

16.30 - 17.30

PANEL: FEMINISM IN POLAND moderation: Elżbieta Korolczuk, with:

Kasia Rakowska, *labour*

Zofia Łapniewska, *feminist economy*

Tomek Kitlinski, *the LGBTQ+*

Ewa Majewska, *Feminist theory*

18.00 Keynote Lecture for the MarxFem Conference, 16 Nov 2023.

Prof. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Columbia University, NY, gcs piv@gmail.com

abstract: Women in Primitive Accumulation. If primitive accumulation arises out of the transformation of land into property, what is the usual role of women here? As in most classical feminist inquiry, is the question of the transgender subject tangential to this?

1a ABORTION PANEL moderation Elena Beloki

Melpomeni Paidá (presenting), **Efthymia Makridou, Dimitra Dalakoura, Greece. *Intersecting perspectives on abortion among women and gynecologists in Greece. A qualitative analysis.***

bio: Melpomeni Paidá, I 'm a medical doctor in Greece with master's degree in Public Health and Health Policy. During my master my main interests included gender inequalities in health and social determinants of health. I 've been involved in LGBT+ and feminist groups in Greece. Currently member of a grassroots feminist group. I 've been speaker and participant in several seminars and conferences on sexual and gender identity and lgbt+ rights.

abstract: In Greece, abortion was legalized in 1986, with the current legislation allowing pregnancy termination for any reason until the 12th week and stressing the state's responsibility in providing safe and free abortions. Despite this, and unlike many other EU countries, Greece is home to a flourishing private health sector, where most abortions take place. Pregnancy termination remains a sensitive, controversial topic in Greek society, with anti-choice views expressed by acting ministers and politicians, while the Orthodox Church that still holds significant power in shaping the sociopolitical landscape, has never ceased to express anti-choice positions. The current study was designed to explore the experiences and views of people having an abortion and juxtapose them with the practices and perceptions of healthcare providers. For the purpose of this study, 31 cisgender women who had an abortion in Greece and 33 gynaecologists practicing in the country were interviewed and the transcripts studied using thematic analysis. Results clearly indicated issues of access to abortion in the public sector. Furthermore, a significant number of OB/GYNs refuse to perform abortions. Delving deeper, it became apparent that isn't a straightforward divide, as many gynaecologists who state that they perform abortions, may refuse for certain groups of patients. From their perspectives and practices emerges a complex system of reasoning, by which abortions are arbitrarily stratified as justified or unjustified. On the women's side, their own expressed views of abortion seemed to conform with the doctors', sharing their justification system and hardly considering their behaviours noteworthy. Both women's and OBGYNs' perceptions seem to justify such practices and perpetuate stigmatising behaviours, that are known to hamper universal access to free, safe and timely pregnancy termination. With access to abortion in public

clinics already being problematic, these practices amplify social inequalities and pose significant threats to reproductive justice.

Ludmila Böhmová, **Charles University, Prague, Cz.; *Croatian Feminist Movement within Culture Wars in the Region - Specific Example of Right to Abortion***

abstract: The right to abortion in Croatia has been a recurring subject of public debate since the 1990s, has created a lot of controversy, and despite its legalization, the access to abortion is limited. Since the 90s, the right to abortion has been threaten many times by the conservative Tudjman government as part of his pronatality policy, by the Catholic Church and the conservative movement. The feminist movement has each time responded to the other actors involved in the conflict. The role of religion to the conflict itself has many faces. The Catholic church is powerful institution to influence the debate around the right to abortion, the conservative movement is strongly connected to the transnational religious groups and the conservative political parties operate with the dominant Catholic identity of the Croatian society. In the present conference paper, I the local feminist movement and its position and the role within the conflict forming around the right to abortion in the region where is one dominant religious actor, Catholic church.

It is possible to trace the development and change of local as well as global culture wars and the political context within the conflict around the right to abortion by examining the position of feminist movement and the tools they use within the conflict. Through social movement theory recontextualized to post-socialist countries, the paper looks at the feminist movement as an actor responding to external influences, to the political context, to other actors involved in the conflict, and to the internal dynamics of the movement.

Aleksandra Fila, **University of Graz, AT; *Class Wars: Patriarchy strikes back. Unraveling the entanglements of neoliberal capitalism with neoconservative patriarchy while tracing the genealogy of the abortion ban in Poland.***

Bio: Aleksandra Fila is a PhD candidate and a research fellow in a project ‘Everyday Creativity in (Post)Socialism’ at the University of Graz. She is an interdisciplinary scholar with a background in cultural and gender studies – Aleksandra obtained her education in those fields at the University of Vienna and Jagiellonian University in Kraków. Particularly interested in intersections of feminist, Marxist and decolonial theory, her PhD research project explores the processes of backlash and socio-economic transformation of the ‘long ‘90s’ in Poland through the lenses of feminist political economy and everyday creativity scholarship.

abstract: A further limitation of reproductive rights in Poland and the USA makes it painfully clear that the backlash - set in motion during the Reagan era and, in Poland, intensified in the ‘90s - does not belong to the past. This contribution proposes to “think with the East” about the origins of the ongoing reproductive rights crisis, occurring in an especially sharp form in Poland, making it a particularly illuminating case. In this talk, I examine the genealogy of the Polish abortion ban, which simultaneously leads me to propose an interpretative model of the multidimensional structural relationship between backlash and neoliberalisation - aiming to bridge different voices of feminist debate on entanglements of neoliberal and patriarchal turns. Firstly, I propose that backlash was a pre-condition of the successful implementation of neoliberalism in Poland – as it contributed to the disintegration of the working class, thus inhibiting its capability to resist labour-hostile reforms. Here I examine the conservative turn within the “Solidarity” union, manifesting itself most evidently in its embracement of the anti-abortion policy and consequential exclusion of its female members. Secondly, the backlash was inherent to introduced reforms – as austerity politics relied on the cuts in reproduction and ‘housewisation’ of women’s labour, deteriorating women’s economic position. New labour regimes were profoundly gendered - and they benefitted from ‘remaking the women’s body’ - through the ban’s implementation - into a vulnerable body, susceptible to intensified alienation and exploitation.

Finally, the patriarchal turn was also a (side) effect of the neoliberalisation – because material inequalities needed to be discursively legitimised and also due to the affective politics the backlash could offer. Emotional mobilisations around elusive causes like “protection of the unborn” diverted attention from new dispossessions and, as such, constituted an important regulatory mechanism of the system based on the ‘rule and divide’ basis.

Norah Bowman, **Okanagan College, Syilxterritory, Canada. Reproductive justice.**

bio: Norah Bowman is a professor of Gender, Sexualities and Women’s Studies at Okanagan College, on unceded Syilx territory in Canada. Her most recent published book is *Breath, Like Water: An Anticolonial Romance*, published by Caitlin Press in 2021.

abstract 2023 sees reduced access to reproductive justice in places where these rights were once held. In the USA and Poland, for example, pregnant women face fewer rights than their mothers and are already suffering from higher rates of maternal mortality than previous generations. Parallel to the global rise in white-supremacist populism, these misogynist conditions function to strengthen christo-fascist state discourse; they are funded by wealthy conservative extremists groups who celebrate their victories worldwide. At the same time, feminist activists are organizing resistance in new ways. This resistance labour, I argue, not only functions to push against capitalist, misogynist domination of women’s lives bodies, but it is a radical reappropriation of women’s social reproduction labour. It is work that keeps women alive, that nourishes community resilience, that provides medication and transportation to medical services. It is a labour of creation: from the rubble of capitalist misogyny, it repossesses the bodies and economies of women and pregnant people in the face of concerted, funded, sexist dispossession. I turn to the work of *Las Libres*, Mexican women providing abortion support to Americans; to the *SdruZeny* collective in the Czech Republic protesting anti-abortion laws in Poland; and to Polish women organizing to ensure access to reproductive health care. Shulamith Firestone’s formulation of the feminist dialectical revolution as both biologically embodied and conceptually powerful informs my analysis, as does the formulation of social reproduction labour by Cinzia Arruzza, Nancy Fraser and Tithi Bhattacharyan. Sophie Lewis’ declaration that care, liberation, and family can be created well outside the structure of the heternormative family informs my findings; in my paper I show that our justice work, as feminists, creates the counter to the dispossession of our embodied labour and builds a new space of compassionate, embodied, creative, political agency.

