elle disait: ‘Quand je rentre seule, quand je suis obligée de rentrer seule chez moi, je me fais passer pour un mec.’ Elle mettait un sweat avec une capuche, elle était assez grande, elle faisait une démarche un peu..., et ça marchait bien! Je crois que c’est une bonne technique, en fait [amused laugh]!”

space. But not in all areas are they represented equally strongly, and they are certainly not as strongly represented as men are. The quality of the appropriation of space also differs greatly. In particular, we should not overlook the mechanisms of displacement of women from the public space that have manifested themselves in the discourse around spaces of threat. Here it is suggested that women who dwell in certain 'spaces of threat' have to reckon with being the target of violence. There is no discursive perception of a comparable threat for men. A – precarious – safety of some sorts is created when women make themselves 'invisible' in these spaces. The latent or overt culture of 'victim blaming' leads to women in effect being denied the right to safety, because 'they only have themselves to blame'. But in this way women are also denied an equal appropriation of public space.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the paradoxical and precarious visibility of women in the public space, it is not an exclusively male one, but rather a heterosocial space. 'Gender' can here at least partially lose some of its significance as a structural and subject category. The individuals are no longer addressed as gender-specific subjects and no longer subjectivate themselves exclusively as a genderized subject: here 'gender' is situatively deconstructed. This is, however, only successful if the public space is also understood as a political space of the deconstruction of identity. This is not an entirely novel idea (see Degele 2010). In many respects it is already being put into practice. For instance the explicit appropriation by homosexual, trans- and intersex persons – e.g. on Christopher Street Day or IDAHOTI (*International Day against Homo-, Trans- and Interphobia*). But so far this is as yet more of a programme than everyday reality. We can nevertheless establish that the boundaries between the male and the female subject position in the public space are becoming increasingly blurred, creating a deconstructivist and complex borderland of encounters (see Baltes-Löhr 2003: 96f.).

## 5.4 IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS AND REGIONALIZATION: COMMEMORATION OF THE DEAD IN THE TREVERI REGION (2ND/3RD CENTURY AD) – FAMILY IDENTITIES ON TOMBSTONES IN ARLON

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Family and kinship are the fundamental social orders of Graeco-Roman societies. Families can fulfil diverse functions within these societies: they can be life partnerships and economic entities, they transmit values and traditions and integrate future generations into society. Families are not rigid structures but

**68** | For Ruhne (2011: 208f.), the insecurity with which women move around in the public space – and which has been instilled into them – is a symptom of the exclusion of women from the public space and of the persistence of a gender-specific separation of spheres.