

Feminist Encounters with Marxism

Mode

- I use theories to explain things I want answers to
- I am not a theoretical purist (to either Feminism or Marxism)
- I'm driven more by political issues – which often need explanations that demand research
- My ideas change over time
- I hate fashions in theories but I have to know what is being said!
- Careful reading takes time (struggle) and digestion
- Holding different frameworks together is really hard: are they compatible?
- Talking to others always helps
- Reading groups can be amazing/collective organising

Encounters with Marxism and Feminism in the Boro

- Mine: Situated/positional
- Mid 1970s in North of England beginning of disinvestment (closing Steel, mines, iron, chemicals, shipyards). Nickname for football team is “Smoggies” because of intense pollution from heavy industry
- Long history of stroppy working-class women – trade unions
- My mum worked as a welder’s assistant during the war (then became hyper-feminine, but remained proudly working class).
- For years surrounded by socialist/labour politics
- Went to a Further Education college – did Sociology. Read Marx. Love.
- Got into a posh uni (York) on a widening participation type scheme. Terrified.
- Took every Marxist/feminist course I could. UG diss on Cuba! And final essays on Domestic Labour Debate and Althusser (1979)

For me political struggle was as important as academia, as was media representations of it.

Entered world with Trade union power 1970s

ALLIANCES: Then ... Asian workers at Kewal Brothers clothing factory in Smethwick went on strike in 1984, 150 women and miners joined them in solidarity on the picket line.



Grunwick factory 1976



AND...Women's liberation

Claudia Jones; triple oppression + communism 1959 journalist

Black Panthers ~Angela Davis

Notting Hill Carnival

1970 First Women's Liberation conference (Sheila Rowbotham, Hilary Wainright, Lynne Segal – good autobiographies)
(and obv. History of Kolontai, Luxemburg, Arendt)

- Spare Rib magazine 1972-1983
- Women's Voice 1973-1981
- 1967 Abortion Act
- 1970 contraceptive pill made available
- 1975 English Collective of Prostitutes
- OWAAD Org of Women of Asian & African Descent 1978
- 1979 Southall Black Sisters org (still-)
- Rape Crisis Centres 1986



Where/how/ to enter academic debates in 1981 for PhD

Feminist Influences

Began fighting for academic space. (4 emergent Women's Studies Centres – tiny, voluntary: York, Warwick, Lancaster, Kent or within Sociology). 1984 British Sociology conference significant – met Anne Marie Wolpe

Inherited political/theoretical divisions

1. Radical/Revolutionary feminists (lesbian/gay)
2. Socialist feminists (politically engaged Segal, Wainwright, Rowbotham)
3. Culture/Post-structuralism (CCCS) (discourse, queer, anti-racist)
4. Historical: History Workshop Journal (Steedman, Hall, Davin, Dyhouse)

Debates over concepts: patriarchy, family, ideology

Marxism comes through 2, 3, 4 via *Feminist Review* journal, and sociology Mary McIntosh, Michelle Barrett, Veronica Beechy, Ann-Marie Wolpe, Annette Kuhn, Ros Coward and Terry Lovell at Warwick

Critique and significance of state institutions eg family, media, welfare

And via Engels and Meillasoux via Anthropology (Eldholm, Harris, Pine, Godard)

My Reading of UK Marxisms

Logics	Stuart Hall	Ways of Life
Laws of capital Perry Anderson Tom Nairn Bob Jessop (state)	Race and history From: Harold Wolpe (SA) A. Sivanandan Paul Willis - Richard Johnson European: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Post-structuralism• Althusser• Foucault• Gramsci• Deleuze	History “Ways of Life” E.P.Thompson Significant division between “Poverty of Theory” v Althusser/logics – expected to choose side
Ellen Meiskins Wood (US)	CCCS	Carolyn Steedman History Workshop Journal

Thriving Left: National and international

- 1960 Stuart Hall edits New Left Review
- Perry & Benedict Anderson with Tariq Ali establish Verso books
- Class very significant
- Lots of Left groups: SWP, IMG, IS, CPGB, ...1960s Aldermaston marches Campaign of Nuclear Disarmament
- International direct action: Red Brigade/Baader Meinhoff/Red Army Faction
- Black Panther influence _Malcolm X visits London
- 1969 Palestinian Liberation Organisation (Yasser Arafat 1978 declared independent Palestine)
- 1976 Soweto/Campaign against apartheid. 1977 Steve Biko death

Significant Events Shaping Context

- 1978 Sandanistas, Nicaragua then Contra/Regan invasion
- In 1975 there were 600 trade unions and the TGWU felt able to ask for a 40% wage rise
- 1980 Black Majority rule in Zimbabwe
- 1978 punk becomes popular
- 1978 Rock Against Racism\1979 Anti-Nazi League (against National Front)
- 1980 The Face magazine (hyper individualism)
- 1980 Marxism Today modernized by Martin Jacques (cultural/popularist)
- 1981 Solidarnosc, Gdansk shipworkers against USSR communism
- 1981 Labour Party mag “New Socialists”

Where/how/ to enter academic debates in 1981 for PhD

Feminist Influences

Began fighting for academic space. (4 emergent Women's Studies Centres – tiny, voluntary: York, Warwick, Lancaster, Kent or within Sociology). 1984 British Sociology conference significant – met Anne Marie Wolpe

Inherited political/theoretical divisions

1. Radical/Revolutionary feminists (lesbian/gay)
2. Socialist feminists (politically engaged Segal, Wainwright, Rowbotham)
3. Culture/Post-structuralism (CCCS) (discourse, queer, anti-racist)
4. Historical: History Workshop Journal (Steedman, Hall, Davin, Dyhouse)

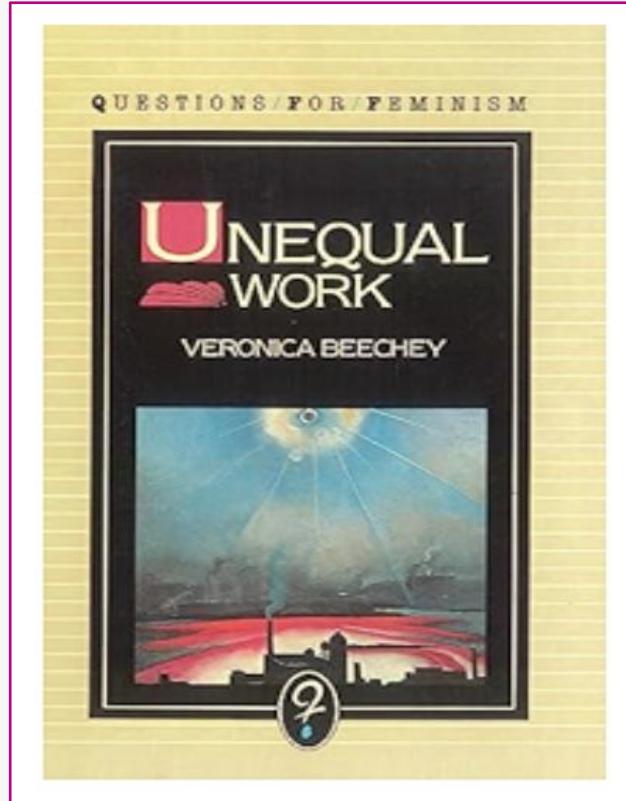
Debates over concepts: patriarchy, family, ideology

Marxism comes through 2, 3, 4 via *Feminist Review* journal, and sociology Mary McIntosh, Michelle Barrett, Veronica Beechy, Ann-Marie Wolpe, Annette Kuhn, Ros Coward and Terry Lovell at Warwick

Critique and significance of state institutions eg family, media, welfare

And via Engels and Meillasoux via Anthropology (Eldholm, Harris, Pine, Godard)

Key feminist debates in UK



NEW LEFT REVIEW

HOME · ABOUT · ARCHIVE · SIDECAR · CONTRIBUTORS · SUBSCRIBE · LOG IN

WALLY SECCOMBE

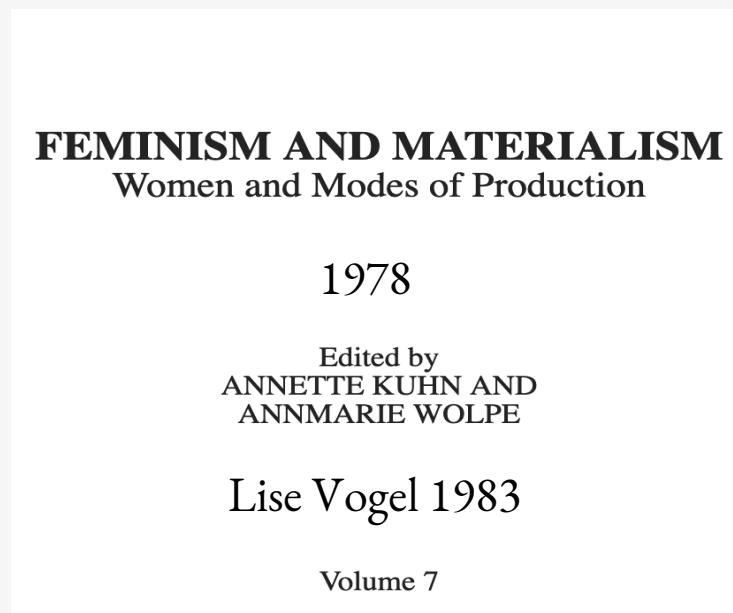
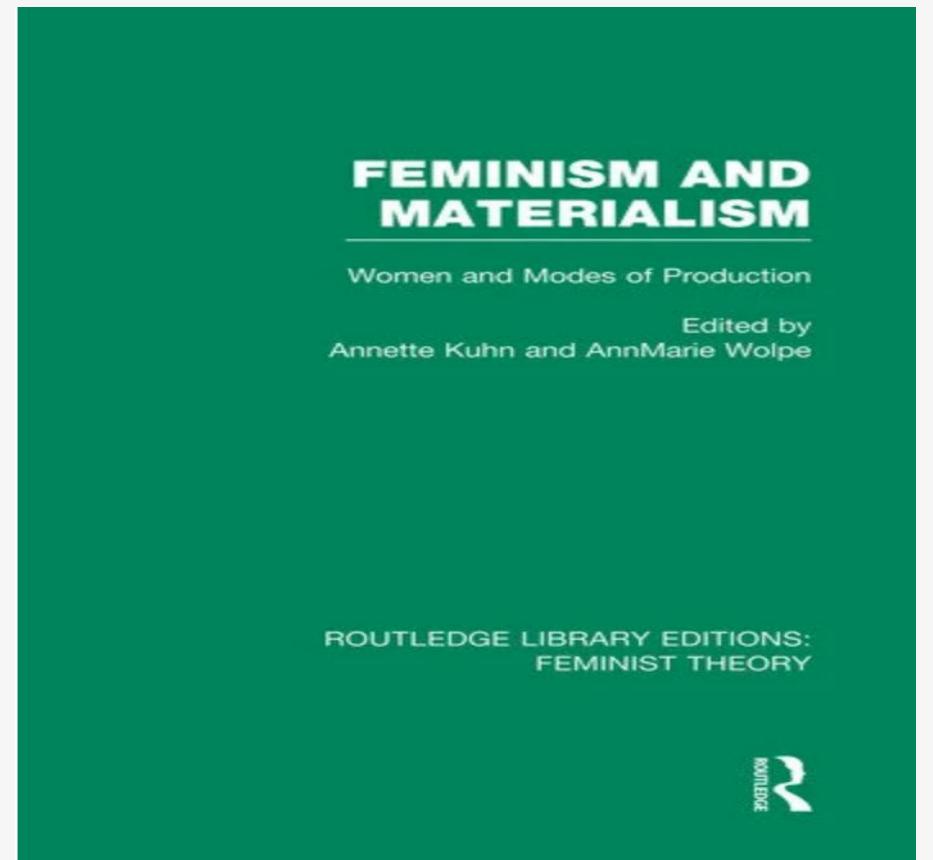
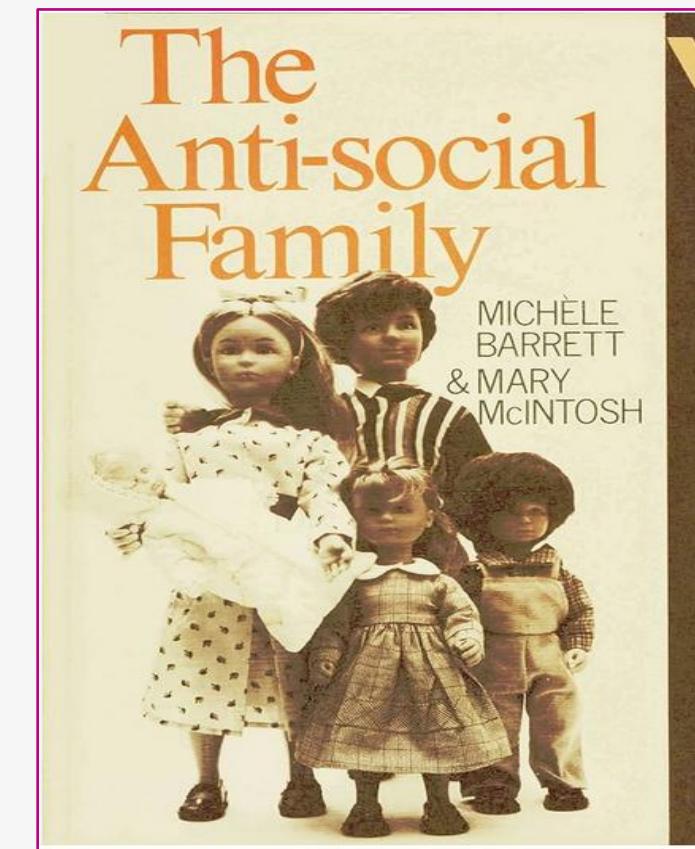
DOMESTIC LABOUR: REPLY TO CRITICS