1b ECOLOGY PANEL, moderation: Zofia Łapniewska

Ana Renker-Darby, University of Auckland, New Zealand; Unhealthy Diets and Non-Communicable Disease: A Crisis of Social Reproduction

bio: **Ana Renker-Darby**, University of Auckland, New Zealand; **Unhealthy Diets and Non-Communicable Disease: A Crisis of Social Reproduction** **bio:** Ana Renker-Darby is a sociologist and population health researcher based at the University of Auckland. Her research explores the effects of the capitalist mode of production on population health outcomes. University of Auckland, renkerdarby.a@gmail.com

abstract: Non-communicable diseases such as ischaemic heart disease, type 2 diabetes and various cancers are a major health issue in developed capitalist countries. One of the main causes of these diseases is consuming a diet high in free sugars, salt and saturated fat and low in fruit and vegetables, whole grains and protein. Empirical research has found that a reliance on cheap, unhealthy convenience foods that require minimal preparation time is a key driver for unhealthy diets. However, there has been little attempt to understand the time and work required to consume a healthy diet as an aspect of social reproduction – the unpaid, often invisible work that forms a key pillar of the capitalist mode of production. In this paper, I look

to Marxist feminist analyses to conceptualise unhealthy diets as a crisis of social reproduction. Drawing on the work of Fortunati and Federici, I describe how preparing and consuming food is a core aspect of the reproduction of labour-power. Capital depends on this work, yet simultaneously ignores it so as to avoid paying it a wage. I then explore how the increased availability of unhealthy convenience food, snack food and fast food in the neoliberal era has enabled capital to reorganise social reproduction work to maximise capital accumulation. Many low-paid workers are no longer afforded the time outside of the paid working day to prepare healthy meals – capital has instead forced their dependence upon these unhealthy convenience foods. This has in turn contributed to the intensifying crisis of non-communicable diseases. Finally, I explore the ways that we can make healthier diets possible through supporting workers' capacity for social reproduction.

Jordi Valentini, Turin University, Italy; Intersectionality in Animal Liberation Advocacy: a Marxist-Feminist Perspective.

bio: Jordi Valentini, Università degli Studi di Torino, is a PhD candidate at the University of Torino. His research focuses on Italian poetry, protest movements and *Querelle des Femmes* in the 1970s-80s. He is an editorial board member of the journal *Cenobio* and part of GRILITS (Research Group on Literature, Industry, Technology and Human Sciences).

abstract:

This study considers Antispecism an imperative discourse for intersectional feminisms and an Ecomarxist response to climate change. It is apparent to the proponent that most online activism spaces, even those in which a Marxist and/or Feminist positioning is more pronounced, don't consider Antispecism a relevant issue. When they do, the Marxist component is often replaced by a consumer-oriented, individual practice that relies on the market to self-regulate towards vegan capitalism, thus maintaining structural inequality. The first part of this dissertation provides some examples from digital media surrounding these issues (social media posts, podcasts, television debates, etc.), analyzing their ideological stance. The second part acknowledges that Feminism has more readily embraced a reflection on animal commodification to interpret human social relations and women's oppression under capitalism. Carol J. Adams' *The Sexual Politics of Meat* (1990) links patriarchal violence and meat consumption, the exploitation of women in production processes, cultural misogyny and the violation of reproductive rights. Some elements from Adams' work are useful to a Marxist-Feminist analysis, but they are not further developed beyond a moral bias that still dominates animal liberation discourse today. From Peter Singer's *Animal Liberation* (1975) to current online debates the human and nonhuman animal relationship is considered under a purely ethical framework, a product of discrimination, while Marxism can come to consider nonhuman animals as exploited labor power. An Ecosocialist or Marxist response to animal rights advocacy and climate change needs to untether itself from liberal veganism and moral Antispecism, as well as radical political discourse that remains antithetical to Marxism, such as vegan Anarchism. In conclusion, this study compares different perspectives – Adams' work, Marco Maurizi's *Antispecismo politico* (2022), and Kohei Saito's *Karl Marx's Ecosocialism* (2017) – to articulate a Marxist-Feminist praxis toward a structural societal change that benefits both human and nonhuman animals.

Beatriz V. Toscano, University of Applied Sciences, Düsseldorf, Germany; *Is the Smart City Feminist? A Case of Biopolitical Technologies in the Production of the Care Economy.*

Bio Beatriz V. Toscano is a Spanish scholar and associate professor at the Institute for Sustainable Urban Development and at the University of Applied Sciences in Düsseldorf. Her research work focuses on the interface

of urban planning and biopolitics, with recent publications on neoliberal urban planning (SoftPower, 2017), gendered approaches to urban planning (La Invisible, 2017), precarity (Kadmos, 2017), urban tourism and gentrification in Spain (sub\urban, 2019) and the militarization of urban space (Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung 2022). With degrees from the University of Seville, the University of Pennsylvania and the Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf, she has taught as a guest lecturer at the University of Texas at Dallas, the Higher Technical School of Architecture of Seville and the University of São Paulo's School of Architecture and Urbanism.

abstract: My contribution to the conference would like to explore the alliance between the practices of urban design and the feminization of precarity. Cities I claim are projected to exhaust the possibilities of human productivity, not only by focusing on the rapid mobilization of bodies but also by the systematic disavowal of social reproducibility to the private realm. However vast the amount of critical work on the question of gendered-based spatial injustices (S. Federici, D. Hayden, P. B. Preciado), there is a cleft to be found in how the practical design of everyday life is following suit. And, while we can all agree that cities need to be more inclusive and less sexist, is this emancipatory discourse truly materializing in better proposals for urban design? In this sense, I intend to comment on some of the instances of how a feminist approach in the design of the so-called smart city is still trapped in the value creating chain of capitalist interests, i.e. with a strong focus on efficiency and the reduction of life to its economic value: I am talking here of the economic exhaustion of city centres, with communal life organized around consumption, of the digitalization of services, promising an ever-hastened satisfaction of needs, but tied to gendered profiling and exploitative devices, of smart gadgets, such as breast feeding stations to remain in the move while caring for infants, of the promotion of private property through family utopias and expensive housing projects. All these report of an approach to urban design in which technologies take charge of solutions and care becomes privatized into an 'economy' of sorts. Against the backdrop of a thorough paradigm shift and based on some of the above-mentioned theoretical references, I will be arguing for cities to be more feminist, not because they make of 'care' a more cost-effective and aspirational merchandise, but for their vocation in the de-marketization of human life. **Keywords:** Urban Design, Care Economy, Technology, Social Reproducibility

1c SOCIAL MOVEMENTS PANEL moderation Beatriz Pedroso

Weronika Dąbrowicz, PL; Gabe Wilczyńska, National Commission of OZZ Inicjatywa Pracownicza; The Social Congress of Women – women's labour mobilization.

abstract: During our presentation we will discuss the effects and the legacy of Social Congress of Women. Held in Poland since 2018, the Congress aims to be a platform of discussion and coordination of actions of social feminism in Poland. It is the only social women's grassroots assembly in Poland, discussing social struggles of Polish radical left organizations. It was created as a critical response to the (neo)liberal Congress of Women. Our Congress is organized by representatives of militant trade unions, social movements and collectives, such as The Workers' Initiative, WZZ Sierpień 80, WZZ Jedność Pracownicza, OPZZ Konfederacja Pracy, OPZZ SP, NSZZ Solidarność, ZNP, Workers' Initiative Youth and other trade unions. The event will also feature tenants organized in Lodz, Warsaw, Poznan and beyond. During the Marxist-Feminist Conference we will present and discuss the demands of the Congress in four areas: wage work, care, trade union activism and housing. We focus on the practical implications of class relations in Poland and on contemporary activism. We will also discuss the problems and the nature of labor struggles in Poland, i. e. working conditions in Amazon, nursing homes, the fight against discrimination against women at Kaufland and more. Each Congress ends with the list of demands and action plan for carrying out and supporting various workplace and social struggles, we will thus present the outcomes of this year's meeting and emerging struggles of Polish radical leftist feminism. We will gladly exchange our knowledge and experience with other leftist, socially involved international feminists.

Ursula Probst, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, DE; Sex work and the reproduction of neoliberal Europe.

bio: Ursula Probst is a postdoctoral research associate at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at Freie Universität Berlin. Her main research interests are labor migration, sexual economies and the social production of bodies. In doctoral dissertation she analyzed the racialized, gendered and sexualized dimensions of European labor migration based on ethnographic fieldwork with migrants from “Eastern European” countries who are/were engaged in sex work in Berlin. Currently, she is conducting research on the effects of pandemic mobility regimes on mobile essential workers in Germany. Contact: ursula.probst@fu-berlin.de

abstract: “I did not want to go cleaning anymore for five euros per hour, to destroy my body, that’s why I prefer sex work.” During my research on the lived realities of migrants from “Eastern European” countries who engage in sex work in Berlin, I encountered many women who issued such or similar statements about their reasons for getting involved in sex work. None of these women would argue that sex work is a “good” job without problems. Yet, compared to the other options available to them as precarized migrant women in the German labor market, sex work appeared as an alternative worth considering. While the increasingly precarious (working) conditions of care, service and/or agricultural workers have received a fair amount of attention, the relations between these sectors and the sex industry are often overlooked in European academic and activist debates, as debates and critiques of the sex industry tend to focus on moral(ized) issues, particularly in Germany. In this paper I argue that in order to formulate a thorough critique of working and living conditions for women (and) migrant workers in contemporary neoliberal Europe (and beyond), sex work has to be included in analyses of (labor) precarization and its gendered, sexualized and racialized dimensions. On the one hand, an attention to the relations between sex work and other precarious work highlights how neoliberal (Western) European sexual “freedoms” are (re-)produced through labor exploitation. On the other hand, such an attention also allows for a feminist critique of the sex industry centered around the experiences of people engaged in sex work, not moralized sentiments which tend to ignore broader issues of precarity and labor exploitation.

Ndindi Kitonga, LA, USA; Black Abolition Feminisms and Related Global Movements.

bio: Ndindi Kitonga, Ph.D. is a Kenyan American educator, long-time community organizer, and houseless rights advocate. Ndindi is also the co-founder of Angeles Workshop School. Ndindi teaches graduate courses in Black feminisms, abolition, teacher education, critical pedagogy, and anti-racist humanizing pedagogies for the CA public university system. She has written articles and book chapters such as *In A Post-Floyd Era?: Race, Gender, Class, and Black Movements* (2022), *Black perspectives & What to Make of Mutual Aid?* (2022), *Anticolonialism, Africa and Humanism* (2019), *Angeles Workshop School: An Experiment in Radical Student Voice* (2019)

abstract: Many in our current-day Black movements locate their politics in abolitionist feminist organizing. In the last few years, we’ve witnessed these movements not only critique dehumanizing neoliberal policies as set out by major political parties, but also the politics of the Black bourgeoisie and the reformist projects of social democrats whose analysis of racial and gendered capitalism falls short. While Black abolition feminisms are not new, current movements are drawing on frameworks from the early abolitionist movements along with new theoretical insights articulated by the PIC (Prison Industrial Complex) abolitionist scholar-activists of the 1990s and the early 2000s. These movements are also developing their own creative organizing practices based on knowledge co-produced and shared across Black feminist collectives who’ve been doing this work for over the past 3 decades. This praxis includes but is not limited to the role of mutual aid and creation

the creation of networks of care that challenge, and enrich existing social reproduction theories. In this session, we will explore Black abolition feminisms and Black radical internalisms. We will discuss a brief history of the politics of the police and prison abolition movement, ongoing discourse in the field along with contradictions we're working to overcome as we struggle for a society free of all systems of domination where all can flourish.

Elaheh Soroushnia, Iran; From “#MeToo to” “My Class Too”.

Bio: I am a left feminist activist and an independent researcher and activist based in Iran interested in gender and sexuality studies, social movements, and media studies, with specific interest in the history of Iranian revolutionary movements from the 1970s to the present. I published articles on gender/race and representation in journals and collected volumes.

abstract: A common criticism of the #MeToo movement both in the West and in Iran holds that participation in the movement is mostly limited to the middle class, as women of lower classes tend not to narrate their experiences of sexual violence in online contexts. In this paper, I will argue that, assuming this criticism to be valid, the experience of sexual harassment as narrated by middle class women has the power to disrupt dominant regimes of social knowledge production in which lower class women and men are subordinated, objectified, and stigmatized. Inspired by feminism of the 99%, my paper focuses on a state of exploitation beside wage and reproductive exploitation, in which the lives and bodies of people from the lower class are used as raw material for scientific production, especially in matters of social harm. I draw on statistical data from governmental institutions in Iran that provide free or inexpensive medical and social services mostly used by the people of lower class in return for the extraction of data—public hospitals, social service centers, safe houses, children's homes, forensic medical sources, judicial authorities, and others. In this process of knowledge production, middle class remains untouched, the family and social class that the woman of middle class comes from and uses its social capital and dignity protected from the stigma of sexual harm. When these women narrate experiences of sexual harassment, they are providing their class and their trauma as the raw material and object of science production. the boundaries enforced between middle- and lower-class women are destabilized. By passing from #MeToo to “My Class Too,” I argue that we can problematize the subject and object of dominant attitudes in social research.

13.00-15.00 – PANEL ROUND 2

2A CLIMATE PANEL 1 moderation: Sylwia Chutnik.