THE REAL MERIT of the critique made by Margaret Coulson, Branka Magaš and Hilary Wainwright of my analysis of domestic labour is that it focusses discussion about the strategic relation of women's liberation to socialist revolution... Screenshot from the New Left Review website.

BACK TO ISSUE
1/94 · Nov/Dec 1975

SHARE
Facebook
Twitter
Email
Download PDF

BY THIS AUTHOR
'Marxism and Demography'



Conference of
Socialist
Economists 1979

Impact Factor: 1.0 / 5

Restricted access | Research article | First published Summer 1979

The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a more Progressive Union

Heidi I. Hartmann [View all authors and affiliations](#)

[Volume 3, Issue 2](#) | <https://doi.org/10.1177/030981687900800102>

Michèle Barrett Women's Oppression Today (1980)

Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis

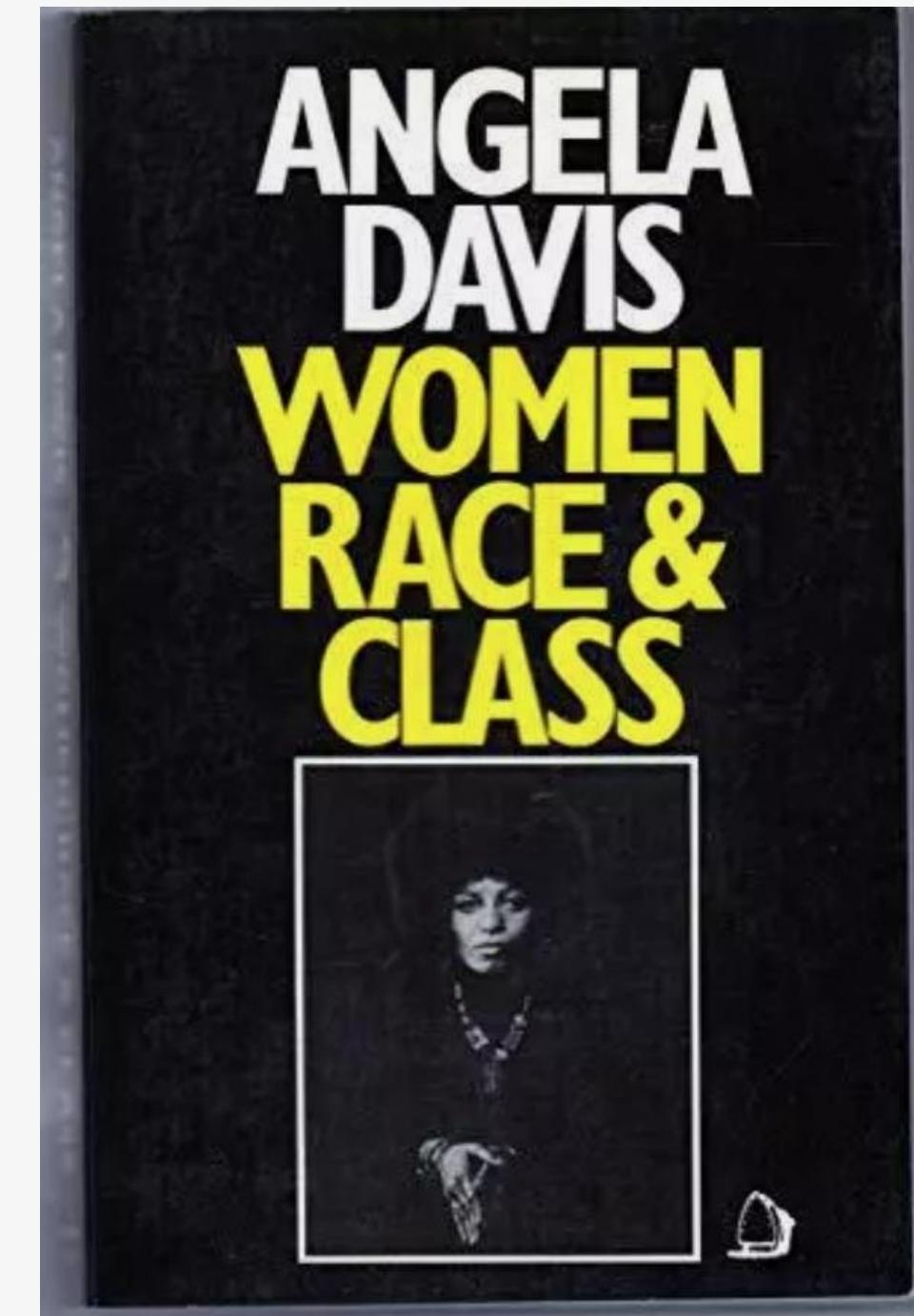
Enter Key Feminist Perspectives

- Breaking the link of women to the family as **essential** (either biological or social)
- Disrupting the idea of the family as **natural or biological**
- Debating the family as **violent or protective** (WC/race)
- Challenging the **psychoanalytic**
- Significance of **ideology**/socialization- the “male breadwinner”
- Significance of **the state**
- Significance of **history** re sexual division of labour/women’s bodies (Sylvia Federici “Caliban and the Witch”)

Fundamentals/underpinnings:

- Domestic Labour Debate: what/where/how is women’s contribution to capital accumulation via social reproduction made?
- Big class division in analysis: working-class women always worked

Significance of History and Slavery: Marxism, Feminism and Political Activism



Encounters: To Understand State and Ideology

Marx: both an apparatus capital/the bourgeoisie

M = Marxism

C = culture

G = gender

- M: Fierce debate between E.P.Thompson and Althusser (empirical v theoretical). Interested in interpellation (A) and “making” class and gender (EP) **THEORY v ETHNOGRAPHY**
- M/C/G: Loved Stuart Hall's "Policing the Crisis", Paul Willis's (1977) "*Learning to Labour: how Working-Class Kids get Working-Class Jobs*". Ethnography with Marxist theory and analysis of culture via gender (masculinity); David Morley's (1980) "*The Nationwide Audience*" and C/G: Charlotte Bronte's 'Crossroads'. Audience responses to TV, Terry Lovell's (1980) "*Pictures of Reality*", Judith Williamson (1978) "*Decoding Advertising*" **UNDERSTANDING REPRESENTATIONS AND CULTURE**

Encounters: To Understand State and Ideology cont...

- (M/C/G: Loved *History Workshop Journal* debates on War and domestic ideology (state policy, assumptions about how women (and men should behave). And Carolyn Steedman. **HISTORY**.)
- M/F: Feminist studies of factory work such as Anna Pollerts' (1981) "*Girls, Wives and Factory Lives*", Sallie Westwood's (1984) "*All Day Everyday*", Ruth Cavendish's (1982) "Women on the Line" (aka Miriam Glucksman). But I didn't want to go and work in a factory for my PhD, I'd gone to university to escape that possibility. **LABOUR**.
- (*Women, Race, & Class*) NB; had studied DLD in depth. Angela Davis had always been my heroine

Shock: Thatcherism Begins to Take Effect

Image from ITV “Spitting Image” TV satire



In academy as well as everywhere else: SSRC (research grants) cut, Sociology departments cut.