Zofia Łapniewska and Maciej Grodzicki, Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland; *Forest Wars in Poland: the feminist and political economics perspective.*

bios: Dr. Zofia Łapniewska is an economist and feminist, senior lecturer at the Institute of Economics, Finance and Management of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland. In the years 2012–2016, she worked abroad as a postdoctoral researcher among others at the Humboldt University in Berlin and the London School of Economics and Political Science, where she conducted research on commons and energy cooperatives. Her current research interests are in feminist and ecological economics. contact: z.lapniewska@uj.edu.pl Dr. Maciej Grodzicki – doctor of economics from the Jagiellonian University, member of the board of the Polish Economic Network and trade union activist in the Employee Initiative. He conducts research on international political economy, global supply chains and the economics of shared resources, including forests. It draws on the trends of heterodox economics: ecological, evolutionary and post-Kaleckian economics. contact: maciej.grodzicki@uj.edu.pl

abstract: In many places in the world struggles continue for natural resources, on which the life and prosperity of local communities essentially depend (e.g. Rap & Jaskolski 2019, UN 2023). Women in these communities play a special role as more often than men they rely upon access to these resources, especially in countries where they have had no access to formal employment, and thus they remain committed to their protection (e.g. Chipko movement (Bandyopadhyay 1999) or women and forest conservation in India and Nepal (Agarwal 2009)). Beyond the gender dimension, we perceive forest economy, in a Marxist vein, as a part of the social metabolism of nature, driven by class relations and the accumulation on global scale (Auerbach & Clark 2018). Capitalist social relations of production transform human relations with nature, from those based on complex schemes of commons management into hierarchic, commodified and exclusionary ones (Smith & O’Keefe 1980). In the Polish context of a transition economy, it has been unmistakable in the evolution of the forestry regime, from a balanced, multi-functional into a productivist one (Blicharska et al. 2020). Arguably, it feeds back to the social relations as well, strengthening the patterns of uneven development, alienation and exploitation. The struggle in Poland is currently taking place on many forest fronts and has many dimensions. Starting from the fight for social forests, by the inhabitants who went to the forests *en masse* during the COVID-19 pandemic and saw complete logging on a huge scale (Lasy i Obywatele 2021), through organized groups of citizens fighting for the creation of new nature reserves (Kolektyw Wilczyce 2021, Turnicki Park Narodowy 2023, Fundacja Dziedzictwo Przyrodnicze 2023), the creation of which is massively supported by the public opinion, to the construction of a wall on the Polish-Belarusian border, where the tragedies of people (migrants) and animals merge (Jaroszewicz 2022, Wyborcza.pl Białystok 2023). As a research group implementing the project “Political Economy of Ecological Challenges: Towards Sustainable Forest Economy” at the Jagiellonian University, funded by the Excellence Initiative, we study forest economy in Poland primarily from the perspective of political economy, but the feminist perspective cannot be ignored in the struggles outlined above. We will present this combination in our presentation, discussing the above-mentioned conflicts.

María Fernanda Lartigue–Marin, **Oaxaca, Mexico**; *Unearthing fetishes. Spaces and technologies of clean energy production in post-fossil capitalism.*

bio: María Fernanda Lartigue Marín is an anthropologist from Oaxaca, México. She is currently doing a Masters in Social Anthropological Research at the University of Cambridge, and she coordinates the online editorial and radio project magma. Her research interests are related to technology sovereignty, political ecology, political economy, and feminist STS.

abstract: Clean energy is the backbone of the survival project of a capitalism aware of climate crisis, and is presented as a ready-made resource in an imagined smooth global transition away from fossil fuels. However, its sites and technologies of production, storage, and circulation are localised and follow colonial spatial and social dynamics. In this paper I will discuss the political economy of clean energy production in Latin America, using the notion of fetishism to analyse, on the one hand, the class, gender, and race relations that are set up around, enable, and sustain post-fossil capitalism and, on the other, post-fossil capitalism itself as a mode of production.

Marjaana Jauhola, Violeta Gutiérrez Zamora; Ilona Steiler; Satu Sundström, **Finland**; *Worlding Feminisms – re-thinking green transformations with ethics of care .*

Bio notes: Marjaana Jauhola (marjaana.jauhola@tuni.fi) is a senior research fellow at the Tampere Peace Research Institute. Her work focuses on post-conflict/disaster reconstruction; gendered and sexualized notions of good life; ethnography, and life historical and visual methods. Violeta Gutiérrez Zamora (violeta.gutierrez.zamora@uef.fi) recently defended her PhD thesis at the University of Eastern Finland. Her research centres on conservation and development in rural spaces; environmental justice; and culturally

situated transformations of human and non-human relations. **Ilona Steiler** (Ilona.steiler@tuni.fi) is a postdoctoral research fellow at Tampere University. Her research focuses on transformations of labour and work in global capitalism; irregular, informal and precarious forms of labour; and the role of digitalization and platformization of work for sustainable development. **Satu Sundström** (satu.sundstrom@helsinki.fi) is a PhD researcher at the University of Helsinki. Her fields of theoretical expertise are in feminist transnational solidarity and activism. Her thesis “Global Feminism – challenges and utopias” analyses the problems of building global level feminist solidarities through the case study of feminist participation to the World Social Forum.

abstract: Can we save the world by living green lives? Attempts to change our lifestyles and patterns of consumption are multiplying, following global calls for green transition and sustainable development. Yet, amidst the complexity of global connections, it is becoming clear that such attempts have costs that remain unseen: embedded into global supply chains and physical and digital infrastructures, they produce constant entanglements of violence and care. This violence is not always explosive or eventful such as wars, but often gradual and out of sight - most of the time not recognised as violence at all. Such entanglements imply the coexistence of logics of violence, oppression, and injustice with that of life-affirming care relations that aim at undoing such violence: maintaining and reproducing the world. While care relations describe attempts to reduce the harm and violence on land, species or on other humans, they are also embedded in relations of power based on historical, racial, gender, class hierarchies as well as human-non-human relations. In this light, we examine the quest for systemic transformations from the perspective of Marxist feminism and add to this the perspective of feminist ethics of care, which centers around processes rather than outcomes and individuals and groups rather than end goals—addressing entanglements of violence and care that may remain unaddressed otherwise. The paper is a result of a dialogue between the co-authors and focuses on multi-locale feminist thinking and theorizing on transformations. It aims at exploring methodological avenues of becoming aware and articulating boundaries, silos and differences in priorities. We ask, who gets to define priorities, who benefits from them, and who bears the burden of these transformations? We address 1) how feminists in different geographical locations have articulated different priorities; 2) how processes of transformations do not automatically undo power hierarchies surrounding race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, ability and so on; 3) how the feminist principle of non-hierarchy may lead to ‘tyranny of structurelessness’, ie. invisibilized and unaddressed hierarchies.

Ligaya Lindio McGovern, **Indiana University, USA; *Global Capitalism, Extractivism, and the Age of the Anthropocene: Challenges from Indigenous Women of the Global South and Their Implications for a Marxist-Feminist Deglobalization Movement***

We are living in the age of the Anthropocene and the extractivism of global capitalism has much to do with it. In the Anthropocene there is recognition of the role human activities have on environmental degradation and crisis. Extractivism--the unbridled extraction of natural resources or raw materials from the earth and seas for maximum profit—is a trend capitalism seeks to pursue for its global expansion and survival, but with unconscionable human consequences. This trend is paradoxical: while extractivism seeks expansion for capitalism’s survival it destroys the ecological support system of human life. The process complicates the interconnections between environment, human survival, and quality of life. This is particularly illustrated by the displacement of people from land and destruction of their source of livelihood and sustainable environment, especially of the indigenous women, men, and children in the Global South, where the extractivism of transnational mining corporations is concentrating. While on one hand this precarious scenario is occurring, on the other hand there is an emerging deglobalization movement which recognizes that the global expansion of capitalism as a neoliberal project threatens the survival of the planet and human beings --- therefore, an alternative non-capitalist path to development must be pursued. This paper examines what and how indigenous women in the Global South are telling the world about the violence of global

capitalism on people and the environment, and what implications their strategies and movement frames suggest to shaping the emerging deglobalization movement towards an alternative non-capitalist development path in the age of the Anthropocene. Do they offer insights on reconceptualizing care work to include caring for the environment that individuals, corporations, states, and institutions must be obligated to comply? Do they offer insights for redefining social reproduction to include protecting the capacity of nature to reproduce for the good of humanity, and the socialization of the new and present generations to think of alternative economic-political systems that preclude the exploitation of human beings and the environment for maximum profit? What policy implications about sustaining life threatened by global capitalism can be drawn from their resistance narratives? The paper analytically and critically weaves together data from my fieldwork in the Philippines and review of related literature about other regions of the Global South.