Thatcher's Key state Relationship Established (Police/Army) eg James Anderton

State militarization Institutionalised homophobia

- Raids and decoys regular in male gay bars in Manchester, even motorboats on canal. Police lying in roofs with holes drilled to see into bars below!
- JA establishes special units for policing Moss Side-Black area and Canal St (gay).
- Introduced plastic bullets into UK

“God’s Copper” (Chief Constable of Manchester: MT’s favourite)



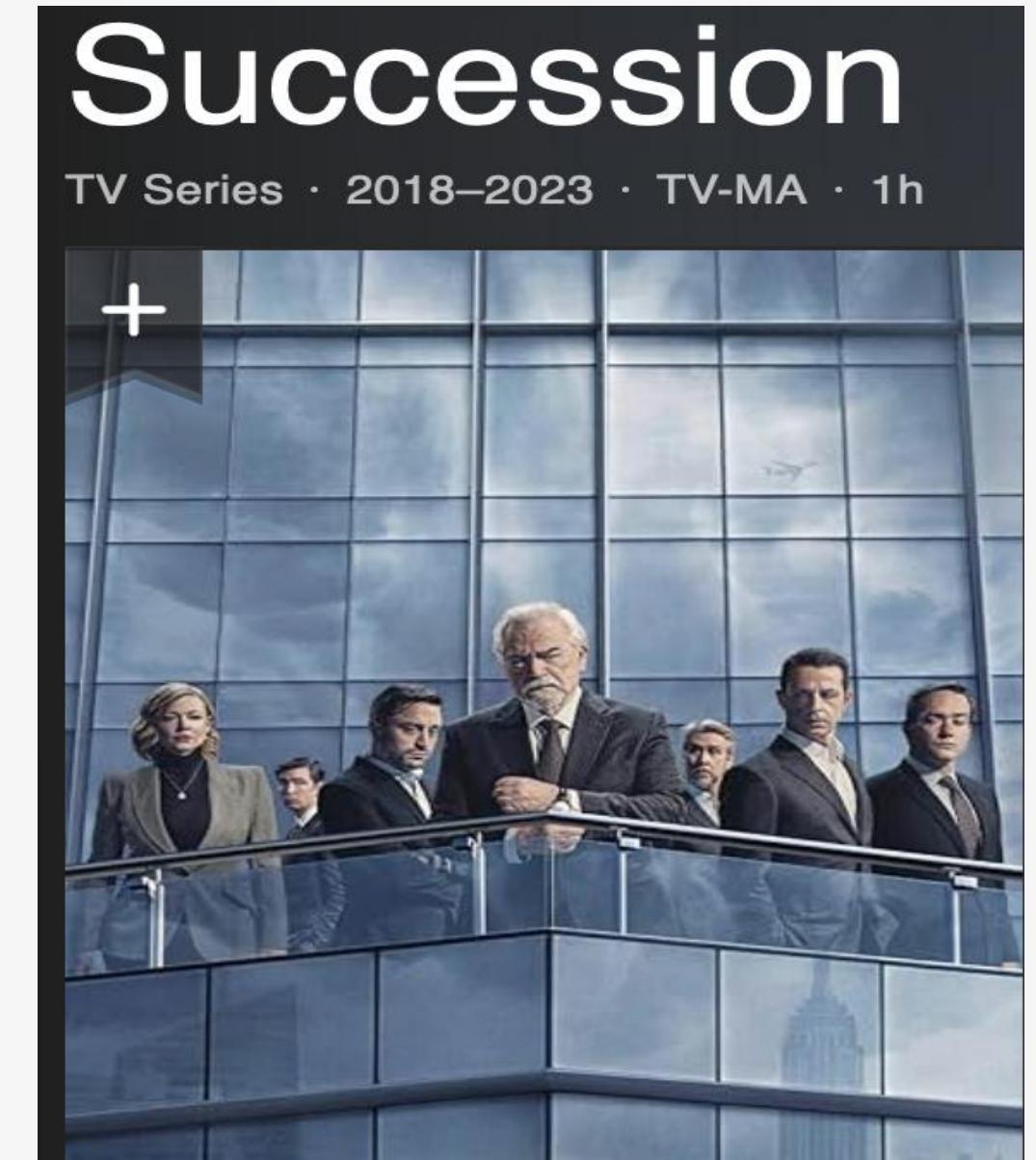
Thatcher's Key State Relationship: Murdock and Control of Media

Symbolic Violence

Significance of political economy of media – shaping possibilities and attaching value to subjects and action

Eg scandal and sensation through “The Sun”, “News of the World” (over 1m circulation in 1980s)

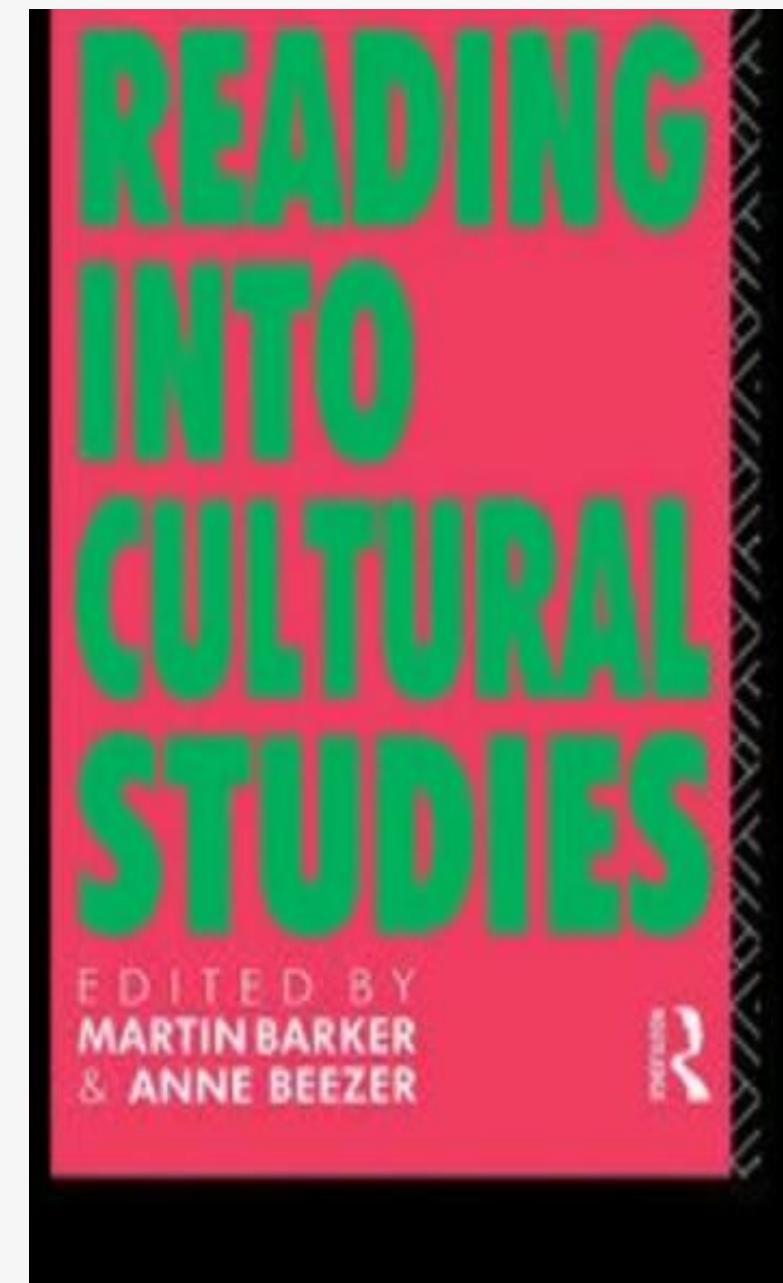
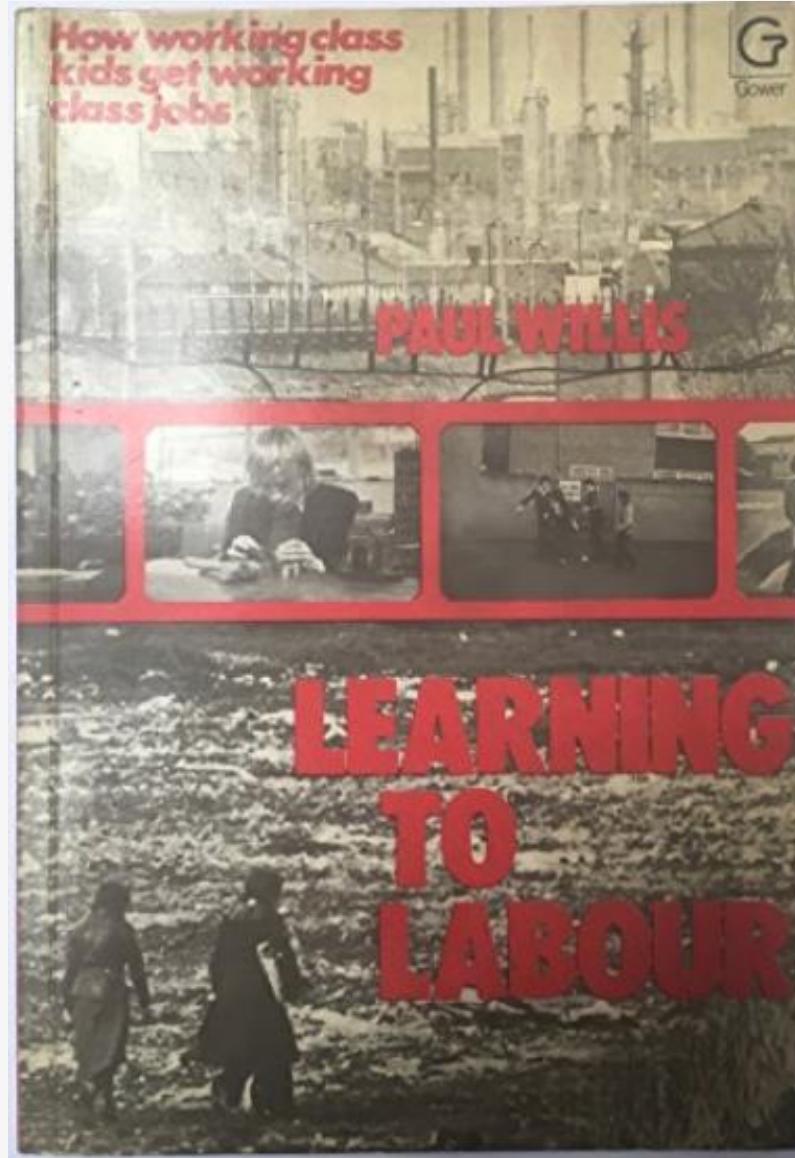
Or TV comedy version “Rivals”
by Jilly Cooper!)



Understanding Context through Culture: Class, Race, Gender and Sex

The Cultural Route: Paul Willis

- 1977 Paul Willis “How Working-Class Kids get Working-Class Jobs”
- Significance of gender and culture “as lived” through masculinity, race, class AND schooling
- Chris Griffin working on young women into work



My Contextualization Critique

Women Take Issue (1978) Women's Studies Group

Chapters:

1. Women's Studies Group: trying to do intellectual work *Editorial Group*
2. 'It is well known that by nature women are inclined to be rather personal' *Charlotte Brunsdon*
3. Women 'inside and outside' the relations of production *Lucy Bland, Charlotte Brunsdon, Dorothy Hobson, Janice Winship*
4. Housewives: isolation as oppression *Dorothy Hobson*
5. Working class girls and the culture of femininity *Angela McRobbie*

Women Take Issue (1978) Women's Studies Group

CCCS cont...

6. Psychoanalysis and the cultural acquisition of sexuality and subjectivity *Steve Burniston, Frank Mort, Christine Weedon*
7. A Women's World: *Woman* - an ideology of femininity *Janice Winship*
8. Relations of reproduction: approaches through anthropology *Lucy Bland, Rachel Harrison, Frank Mort, Christine Weedon*
9. *Shirley*: relations of reproduction and the ideology of romance *Rachel Harrison*

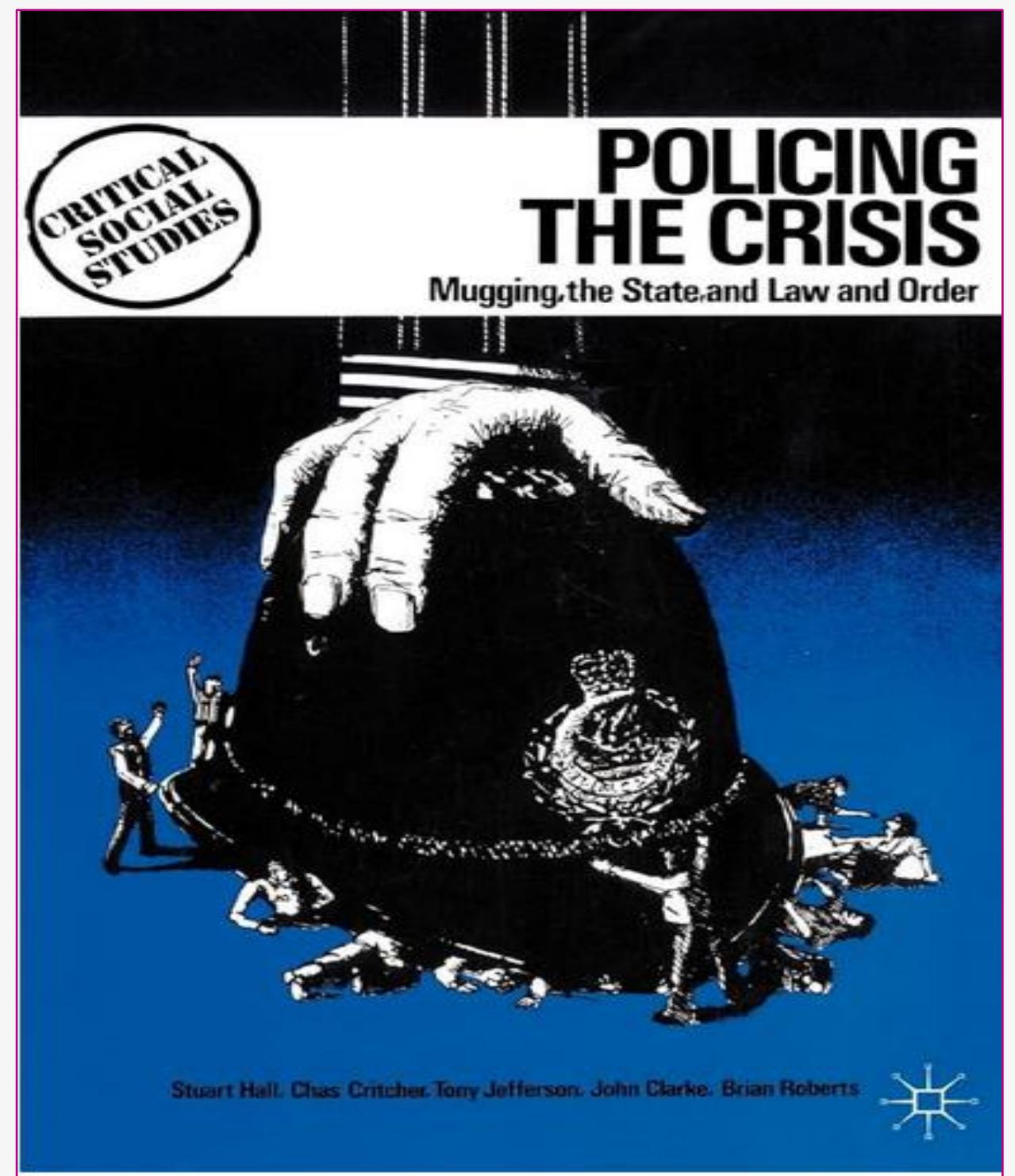
Policing the Crisis

Stuart Hall et al. 1978

CCCS

Cultural route: how power if lived and formed

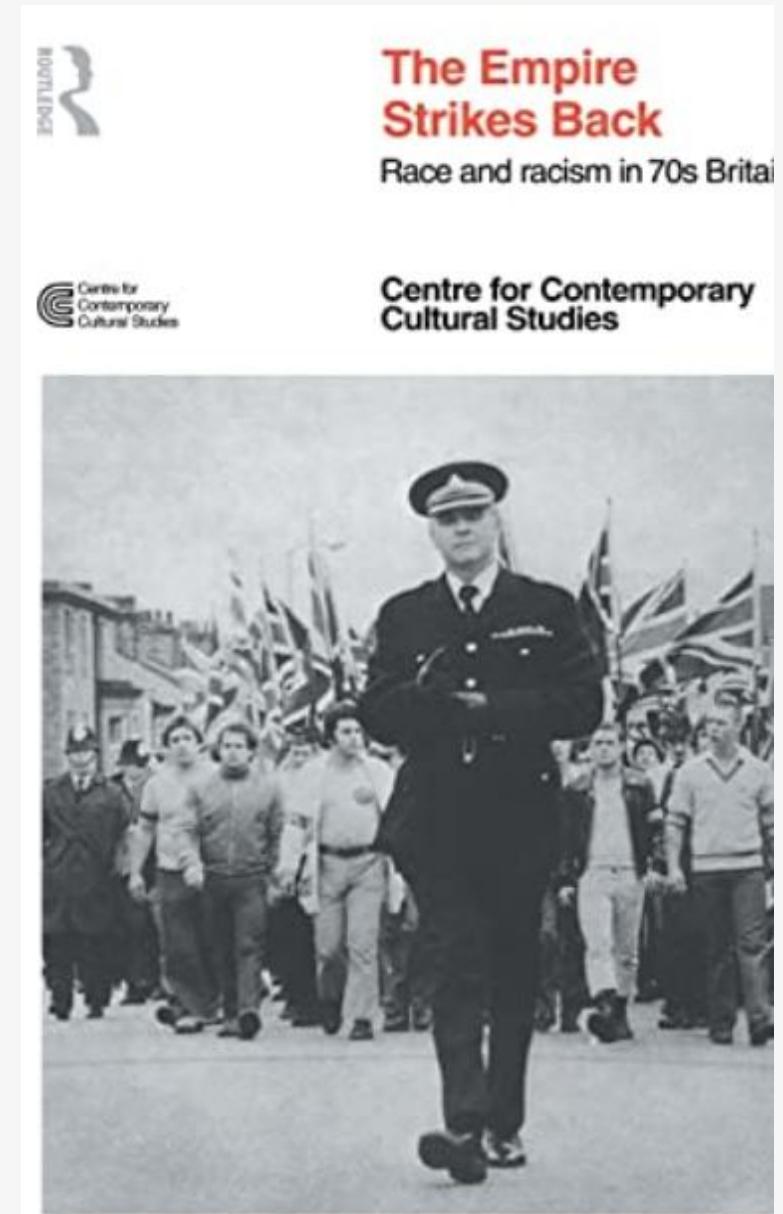
- Marxist theories fpowerocus on HOW race and class are lived through state, media, police street violence and institutionalized racism



The Empire Strikes Back (in process in 1980, published 1982)

It argues that Britain has entered a long-term political and economic crisis which has brought new urgency to the politics of race and nation.

- It identifies elements of a new, culturally focused racism which, in representations of black families, stresses their alienness and the supposed criminal inclinations of the black population.
- They argue that the British state is very far from its popular image as a liberal democracy, and that all our notions of culture, nation and class are based on deeply racist structures.
- Key areas of state intervention such as schooling, policing and policy-oriented 'race relations' research are analysed to demonstrate that a definition of the growing crisis in the economy and social services is emerging, which shifts the focus of blame on to black people.



Historical Materialist Methodology

- From Marx
- Developed by Richard Johnson (CCCS)
- Making Histories
- Used in PhD and Formations

Plus feminist methodology – not at lot in 1982

Realise significance of representations – Dorothy Smith's "textual mediation" remains important

1. 'appropriate the material in detail': which we may call 'research';
2. 'analyse its different forms of development': 'historical analysis';
3. 'track down their inner connections': 'structural analysis';
4. 'presenting the real movement': 'presentation';
5. 'the life of the subject matter reflected back in ideas': 'validation'.

Race Riots Across England

Special unit for policing Moss Side (Manchester's predominantly Black area).
Introduced plastic bullets into UK (previously used for war)



Significance of Race and Class: Throughout 80s

- Hazel Carby (1981) “White Woman Listen” in Empire Strikes Back
- Irish Racism: interventions: Sinn Fein education on “colonial control” (Mairtin Mac an Ghaill)
- Films: Pratibha Parmar, Isaac Julien, Kobena Mercer, Margaretha von Trotta
- Unemployment in North very high. 1980s recession
- Male Marxists still not engaging with feminists
- Unhappy Marriage (Heidi Hartmann). It was Marxist feminists (state/family: McIntosh and Barrett critiqued for lack of race analysis on family)
- Southall Black Sisters, Heidi Mirza, Amrit Wilson, Black British Feminism in Feminist Review & Race and Class
- Early 1980s feminist academics expected to be “engaged”. I began anti-racist education/ developed teaching materials/taught in schools (no REF- also doing PhD)

Start PHD Again: How Do We Consent To Power?

**Finding working-class women who would consent to participate in research
Caring courses in Further Education (same as the one I began)**

Marxism

- Moving between Althusser (ideology (ISAs/violent state; interpellation- recognition, forces, econ in last instance)
- Gramsci (culture/econ relationship. Hegemony, popular culture, consent
- EP Thompson “ways of life”
- Stuart Hall and Harold Wolpe “articulations” (state violence, social reproduction)
- Capitalism at the core: totality

Start PHD Again: How Do We Consent To Power?

cont...

Feminism

- HWJ: historical gender ideology: femininity = white, moral standards/value
- Sexual division of labour (skill/occupations)
- DLD: where lies economic value?
- Representations, Narratives, Discourses of femininity eg romance (culture/literary theory)

Methods: Mapping The Areas That Shape Those Questions

- What are the structural and cultural conditions of possibility for the women of my research?
- What are the forms of cultural plausibility?
- What are the historical legacies that shaped possibility/plausibility?
- How are they lived? are there any alternatives?
- What needs to change?
- Always searching for explanations/theories that make sense of the "way of life" of the women

More Events...

Significance of Sexuality- From The US “SEX WARS”

- Gayle Rubin 1984
- *The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex*
- Separated biological sex from cultural gender – emerged anthropologically from the exchange of women
- 1982 Barnard Conference on Sexuality (org: Carol Vance), led to book
- *“Pleasure and Danger”*
- moved sexuality beyond reproduction
- Challenged the Dworkin/M?? “anti-pornography movement (WAP)

Greenham Common 1982

On 12 December 1982, 30,000 women held hands around the 6 miles (9.7 km) perimeter of the base, in protest against the decision to site American cruise missiles at the base.