2B LABOR PANEL 1 moderation: Katarzyna Rakowska

Shiva Singh, Institute of Information Technology, Delhi, India; *'Social Care' in A Neoliberal Regime? Situating the Work of Anganwadi Workers in the Political Economy of India.*

abstract: The Indian state initiated the Integrated Child Development Scheme in 1975 with the stated objectives of improving maternal and child health, ensuring pre-school education, and enabling last-mile delivery of welfare provisions through a network of *Anganwadis* (community creche-cum-preschools). Recruiting women from local communities, the scheme imagines their role as a social caregiver working on a 'voluntary' basis, and compensated in 'honorarium' for their services. Over about five decades of its functioning, the scheme has expanded to include a vast array of tasks, while the workers remain one of the most exploited in the country. The conditions of about 2.7 million women *Anganwadi* workers have been documented by scholars and popular media, but their work is not situated in the political economy, beyond the recognition of it as informal work. In order to gauge the operative logic of this work and its exploitative character, this paper analyses three fundamental questions- 1. How can we understand a state operated scheme exclusively employing women for social care from a political economy perspective? 2. What changes does adoption of a neoliberal developmental order make to a welfare scheme such as this? And 3. Why does a state operating on neoliberal logic continue to provide some form of welfare for disenfranchised masses? It draws on secondary literature as well as on an ongoing ethnography, since August 2022, with *Anganwadi* workers in Delhi, and situates their care-related services as reproductive labour necessary for producing labour power in a capitalist system. It engages with the Marxian and 'autonomous feminists' theses on social reproduction, to argue for why a neoliberal state must engage in a welfare scheme like this, to tackle the crisis of social reproduction embedded in a capitalist system, as also to deal with contingencies like the one faced by the world during the Covid-19 pandemic. **Key Words:** Anganwadi, Care Work, Social Reproduction, Neoliberalism

Anastasia Diatlova, *University of Helsinki, Finland; *Desiring Labour and Labouring Desire: Men and gender nonconforming people selling sex in Finland.**

Bio: Anastasia Diatlova is a postdoctoral researcher at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki. Her current research project focuses on the lived experience of men and gender nonconforming people engaged in sex work. Her doctoral dissertation was "Between Visibility and Invisibility: Russian-speaking Women Engaged in Commercial Sex in Finland". Her research interests include migration studies, labour, gender and sexuality, sex work and sex workers' rights.

abstract: The paper broadens our understanding of the relationship between gender, sexuality, and sexual labour by examining the experience of cis and trans men and gender nonconforming people who sell sexual

services in Finland. While the multifaceted aspects of women's engagement in sex work attract extensive academic interest, men and gender nonconforming people who sell sexual services receive less attention. This study examines the contradictions and complexities of sexual labour where labour becomes intertwined with one's gender and sexual identities and sexual desires. It explores how people conceptualize their engagement in commercial sex as not only a way of earning a living or supplementing an income, but as a way to explore their sexuality and establish communities. Based on semi-structured interviews with Finnish and non-Finnish men and gender nonconforming people in Finland, it explores the ways in which men and gender nonconforming people construct their identities in relation to their engagement in commercial sex. Labor becomes desirable and a space for expressing desire, as it continues to be a space where desire has to be performed for clients. It explores the complexities, fluidities, and permeabilities of desire and an interrelatedness of work and intimacy.

Azza Basarudin, California State University, Long Beach (CSULB), **Helina Beyene**, California State University, Northridge (CSUN), **Khanum Shaikh**, California State University, Northridge (CSUN); *Embodied Precarity: Feminist Politics, Laboring Bodies of Color, and the Neoliberal University*.

Bios: **Azza Basarudin** is an Assistant Professor of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at California State University, Long Beach. She received a Ph.D. in Women's Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles. Her writings have appeared in journals such as *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*, *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research*, *Feminist Formations*, and *Scholar and Feminist Online*. Basarudin's book, *Humanizing the Sacred: Sisters in Islam and the Struggle for Gender Justice in Malaysia*, was published by the University of Washington Press (2016). **Helina Beyene** is an Assistant Professor of Gender and Women's Studies at California State University, Northridge. Her research interests are postcolonial feminism; transnational feminism, gender, race, and African Conflict Zones; Ethiopian feminism in the neoliberal era; and radical feminist pedagogies. **Khanum Shaikh** is an Associate Professor of Gender and Women's Studies at California State University, Northridge (CSUN). She currently serves as Director of the Middle East and Islamic Studies program at CSUN. She has published in numerous journals, including *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism*; *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*; *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*; *Feminist Formations*; and *Feminist Studies* (forthcoming). She has lived most of her life between Los Angeles and Lahore.

abstract: The proposal for this panel emerges from our feminist survival strategy as women of color Gender Studies faculty in the neoliberal academy in the United States. We focus on the following questions: What does it mean to operationalize antiracist and decolonial feminist pedagogy in times of crisis and precarity? What does it mean for faculty of color to be the invisible labor behind radical feminist praxis within the neoliberal university? Within the context of the global COVID-19 pandemic, the rise of the far right, and various other insecurities and precarity, being Gender Studies educators means teaching in, for, and through a crisis. For decades, neoliberalism has gutted public universities under the guise of efficiency, transparency, accessibility, and job preparedness while aggressively promoting the development of degrees that supposedly lead to jobs. And yet, higher education has become increasingly unaffordable, and students endure precarious job markets while deeply indebted. Under the neoliberal regime, few spaces in academia, chief among them Gender and Ethnic Studies, remain the "most radical space of possibility in the academy" (hooks 1994, 12). We narrate how we are expected to serve as foot soldiers as universities try to stave off student discontent from the pandemic, police violence, a racist, misogynist, homophobic, and transphobic environment, climate change, and the onslaught of capitalism. We engage how we pivot our teaching for students to think hard about how moments of crisis are potent sites for a radical rethinking of power and injustice. However, we also face challenges that muddy this work in a neoliberal setting that is extractive of the invisible labor of faculty of color. We discuss the vexed relationship of our radical feminist praxis in times of crisis and

catastrophe within a neoliberal education system that exploits invisible labor and perpetuates structural violence.

2C SOCIAL REPRODUCTION PANEL 1 moderation: Ewa Majewska

Ankica Čakardić, University of Zagreb, Cr; WHO CARES? NEOLIBERALISM, INFORMAL LABOUR, AND LIFE-MAKING.

bio: **Ankica Čakardić** (Croatia) is an Associate Professor and the chair of Social Philosophy and Philosophy of Gender at the Faculty for Humanities and Social Sciences, Zagreb. Her research interests include Social Philosophy, Contemporary Philosophy, Marxism, Luxemburgian and Marxist-feminist critique of political economy. She is an author of three books: the *Specters of Transition. Social History of Capitalism* (2019), *Like a Clap of Thunder. Three Essays on Rosa Luxemburg* (2019) and *Rebellious Mind. Essays in Radical Social Philosophy* (2021). She is a member of *The Complete Works of Rosa Luxemburg* Editorial Board (Verso, London/New York) where she is currently editing the 6th volume of complete works (*Debates on Revolutionary Strategy and Organization*). Also, she is a member of the advisory board of *The International Marxist-Humanist Journal*.

abstract: In this paper we develop a Marxist-feminist intervention into the phenomena of informal labour and life-making through a social reproduction lens. In order to approach these issues in a more consistent manner, we structure the argumentation in two parts. After taking a few necessary theoretical and methodological notes on neoliberal abolition of society and on Social Reproduction Theory, in the second part of the paper we elaborate the problem of informal labour and we link it to the recent crisis of care work. We assert that this “care crisis” arises from the neoliberal need for a reconfiguration of reproduction, deepened by reassigning the responsibility of care from welfare state to personal initiative and charity. Suggested thematic inclination of the paper evokes the concept of ideological formalization of family as a fundamentally “anti-social unit” and critically approaches the ideology of “familialisation”. When it comes to the matter of context and method, we depart from the premise that economic liberalism, grounded in individualist premises, represents an ideological expression of capitalism, and that family as a system for governing social reproduction within households depends not only upon naturalisation, but also upon individuation. By simultaneously considering various issues generated by the problem of informal labour, care crisis and life-making, including the neoliberal role of family as a “shelter”, we should pose a very alarming question: are there any progressive responses to the neoliberal abolition of the social roles of the state, as well as to the flourishing care crisis? What about the idea of abolishing nuclear family as a call for expanding, socializing, and denaturalising current forms of life-making, care work, and reproduction?