Home Video News World Sport Finance Comment Culture Travel Life Women I
Politics Investigations Obits Education Science Earth Health Defence Scotland Roy
Conservatives Liberal Democrats Labour Political Parties Scottish Politics Local Elections
HOME » NEWS » POLITICS » MARGARET THATCHER

Thatcher said Greenham Common anti-nuclear protesters were an 'eccentricity'

Margaret Thatcher dismissed the Greenham Common women's peace camp as an "eccentricity" but her Cabinet wrestled with winning the public around to having US nuclear cruise missiles sited in Britain.

[f](#) [t](#) [p](#) [in](#) [g](#) [e](#)



Represented as not threatening, as middle-class women?

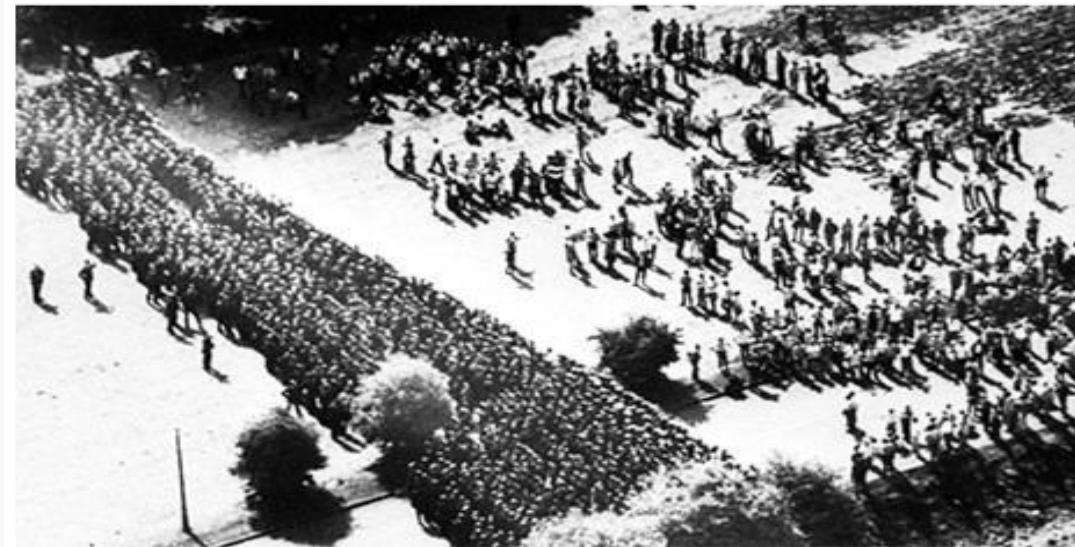
1984-5 Miner's Strike



Thatcher had secret plan to use army at height of miners' strike

Papers released to the National Archives reveal that in 1984 the prime minister made preparations to use troops to move coal to power stations

Alan Travis, home affairs editor
The Guardian, Friday 3 January 2014



Ranks of police face the picket line at Orgreave Coking Plant near Rotherham in June 1984. Photograph: Pa/PA Archive/Press Association Images

Margaret Thatcher was secretly preparing to use troops and declare a state of emergency at the height of the miners' strike – out of fear Britain was going to run out of food and grind to a halt, government papers released today reveal.

The 1984 cabinet papers, released to the [National Archives](#), show that Thatcher asked for contingency plans to be drawn up to use troops to move coal stocks, despite official government policy ruling out the use of service personnel. A plan involving the use of 4,500 service drivers and 1,650 tipper lorries was considered capable of moving 100 kilotonnes a day of coal to the power stations.

A separate contingency plan, codenamed Operation Halberd, to use troops in the event of a dock strike, had also been drawn up.

Militarization of Police



<http://John+Sturrock%20%99s+photos+of+the+Miners%20%99+Strike>

Rupert Murdock Owned

- (MT's favourite media mogul) ran a concerted campaign)
- Note the similarity to the trad media
- Coverage of Jeremy Corbyn)
- Movement between issues
- Background and foreground

<http://the-sun-lies.blogspot.co.uk/2009/11/mine-fuhrer-25-years-later.html>



Querying Althusser?

Ideological State Apparatuses

- Family
- Gender/sexuality
- Religion
- Media

Key concept: **interpellation?**

CCCS feminist work on cultural, state and economic violence

Repressive State Apparatuses

- Police
- Army
- Far Right

Start using Bourdieu on cultural capital and symbolic violence

But also **romance** (Rachel Harrison)

Femininity as **Ideology** (Janis Winship- women's magazines)

All the State Apparati + Key Capital Institutions

Miner's Strike reveals:

- STATE: Not just the police and army
- IDEOLOGY: And the media
- LAW: The 1984 anti-terrorism legislation and 1875 laws on congregation re-introduced to control movement
- CAPITAL: debt- mortgage companies (not the co-op and some northern building societies) but others advised to pull in debts to make life even more difficult.
- STATE: The dark/ secret state (SS)- spies (see BBC Truespies on Youtube and Seumas Milne). Watch “Faith” (2015) on BBC iplayer.(note the recent Spycops expose)
- CAPITAL/STATE: Private security companies were provided (as per plan) to protect strike breaker
- CAPITAL/STATE: The government bought Polish coal to stockpile and brought in Polish miner's and lorry drivers to cover striker's work

- The print unions supported the miner's, as did most unions.
- They knew they would be next.
- They were (see The Wapping Dispute 1986)



<http://the-sun-lies.blogspot.co.uk/2009/11/mine-führer-25-years-later.html>

Miner's Wives' Campaign

Very different from “the Women’s Liberation Movement”

Campaigning generates awareness and critique of:

- Male breadwinner
- Restrictive roles
- Femininity critique
- Heterosexuality critique
- Skills
- solidarity



Provo IRA Brighton Bomb (Marxist-Anti Imperialist Encounters)

2024: Sinn Féin became the single largest party representing Northern Ireland in Westminster

Always increased policing/ security/ surveillance. I was doing anti-racism workshops in Long Lartin prison with political prisoners, mainly IRA !!!



following the IRA bomb attack. The photo was taken on the morning of 12 October 1984, some hours after the blast.

South African Connections

- Marxist- feminist-anti-colonial encounters
- Anne-Marie Wolpe
- Gillian Slovo
- Harold Wolpe



Still Trying To Explain Consent To Power

Why and how?

Distraction from unrest

From Conservative party anti-gay pamphlet:

Of the lecturers at Crewe and Alsager College of Higher Education favour a more positive approach to homosexuality. As described later Peter Kent-Baguley has written two articles supporting the positive treatment of homosexuality in the youth service and Beverley Skeggs has written an enthusiastic review of the ILEA 'Anti-Sexist Resources Guide'



Gay lessons: How public funds are used to promote homosexuality among children and young people

Tingle, Rachel

1985

Note: This is not the actual book cover

State, Education and Social Policy

- Key Marxist theorists eg Mary McIntosh, Miriam David, Anne-Marie Wolpe, Bob Jessop. Debate about the relationship between capital and the state and it's institutions.
- History central : feminist historians
- Education central: Rosemary Deem, Ann-Marie Wolpe, Sue Lees
- Plus Foucault useful for the role of education and social policy to “control,” eg via architecture, potentially riotous populations (Foucault’s biopolitics plus class analysis)
- Plus Gramsci – (popular) culture + Hall articulations/over-determinations.
- Queer popular culture via Richard Dyer, Andy Medhurst
- Despisal of the Black and white working class as “drain on nation”. Concerted campaign against single mothers “should be in a nunnery”: Thatcher)

Concepts: Adapting Theory Through Ethnography and Activism

- **Interpellation** – challenge to ideology and recognition = **misrecognition**
- **Ideology** – complexity of its forms (eg semiotics, narrative, discourse, cultural circuits)
- **Discourse**: possibilities for speech, embedded in representations
- **History** revealed how WC women always positioned as deficit/pathological - in need of education in mothering/domesticity (class relations)
- **Class** – how to define it ? (via culture not stratification) leads to challenge to concept of identity = **dis-identification**
- **Femininity** – performance, white, middle class
- **WC dissimulation** – WC always represented as excess
- Gender – how to explain together with sexuality and race
- **Defence**: against attribution of lack of value/pathology/denigration/ across sites

State Homophobic
Campaigns Begin

State and Media HIV/AIDS 1986

20,000 ARE INFECTED . . . AND IT'S GETTING WORSE

Britain threatened by gay virus plague

BARBARA JONES, Medical Correspondent

So why did the media continue to call AIDS 'the gay plague' in spite of the evidence? I think part of the clue lies in what a journalist told one of my colleagues when I worked at the Terrence Higgins Trust in 1984 - "AIDS sells more newspapers than bingo."

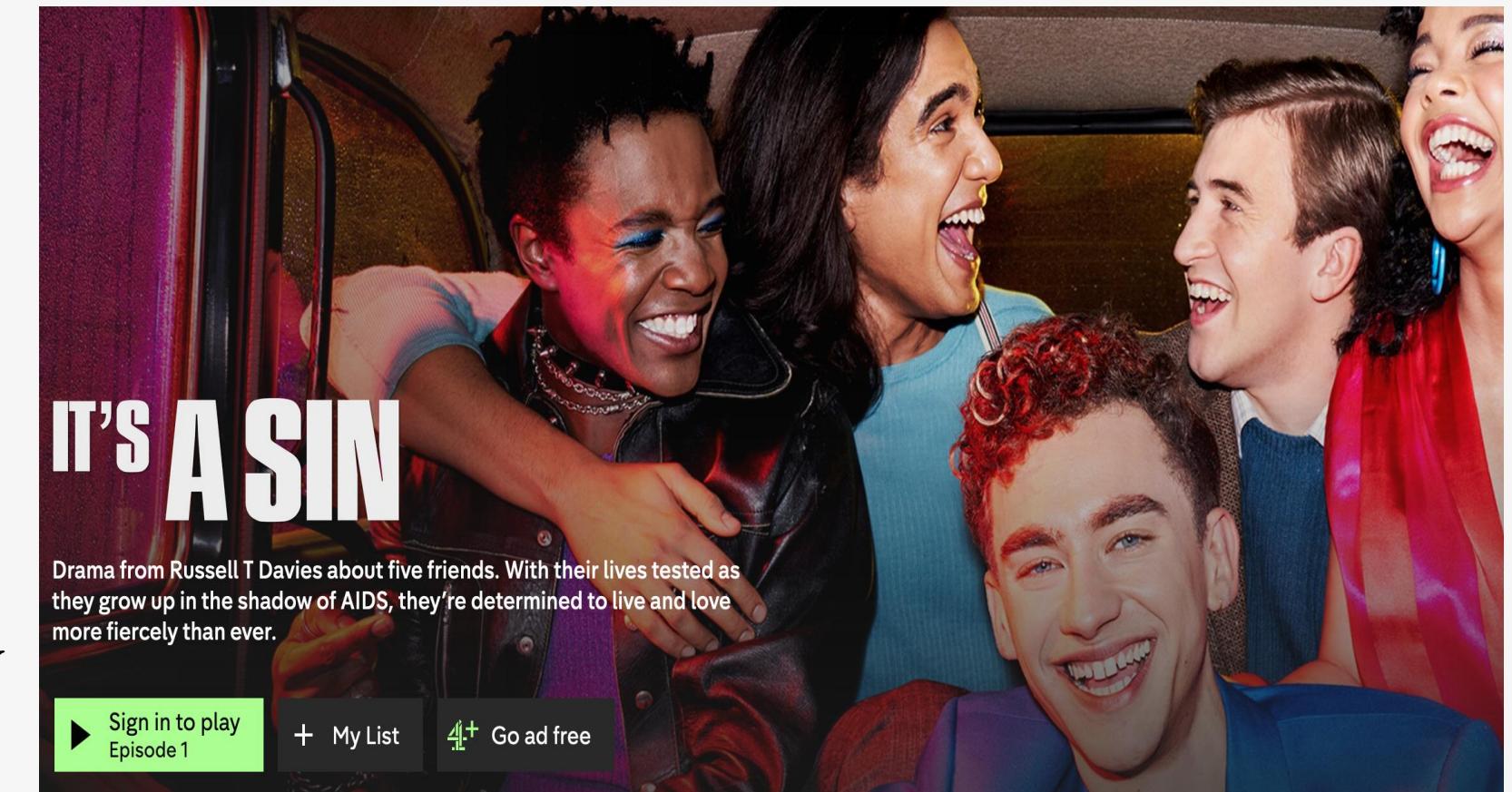
AIDS had everything - sex, celebrity exposés, moral enterprise, conspiracy theories and the opportunity to kick a group that was already marginalised from mainstream society. It allowed people to conclude that our 'lifestyles' actually generated AIDS as God's punishment, and it was used to suggest that we were both a physical and moral threat to 'innocent' people. Not only were we immensely contagious we were also deliberately contaminating the blood supplies. The repeated use of the term 'innocent victim' simply reinforced this idea.



<http://www.gayinthe80s.com/2014/04/1980s-hiv-aids-why-was-aids-called-the-gay-plague/>

Section 28

- The law is named after Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988, which added Section 2A to the Local Government Act 1986. Enacted on 24 May 1988, the amendment stated that a local authority
- "shall not intentionally promote homosexuality or publish material with the intention of promoting homosexuality"
- or "promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship"



Importance of Queer Theory to Both Feminism and Marxism

- Organised conference on Sexuality at Manchester
- Collectively established Queer reading group
- Ran research project on Violence and Queer Space
- Began link between political economy, significance of commodification of queer life, space (urban/rural), state control and state legitimization
- Property and propriety were the concepts that held all this together

Queering

For me crucial:

- Peter Cohen
- Eve Sedgwick
- Lauren Berlant
- Theresa de Laurentis
- Judith Butler
- Lee Edleman
- Don Kulick
- Biddy Martin
- Elspeth Probyn
- Les Moran & Gail Mason
- Ann Marie Smith

My friends/colleagues: Les Moran, Bird la Bird, Jackie Stacey, Sarah Franklin, Sarah Green, David Alderson, Jon Binnie, Sara Ahmed, Sally Munt, ...

Representations: Narratives, Discourses, Investments

- Narrative space: re-figures what is already known.
- Representations actively constitute the city; they are not just a representation of an external ‘real’.
- Narratives and representations circulate in the and about the space – they get used for different purposes.
- Utopic space generates desire for an imagined community.
- QaF set in a space already subject to significant struggles (interests and investments)



Queer as Folk: Manchester shapes people's responses to research

More IRA Bombs (Manchester)



I was caught twice: first time terrifying and helped my Dr neighbour pull glass out of people

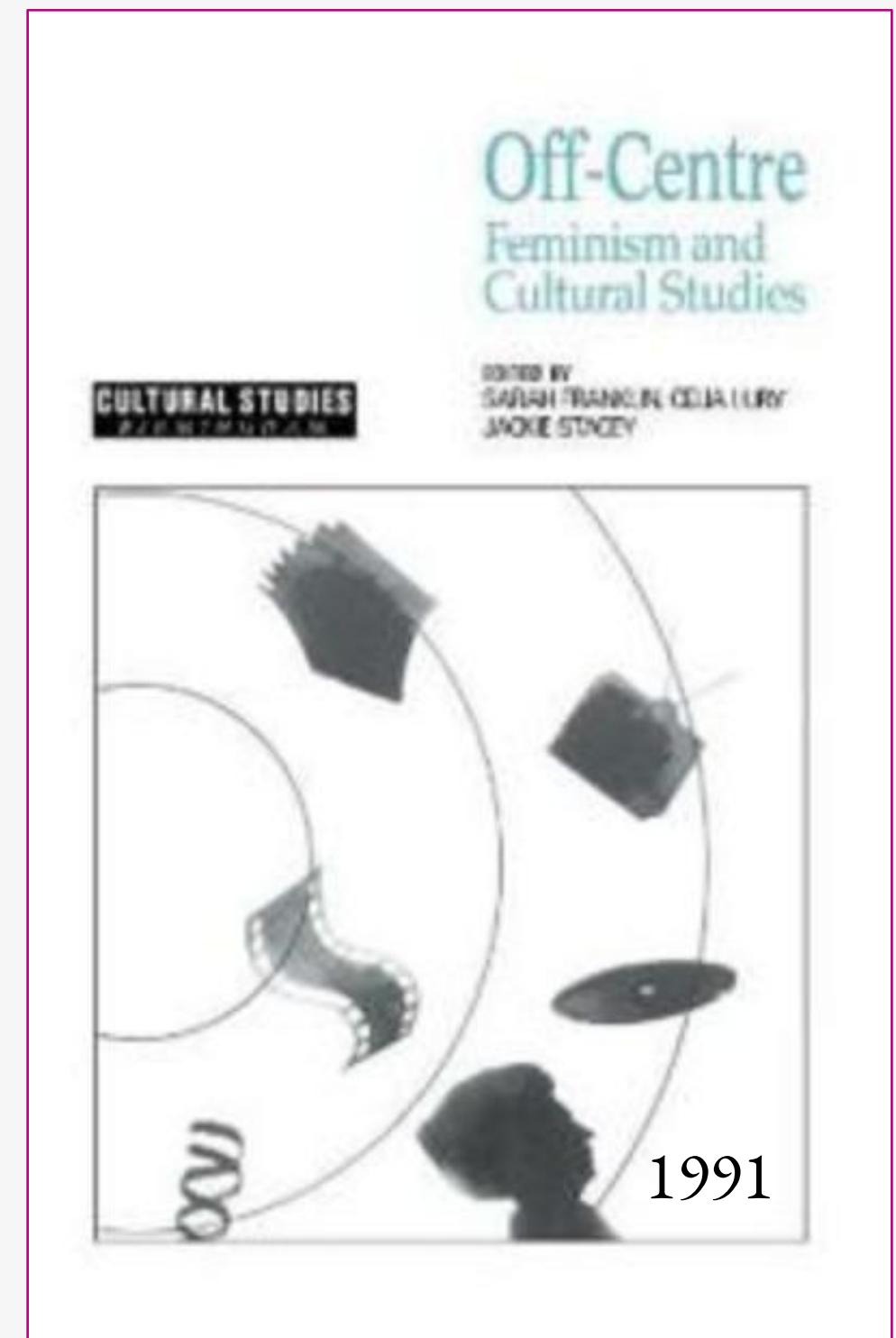
CCCS Women's Groups

Crucial

Gender & Sexuality, Queer State Discourse-in-use

I applied for a job to work with them at Lancaster

Introduction 1
Feminism and cultural studies:
pasts, presents, futures
SARAH FRANKLIN,
CELIA LURY & JACKIE STACEY



90S International Concepts & Connections

- Ann McClintock ‘Imperial Leather’
- Joan Scott “experience”
- Don Kulick “trans”
- Wendy Brown “injury”
- Ruthie Gilmore-Wilson “prison labour”
- Elspeth Probyn: “sexuality”
- Biddy Martin: trans FtM?
- Lauren Berlant:
- “affect”
- Judith Butler: “performativity”
- Donna Haraway:
- “material semiotic”

Transformations Conference 1997 Lancaster

Introduction: Thinking Through Feminism

Part 1: Bev Skeggs: The Rhetorics and Affects of Feminism 1. The Subject of True Feeling: Pain, privacy and politics

2. Shaming Theory, Thinking Distinctions: Feminism and reconciliation
3. Owned Suffering: Thinking the feminist political imagination with Simone de Beauvoir and Richard Wright
4. 'Unifying Forces': Rhetorical reflections on a pro-choice image
5. Luce Irigaray's Sexual Rights and the Politics of Performativity

Part 2: Boundaries and Connections 6. Claiming Transformations: Travel notes with pictures

7. From Politics of Identity to Politics of Complexity: A possible research agenda for feminist politics/movements across time and space
8. Operatic Karaoke and the Pitfalls of Identity Politics: A translated performance
9. Crossing Boundaries: Rethinking/teaching identity



Transformations Conference 1997 Lancaster cont...

Part 3: Knowledges and Disciplines 10. Forays of a Philosophical Feminist: Sexual difference, genealogy, teleology

11. Philosophy and the Feminist Imagination
12. Still Telling It Like It Is?: Problems of feminist truth claims
13. Techno-triumphalism, Techno-tourism, American Dreams and Feminism
14. Nuclear Families: Women's narratives of the making of the atomic bomb

Part 4: Subject Matters 15. Objects of Innovation: Post-occupational reflexivity and re-traditionalisations of gender

16. Consumerism and Compulsory Individuality: Women, will and potential
17. Reframing Pregnant Embodiment
18. Monsters, Marvels and Metaphysics: Beyond the powers of horror
19. Belonging and Unbelonging: Transformations of memory in the photographs of Virginia Woolf

Continued Protesting

Increased military policing

- Stop the War (Iran/Iraq) 2002, 2003, 2006
- Student fee imposition 2019
- Austerity 2017, 2022
- Women's protests 2017, 2023
- Housing Protests (E15)
- Stop Palestinian genocide



VISIT SHOP 

WOMEN IN REVOLT! PODCAST

This 6-part mini-series explores art, activism and the women's movement in the UK in the 1970s and 80s. From early struggles for equal pay, to punk, Thatcher and the AIDS pandemic, this was a time of extreme social, economic and political change.

Join curator Linsey Young, as she hears from artists, makers and activists about how their radical ideas and rebellious methods changed the face of British culture and forged a path for future generations.

New episodes are released every Monday from 6 November – 11 December 2023.

TRAILER



WOMEN IN REVOLT!  Introducing Women in Revolt!  Oct 30 · The Art Of ...  04:55

EPISODE ONE: FEROIOUS AND MAGNIFICENT



WOMEN IN REVOLT!  Women in Revolt! Mini-series: 1. Ferocious and Magnificent  Nov 6 · The Art Of ...  53:21

Curator Linsey Young journeys to the start of the Women's Liberation Movement and hears from women who were making work in the early 1970s.