Marigone Drevinja, Institute for Social Policy “Musine Kokalari”, Who Cares? – **UNPAID CARE WORK IN KOSOVO**

bio: **Marigone Drevinja** is the co-founder of the Institute for Social Policy “Musine Kokalari”, where she is currently engaged as Program Director and researcher. Drevinja completed a BA in Law at the University of Pristina and a MSc degree at City, University of London in Criminology and Criminal Justice as a Chevening scholar. Drevinja served as professional advisor to the vice-president of parliament from 2015 to 2017, as well as professional adviser for parliamentary committees in 2019. Prior to that, Drevinja got engaged in political activism in 2006. In the VV Movement, she worked as Coordinator of the Media and Communications Department; Coordinator of Party Branches; Member of the General Council and Presidency. Drevinja resigned from the political sphere in 2017 to continue establishing the Institute for Social Policy.

abstract: Unpaid Care Work is a widely unknown concept in the Balkans, respectively Kosovo. A first country-wide quantitative and qualitative study was carried out in 2022 by the Institute for Social Policy “Musine Kokalari”, which showed that women spend an average of 6.2 hours and men 3.5 hours in unpaid care work per day. This means that women spend 2.7 hours or 44% more time performing unpaid care work activities than men. Using an opportunity cost approach, the total estimated value of unpaid care work is € 2,824,248,757 or 33% of Kosovo’s GDP. The study confirms that the reason for this economic inactivity is because women stay home to take care of the children. Further, focus group discussions revealed deeply-rooted gendered ideas of labor. The men as breadwinners and women as caregivers model dominates the Kosovar society. Similar study outcomes exist in other West Balkan countries. A regional perspective can serve as common ground for cooperation. How can we intervene? How do we raise awareness on the issue? How do we stop the intergenerational transmission of gender stereotypes? A joint bottom-up approach could help inform policy making in the region.

Daria Krivonos; University of Helsinki, Finland; *Those who flee are those who help: Social Reproduction and Precarious Migrant Labour among Ukrainian Nationals during Russia’s 2022 Invasion*

abstract: Social reproduction has been predominantly theorized in the context of the Global North. The end of ‘state socialism’ in Eastern Europe and post-Soviet countries, together with the revolutionary feminist knowledge and policy that was historically produced in the region, is seldom mentioned in these discussions. What has been recently theorized as the “crisis of care” and precarisation of life and labour among middle-class white populations in the western world is nothing but the business as usual for those in “post-socialist” countries for the last thirty years. Neoliberal “shock therapy” in Eastern Europe and post-Soviet countries, earlier implemented in Latin America, was accompanied by a massive dispossession that initially “Third-Worldized” the region and buttressed patriarchal institutions and discourses. Feminisation of poverty and dispossessive neoliberal reforms aiming to bring the region “closer to Europe” have turned it into a “frontier of Europe’s cheap social reproduction”. This is why we contend that our region is a vantage point from which to advance Marxist Feminist theory, and draw on the rich body of feminist scholarly work, organizing, and history of struggles that long put questions of material emancipation and the critique of political economy to the forefront of feminist debates. This panel is also an invitation for Eastern European and post-Soviet feminists to place social reproduction, a critique of political economy, and processes of racialization at the centre of our struggles and knowledge production in the region. The discourse of gender equality that arrived to Eastern European and post-Soviet countries with the politics of Europeanisation in post-1989 is often emptied of any socioeconomic content, terminology of class and (re)productive labour, the histories of ‘Second-Third World’ internationalism, and of peripheral capitalist ‘development’. These questions are ever more urgent in the context of massive destruction of care infrastructure amidst Russia’s attack on Ukraine and the discussion of the country’s post-war reconstruction, which currently sidelines and mutes the agenda around social reproduction, care, and women’s support structures.

Lea Happ, King’s College, UK, *Resisting and Reproducing the Family: Care beyond family and nation-state: Thinking through Argentine abortion companionship.*

bio: **Lea Happ** is a PhD candidate at King’s College London, based at the Department of Global Health and Social Medicine. She holds a BA(Hons) in Politics and International Relations from the University of Cambridge and an MSc in Gender, Development and Globalisation from the London School of Economics. Combining her long standing research interests in feminist political theory and reproductive justice, her PhD research investigates feminist activism, the experience of abortion, and political subjectivities in Argentina through a lens of affect, embodiment, and feminist knowledge production. Within her PhD project, Lea is especially interested in the biopolitics of pharmaceutical abortion and the construction of affective

communities through embodied activism. She is currently conducting primary research in Argentina. Lea is also a member of the [Feminist Perspectives](#) editorial collective.

abstract: How does feminist abortion companionship as practised by activists across Argentina provide us with a model for rethinking our reproductive lives in autonomous, communal, and embodied terms? This paper interrogates this question through an analysis of feminist practices of care in the context of self-managed and activist-accompanied abortion. Although abortion has been legal in Argentina since 2020, many people continue to abort outside the formal healthcare system for a host of reasons, ranging from geographical and institutional barriers, obstetric violence, racial and class-based discrimination, to a desire for a demedicalised and autonomous experience. I conceptualise the choice to abort with feminist companionship as an act of withdrawal from the heteronormative and neoliberal logics of family and nation-state, as well as a resistance against objectification and commodification. Firstly, abortion constitutes the refusal for one's body and its reproductive abilities to be treated as an endlessly extendable resource, informed by capitalist logics and patriarchal norms, as has been the case in Argentina at least since the financial crisis of 2001 (Sutton, 2010). Further, self-managed and activist-accompanied abortion also constitutes a withdrawal from the scrutiny leveraged against people who choose not to gestate in the process of obtaining an abortion within the healthcare system. In this encounter with the heteronormative state - in the form of the healthcare system - the abortion seeker becomes an object of medico-patriarchal intervention, denying them their status as an agentic subject in their own right. Thinking through Lewis' (2022) writing on family abolition alongside Gago's (2020) writing on feminist subjectivity, this paper traces the ways in which activists harness medical and technical knowledge about abortion. I analyse this as the basis for refusing heteropatriarchal and neoliberal logics of reproductive control and providing care on terms that affirm abortion-seeker's position as autonomous, communal, and embodied subjects.