Institutional Constraints

Making spaces

- Women's Studies (gender) (Lancaster)
- Sociology x 2 (Manchester, Goldsmiths)
- Activist training (wasn't)
- Cultural Studies: (Institute for Cultural Research) (Centre for V&V); C for the study of Social and Economic Issues (Lancaster)
- Sociological review Foundation

Cramped spaces

- Neo-liberal Universities
- Academic competition
- Measuring academic productivity
- Increased precarity
- Increased demands on time
- Burnout

Women's Studies in Britain in the 1990s: Entitlement Cultures and Institutional Constraints (1995) Women's Studies International Forum. 18: 4: 475-485.

The Dirty History of Feminism and Sociology: or the War of Conceptual Attrition, for Anniversary Issue of Sociological Review (2008), 56:4: 670-689.

Still Trying To Use Both Frames

- To explain the “**making history**”. But not in “conditions of one’s choosing”.
- What are our conditions of possibility/plausibility
- How are these shaped?
- How do power work?
- How do people respond to the structures that shape their lives?
- Found “**subject positions**” (James Donald) useful – how a nexus/or over-determination of different structures/ideology/discourse/institutions – what subject positions are available to us?
- How do we **inhabit them**? (crucial text/representations not enough for me “ways of life”

What am I trying to explain?

- Cannot include everything in a specific analysis
- Always think about where value lies: allocated through different forms
- I'd never work without historical legacies
- Or a sense of political economy
- Or a sense of state
- Always think of the violence of the situation: type
- Always attend to legitimation re & de
- Especially via gender and sexuality
- Understanding representational value
- Or a sense of how the above are received (plausibility) : usually as “ways of life” (encounters with....)
- Always conjunctural – the forces that work through us
- Articulated and overdetermined

Significance of Value Type? Not Just Economic

- Marxist explanations **of value – economic**, totality, socially necessary labour
- Significance of **new forms of capitalism** for value: eg financialization
- How value moves through **different forms** eg labour, capital (eg interest), fictitious (eg financial exchanges)
- How value is expressed through **property relations** eg land,
- How value is also moral eg propriety (moral value)

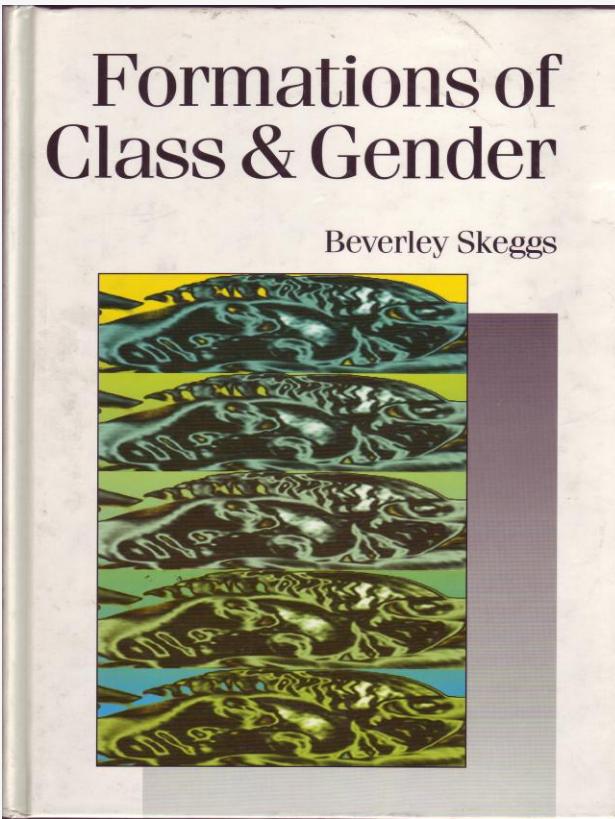
Significance of Value Type? Not Just Economic cont...

- The **institutionalization of moral value** eg welfare (eg deserving/undeserving)
- How different types of **value work through a symbolic economy** eg representations with good/bad value (usually gendered, classed and raced), performance – good/bad continuum
- How different forms of cultural value **cohere/embodied**: eg entitlement, disrupt and constitute
- How we **live value** through personhood eg possessive individual “subject of value”
- Struggles (usually localized) to **re-evaluate value** eg respectability

Bev books

- Different theories applied at different times:
- **Formations**: defending against pathology/no alternatives/mis-recognition/class struggle, subject positions
- **CSC**: “Subjects of Value”
- **Bourdieu**: experimenting with theory: capitals, affect, subjectivity
- **Sexuality, Violence and Space**: Property and Propriety
- **RTV**: responses to representations/performances

All struggles for and against value of different kinds



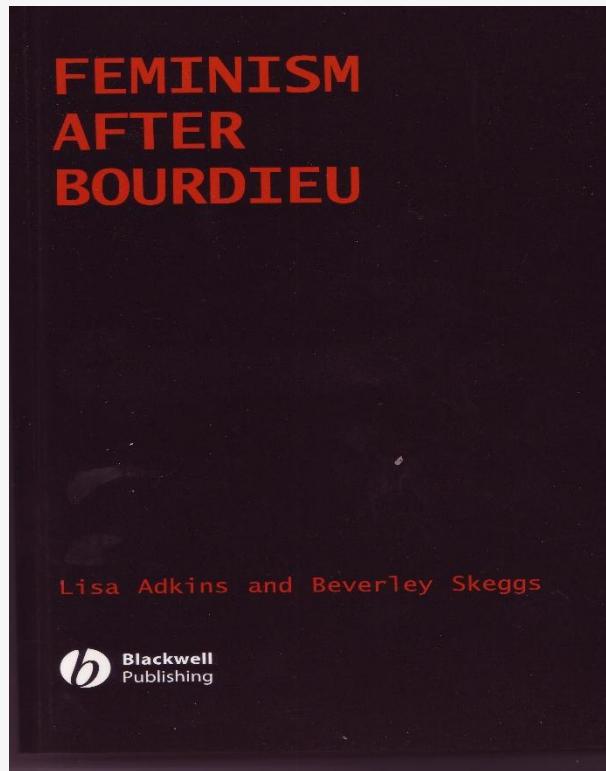
Formations of Class and Gender (1997)

- the making of gendered working-class subjectivity; defending institutional and symbolic devaluing
- Living class relations



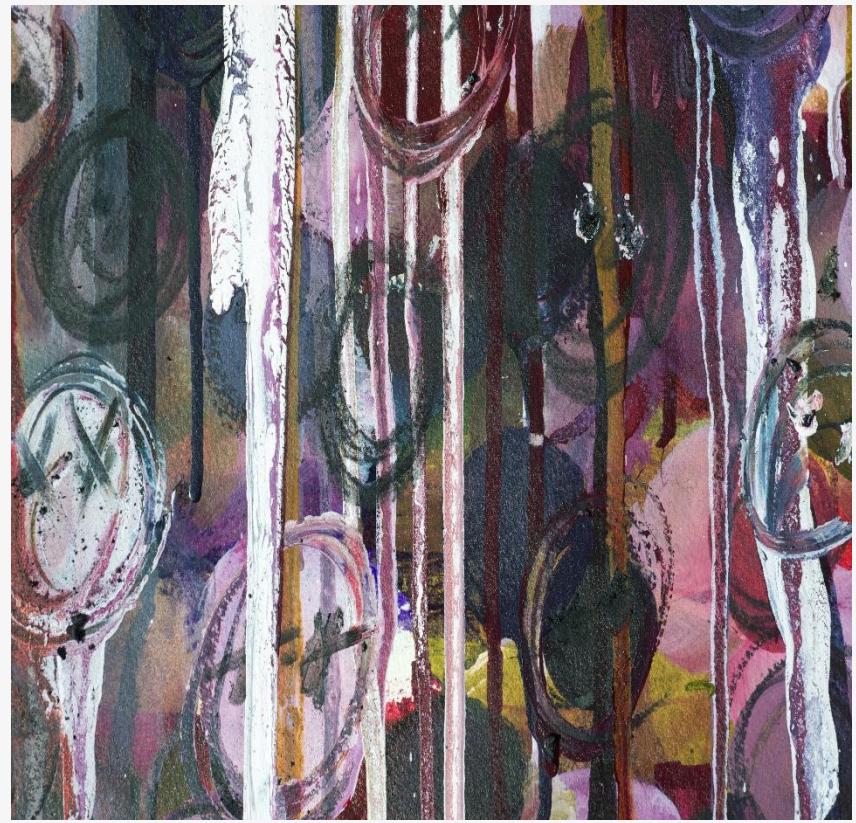
Class, Self, Culture (2004)

- middle-class formation, significance of classification, entitlement, accumulation of culture as if property
- MC affects eg resentment



Feminism After Bourdieu (2004)

- class affects, exclusions, the class- and gender based shape to subjectivity
- (with Lisa Adkins)

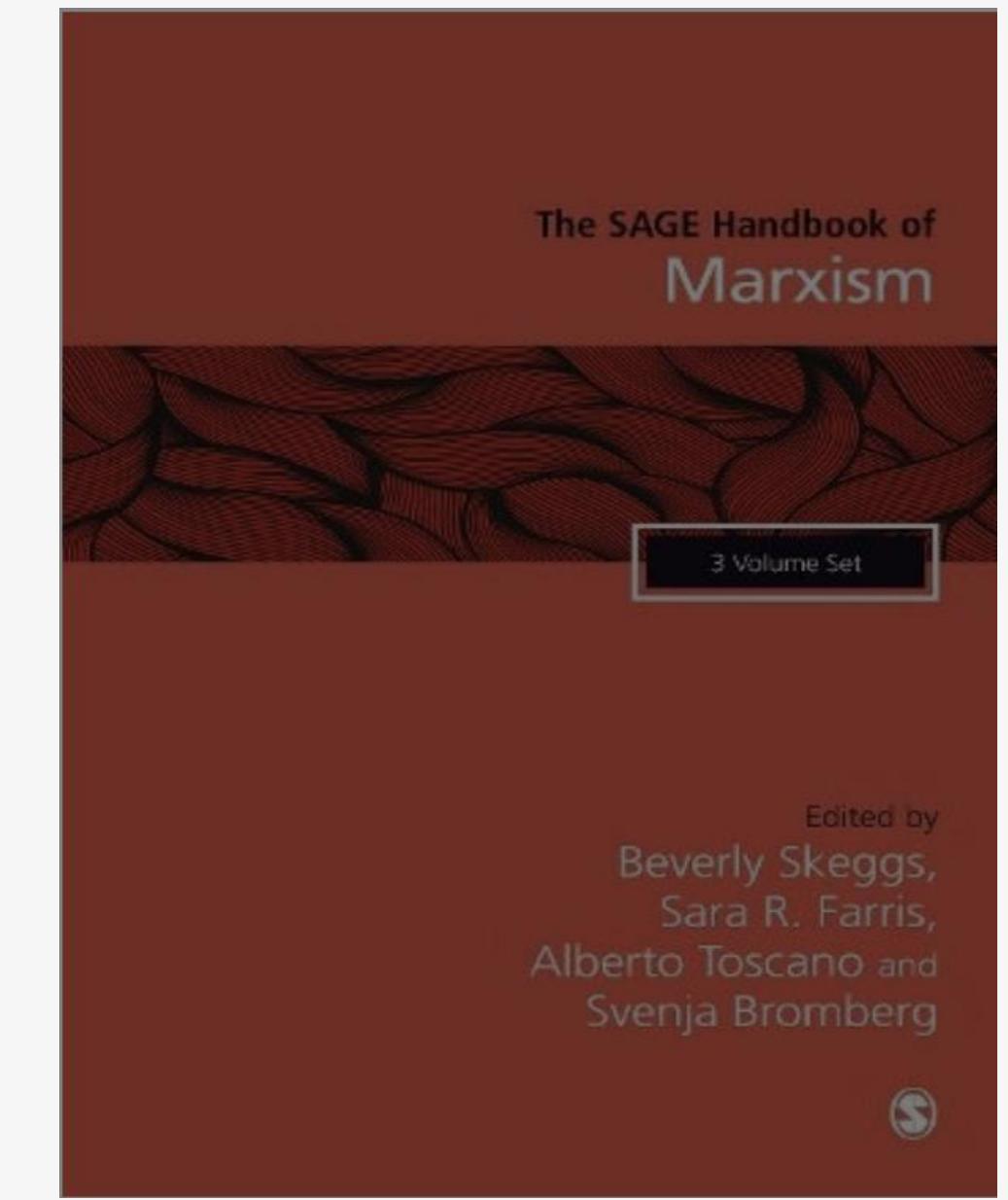


Reacting to Reality TV: Audience, Performance, Value (2012)

- Making personhood, symbolic economy distribution of value, WC representation as source of MC profit and its effects
- (with Helen Wood)

Handbook of Marxism (2022)

- Marx and Marxist debates on class, race and gender
- (with Sara Farris, Alberto Toscano and Svenja Bromberg)



Applications

Queering How The Political Economy of Racial Capitalism is Lived in the Present Conjuncture?

- Proximity to death?

Important: Back to Fundamentals -Necropolitics

Basics

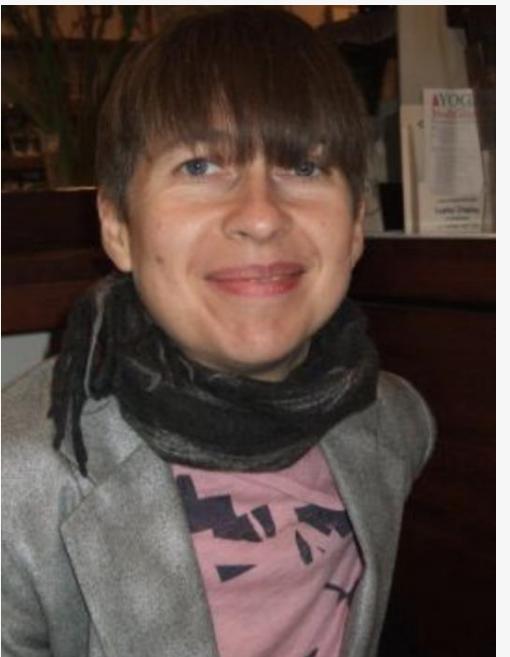
- Capital enters the world dripping in blood
- Capital will not protect labour (unless it can't find an alternative)
- Capital gives state responsibility for social reproduction (all types)
- State transfers as much as possible ie through privatization
- How to challenge proximity to death?

Difficult differences

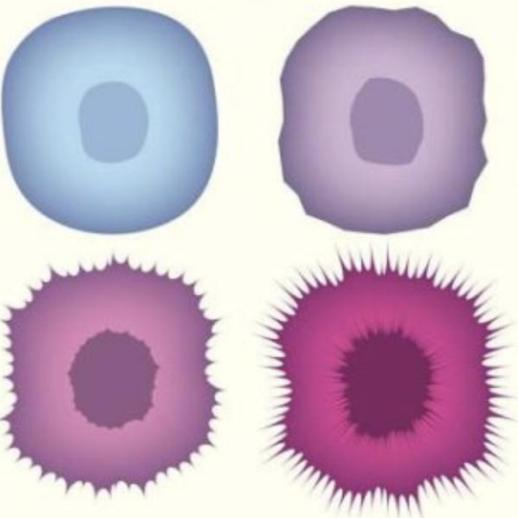
- Class, gender, sexuality and race articulate differently
- Eg gender performative,
- How to de-institutionalise
- Class becomes more entrenched through capital forms (eg neo-lib)
- State/capital allocates value to life: Black lives more proximate to necropolitics
- Need to understand relations in context, difficult to abstract together

Even Applied to Cancer in the Current Conjuncture

- Political economy: big pharma- investments, distributions, state, different nation rates, hospitals provision and privatization (models: financialization), local investments (eg London), carcinogenic food; mould (with Imogen Tyler)
- History: testing, media campaigns, racism: Black women and white WC women more likely to be at later stage when diagnosed
- Hierarchies of Drs and medicine eg cancer high but breasts low – great source of cash for private medicine. And where do Drs want to work?
- Treatments: patronized, gendered, sexualized (de-legitimated if not invested in femininity “you will want to keep your breasts”
- All shape possibilities and proximity to LIFE/DEATH



Malignant



How Cancer Becomes Us
S. Lochlann Jain

Struggle

Where to direct energy?

- Non- stop campaigning
- Not always productive encounters
- Constant learning and curiosity
- No learning is ever wasted
- Always shaped by history and context
- Includes institutional context (eg job/funding)

Building frameworks

- All research projects have dealt with different problems, used different theories, had different focus/ object
- All interested in economic and moral value
- Never neglect representation and their attribution of value
- Institutional +
- physical constraints constrain

Did I Answer My Question? Why Do We Give Consent To Power?

- No alternatives
- Depleted energy and time
- Trying to survive in increasingly cramped/toxic (literally)circumstances
- Lack of critical education – not knowing how things work, limited exposure to critical positions
- Responding to a purposeful politics of chaos/conspiracy
- Craven media-little accountability
- BUT... living life differently – struggling differently struggles for value
- Involved in many small challenges to encounters with power (state/labour/media) Forms of solidarity/resistance may not be recognisable
- Does our theory fit the circumstances that shape our project?

Futures? Would Like To See The F/M Encounter Between

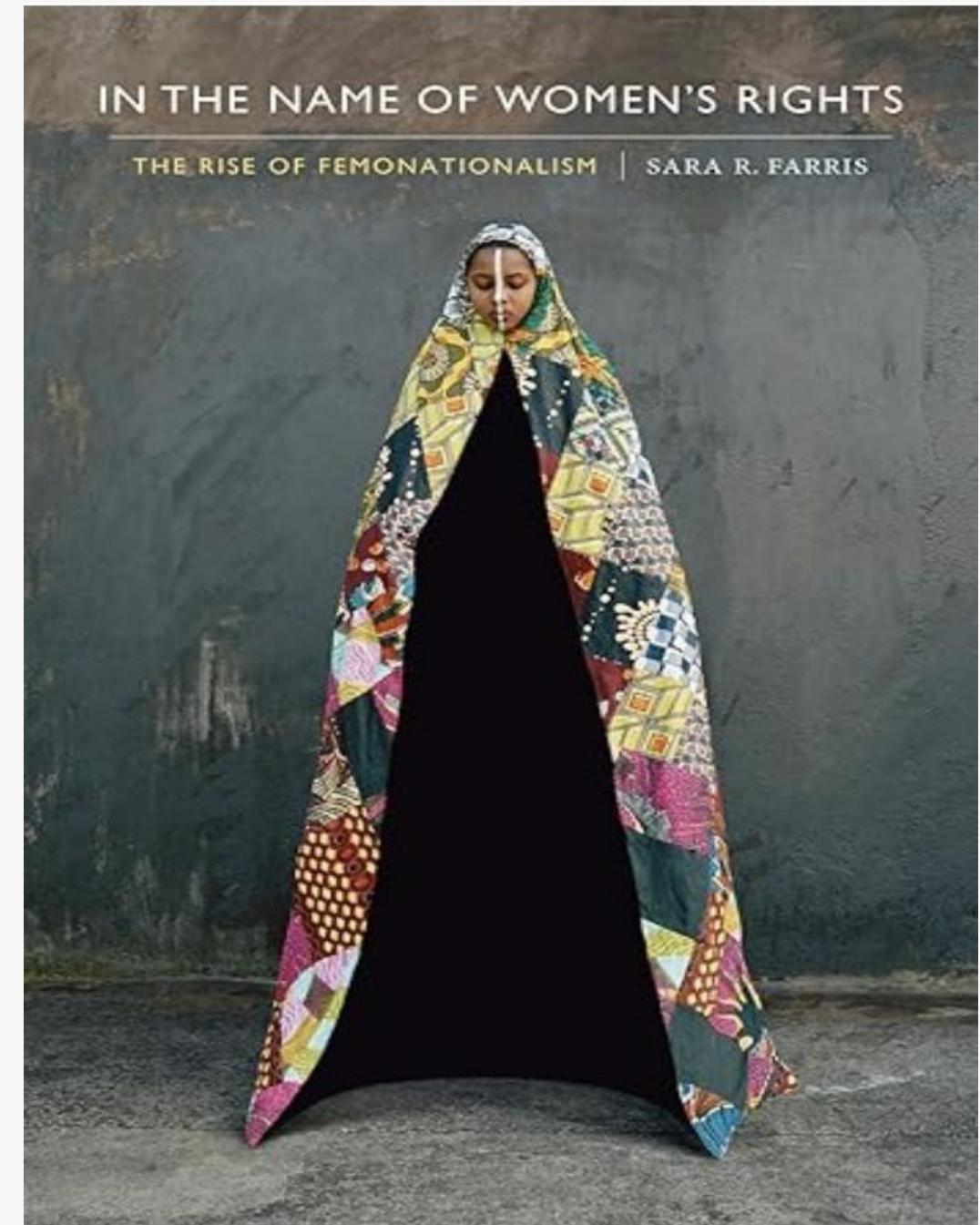
 **Brett Christophers**
Geographer :

Overview Books Interviews

Books



The Price is Wrong: Why Capitalism Won't Save Our Planet (2024)
Our Lives in Their Portfolio (2023)
The New Enclosure: The Appropriation of Public Land in Neoliberal Britain (2018)
Rentier Capitalism: Who Owns the Economy, and Who Benefits from It? (2020)
Economic Geography: A Critical Introduction (2017)
David Harvey: A Critical Introduction (2022)



- Matt Fuller
- Lisa Blackman
- Brenna Bhandar
- Alberto Toscano
- Sarah Franklin
- New: Ash Sarkar