15.30-17.30 – PANELS ROUND 3

3A CITY AND GENDER PANEL 1 moderation: Zofia Łapniewska

Angelina Kussy, Barcelona, Catalunya, The caring city? A critical reflection on Barcelona's municipal experiments in care and the commons.

bio Angelina Kussy is an anthropologist and activist from Warsaw, based in Barcelona, who has just submitted her PhD thesis "Global Post-Socialist Workers and the Care Crisis" at the Autonomous University of Barcelona on Romanian domestics in Spain and the extractivist social organisation of care in Europe. Currently, she collaborates in the research project CARE MODEL elaborating a more just model of care organisation in Spain, led at the Department of Anthropology, Philosophy and Social Work of the Rovira and Virgili University. Her areas of specialisation are social reproduction, gender justice, critical studies on labour and social care, new radical social movements and public policies. She was a speaker in public debates on the global municipalist movement, de-growth, feminism or the Universal Basic Income. Since 2017, she was an activist with Barcelona en Comú, a feminist civic platform in the city's government since 2015, and in 2020/2021 she co-coordinated its International Committee. Until 2019, she was an activist with the Polish leftist party Razem (and for a short time a member of its National Council).

abstract: There is an urgent need to develop a coherent political strategy to address the current crisis of care. Allocation of care through the market or the state leads to a *care* and *democratic* deficit. Organising care on the logic of the commons provides an alternative paradigm rooted in democracy and solidarity. Municipalism aims to build institutions to enable the commons; it represents a political strategy for the crisis of care at scale. In this paper, we explore *Barcelona en Comu*'s experiments in care to build upon what has been termed 'care; municipalism'. Our case study focuses on domestic care work as a domain that reflects the core

inequalities of the crisis. Through our analysis we have identified three key features of care municipalism: firstly, a feminist narrative of care; secondly, new forms of organising care and thirdly, building social infrastructures. In the theoretical part, the paper critically explores the limits of the social reproduction theory as so far explored by many feminist Marxist thinkers and closes with a reflection on the limitations of *Barcelona en Comu's* experiments in care from a perspective of the commons, before outlining a future research agenda to contribute towards more caring cities.

Priti Narayan, University of British Columbia, Canada; Highlighting erasures of labour and labourers: Marxist feminism for a right to the city.

Bio Priti Narayan is Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography, University of British Columbia. Her primary research and teaching interests center around urban processes and politics, particularly in India. Using ethnographic and archival methods, she investigates how residents preserve citizenship in urban landscapes marked by violent, large-scale slum evictions. Her academic work is largely informed by her long-term association with and learning from Pennurimai Iyakkam (“Women’s Rights Movement”), a 40-year old organization that mobilizes female residents of urban poor settlements around the rights to land and housing and access to basic services in Tamil Nadu, India. She frequently collaborates with her comrades in the Iyakkam to write about economic and social protections for unorganized workers.

abstract: Ongoing strategies to make a world-class city— “beautification”, “development” and “eco-restoration”— envision no place for the working classes in the contemporary South Asian city (Coelho and Raman 2010). In Chennai, India, at least 250,000 people who lived on public and common lands for generations have been forcefully removed from their homes in the last two decades (IRCDUC 2022). A repeated claim by labour and labour-aligned social movements in Chennai is that slum evictions are anti-labour, that the city does not have or make any room for those who actually build and maintain it. How is the city dispossessing and banishing to the peripheries thousands of urban poor worker families every year, and still attempt to create a global city? Even Marxist scholars like David Harvey examine only the spatial aspects of contemporary global urbanization to claim that it is this dispossession of those using public lands that enables investment-friendly, profit-generating global cityscapes. But what of labour? How might frameworks such as accumulation by dispossession (Harvey 2003) contend not just with capital’s impacts on space, but also on labour (Carbonella and Kasmir 2015) in place? In this presentation, I will argue that a Marxist feminist framework allows us to analyze the devaluation and erasure of labour and its significance to the city in two modes. First, it allows us to historically trace the identification of marginalized urban inhabitants as “the urban poor”, a developmental, biopolitical category at best from the 1980s, rather than as labourers living and working in the city. This discursive shift enables a justification of their dispossession from the global city. Second, it highlights the unwaged labour of these inhabitants in creating the city through a whole host of innovative and self-styled experiments in peripheral urbanization, creating and drawing from urban commons, sustaining social reproduction and fashioning political possibilities (Federici 2019), changing state processes and creating new possibilities for the marginalized to be seen by the state. In highlighting these erasures of labour then, can Marxist feminism bring attention to value generated by the city’s inhabitants and help demand a right to the city for its working classes?

Leon Rosa Reichle, Anna Steenblock, Eva Kuschinski & Sarah Uhlmann, MATFEM collective, Institut für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft Jena, DE.
Reproductive struggles in the city – transformative power of movements around social reproduction

bios: Our collective is composed of: Eva Kuschinski, Hafen City University Hamburg, working on womens' shelters under neoliberal housing politics. Maria del Carmen Mayer, Universität Bielefeld, working on mutual support movements in Italy. Dr. Leon Rosa Reichle, Institut für Demokratie und Zivilgesellschaft Jena, working on political subjectivation, neoliberal urban restructuring and the local state. Martin Sarnow, Universität Kiel, working on new municipalisms in Barcelona; Anna Steenblock, Universität Kassel, working on labour struggles in the cleaning sector and neighbourhood unions in Marseille. Dr. Sarah Uhlmann, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, working on urban reproductive struggles as class struggles. And we plan to have the external guest: Dr. Neil Gray, University of Glasgow, working on class composition, housing struggle and the neoliberal city

abstract: The “crisis of reproduction” (Fraser 2016) has been central to Marxist feminist debates around social reproduction (SR) for a while, that analyse the relationship between capital accumulation and SR, gender- and race relations and SR or reproductive struggles. Simultaneously these struggles around SR have developed further, especially in urban spaces. In the last years, urban protests and movements against rising costs of living, displacement, austerity measures, inadequate social infrastructures have increased globally. However, “discussion of social struggle in these material infrastructures is largely absent in key autonomist-feminist works” (Gray, 2022: 17). In our proposed panel we would like to illuminate empirically and theoretically the interplay of current trends of accumulation through capitalist urbanization and struggles in the sphere of SR. Trying to abstract from current observations, we want to discuss the role of reproductive struggles for political-economic transformation. Thereby we are specifically interested in three dimensions. We propose to discuss the horizons of political transformation co-constituted by social reproductive struggles regarding a) institutionalization and relations to the state – how is the tension between institutionalization/statehood and self-determination/autonomy negotiated in reproductive struggles in the city? Especially with regard to the provision of social infrastructure? b) subjectivation in and through the contested sphere of SR – what implications do neoliberal urbanization, precarious SR and struggles against both have for political subjectivation and class composition? c) spatial- and temporal conditions of transformation – which spatial developments, scales and timeframes are urban SR struggles entangled with? What role does spatial and temporal analysis play for urban SR struggles? We plan to present empirical and theoretical papers by the MATFEM collective and are open to individual papers that address one of the three themes or speak more generally to the relationship between accumulation through urbanization and reproductive struggles.

3B ANTIFASCISM AND ANTIGENDER MOVEMENT moderation: Ewa Majewska.

Olga Tyszkiewicz, DE; Bad materialists: radical feminists against women.

Bio: Olga Tyszkiewicz is a social scientist and a cultural worker based in Berlin. She works as a research assistant at the Centre for Anthropological Research on Museums and Heritage at Humboldt University and is a project member for FHXB Museum, an institution focused on social movements and migration history. Her fields of interest include masculinities, the resurgence of fascism and heterosexuality. Olga currently finishes a research project about alt-right masculinities at Humboldt University.

abstract: Today, an outlandish coalition of Christians, fascists, state powers, and radical feminists wage war on trans people. The latter are known as TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists). TERFs use the language of the political Left and elements of Marxism (especially the concepts of commodification and alienation) to describe transness as a patriarchal pharmaceutical conspiracy. TERFs oppose transgender rights as a symptom of "female erasure." The obsession with supposed "biological realities" leads trans

exclusionary feminists to describe themselves as "adult human females" while deeming trans women as "biological men". There is also unspoken whiteness to this dyadic, cissexual account of the world that places bourgeoisie womanhood as a symbol of moral order. Capitalising on ventriloquised victimhood is central to radical feminists, typically reframing trans equality as predation while airing concerns about "lesbian erasure". TERFism is often framed as just moral issues in a culture war. Still, its anti-trans lobbying is an effective policymaking tool, aiming to eliminate trans people from accessing public life, gender-affirming care, and education. It also mirrors eugenic policies, dictating what kind of life is acceptable and what should be subjected to the denial of resources. What motivates TERF's fears? Who benefits from the proletarianisation and stigmatisation of trans people? In what way TERFs 'political whiteness' and assertions of victimhood is constructed? This project engages critically with those questions and the theoretical underpinnings of trans-hostility as well as TERF materialism. It tries to understand how trans-exclusionary politics seduce feminists and what are TERF's ideas of capital, sexuality, work, and commodification.

Ana Gabriela Gallardo Lastra. Anti-extractivist and antifascist Feminisms in Ecuador.

bio: Ana Gabriela Gallardo Lastra is an Ecuadorian decolonial Marxist feminist and a PhD candidate at the University of Groningen (The Netherlands) and the University of Zacatecas (Mexico). Also, a teacher of the master program in intercultural and gender studies at UTE (Ecuador). She currently researches feminist democracy and the time of subordinate women from the epistemology of the South, paying special attention to carework and its alienation. Additionally, she has an interest in the Latin American feminist movement and indigenous women's resistance. Thus, her project aims to improve the concept of feminist democracy, time of carework and Good Living (Sumak Kawsay). Gabriela is also a feminist activist and member of the Groningen Feminist Network and Apoyando Ecuador.

abstract: Facing right-wing governments in Ecuador and Peru, indigenous movements have played a leading role against neoliberal and anti-democratic policies through the social protests of June 2022 and January 2023. In response, capitalist states activated, during these social protests, a violent onslaught against the demonstrators using their military forces. In this context, this proposal seeks to present the role and strategies of indigenous women on the battlefield with special attention to gender roles, unpaid care work and gender violence during these protests. Additionally, it aims to discuss the demands of indigenous women and the class struggle from a decolonial feminist perspective. These two case studies, located in the global South, show, through interviews of Indigenous women leaders, that subaltern women do not seek an intersectional framework. On the contrary, they denounce the need to clearly pronounce the interconnection between the four greatest oppressions: capitalism, extractivism, colonialism and patriarchy. Therefore, here it is not a question of describing that they are indigenous, poor or that they are women, but of trying to understand the results of coloniality, capitalism, extractivism and patriarchy; and to demonstrate the forms of resistance against them. For example, this proposal discusses indigenous women's twofold fight- against transnational extractivists (defenders of nature) and conservative and right-wing Presidents, and for the eradication of gender violence and an equitable distribution of care work in their communities. In this sense, these feminisms do not want more women in power, they want structural changes for social justice. In sum, in this research intersectionality is challenged, as is feminist liberal democracy, and communal Marxist feminism is promoted. Due to that, Indigenous women are proposing that not only is the personal political but so is the community.

Agnieszka Graff and **Elżbieta Korolczuk** (University of Warsaw, Poland; Södertörn University, Sweden); Globalizing anti-globalism: the case of anti-gender movement.

Bios: **Agnieszka Graff** is an associate professor at the American Studies Center, University of Warsaw. She is a cultural studies scholar with research interests in gender studies, feminist history, nationalism, and public discourse on gender. Her articles have appeared in *Signs*, *East European Politics and Societies*, *Public Culture*, *European Journal of Women's Studies* as well as a number of collected volumes. She co-edited the Spring 2019 issue of *Signs on Gender and the Rise of the Global Right*. Her most recent publication, co-authored with Elżbieta Korolczuk, is *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment* (Routledge 2021, open access) – a monograph on the global anti-gender movement and its links with right-wing populism. Graff is a feminist activist and public intellectual. **Elżbieta Korolczuk** is an Associate professor in sociology, working at Södertörn University in Stockholm and at the American Studies Center, Warsaw University. Her research interests involve social movements, civil society and gender and currently she studies feminist responses to de-democratization in Europe in a project sponsored by European Commission. Her most recent publications include a co-authored volume co-edited *Women's Rebellion. Black Protests and Women's Strikes*, published by European Solidarity Centre in 2019 (with Beata Kowalska, Jennifer Ramme and Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez) and a monograph co-authored with Agnieszka Graff *Anti-gender Politics in the Populist Moment* (Routledge 2021). Korolczuk is also longtime women's and human rights activist and a commentator.

abstract: Critiques of globalization have a complex history, with some of its ardent proponents becoming its most engaged critics. At the turn of the 20th century it was mostly the left that offered a harsh critique of globalization. The alter-globalization movement highlighted the economic, social, and environmental costs of global political integration and expansion of the markets, calling out governments and transnational companies for the harm caused to local populations and the planet in the name of profit and power. In the same period, feminists strove to globalize women's rights via a universal human rights discourse, while scholars of globalization examined gendered inequality within process. Two decades later right-wing actors employ gendered interpretative frames in what may be called a right-wing anti-global movement. Globalization – often reframed as “globalism” to stress its ideological core – is presented as a threat to traditional gender roles and the “natural family”; and the greed of the global markets, which put profit above people, is said to damage locally rooted traditional ways of life. Such a critique is offered by the transnational anti-gender movement, which opposes gender equality and LGBTQ rights, claiming that they are a form of “cultural colonialism” imposed by the global powers on the local populations. Our presentation will examine the moralistic anti-globalization frame promoted by the anti-gender movement, demonstrating how these groups and organizations organize globally to oppose “globalism”. We focus on specific transnational campaigns binding together anti-gender actors, such as the ongoing effort to prevent ratification of the Istanbul Convention (Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence Against Women and Domestic Violence) by various states, and conservative campaigns against World Health Organization guidelines concerning reproductive health and sexual health. We show that in recent decades “gender” has become a *discursive field* on which struggles over globalization are enacted, and that today anxieties concerning globalization are often expressed through a gendered discourse.

Shaban Darakchi, Bulgarian Academy of Science; “We Don't Need More Gender Equality, We Have the Best One”: Why Do Some Women Support the Anti-gender Campaigns in Bulgaria?

bio: **Shaban Darakchi** holds a PhD degree in Sociology from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. His main professional interests are gender, sexuality, ethnicity and religion in Eastern Europe and Bulgaria. Dr. Darakchi is a junior researcher at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and affiliated scholar at the University of Antwerp. His doctoral thesis explores the changing gender roles and notions of sexuality among the Bulgarian Muslims. He is currently working on a project investigating the structure and the development of

non-heterosexual minorities in Bulgaria using narrative interviews and archives. He has published two books and 18 articles devoted to the intersections of gender and sexuality. Between 2019 and 2022 Shaban was Marie Curie Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Antwerp, Belgium.

abstract: The rising of the #metoo# movements made the reconsideration of women's rights and gender-based violence an essential topic on a global level. In Bulgaria, the anti-gender debates have mobilized a new wave of the feminist movement, which resulted in the organization of many public actions and discussions. On the other hand, in opposition to these movements, many women happened to support the more patriarchal ideas about women and men and even opposed women's rights movements. This trend is discussed by many as a reaction against the social inequalities, especially in Eastern Europe (Graff, 2022). In Bulgaria, those women who defend the patriarchal vision of women usually expressed the common belief that socialism in the country had made women's rights possible before many other countries did so, despite the "overburden" of the socialist women and the lack of female political representation. Inspired by Schippers's (2007) concept of "hegemonic femininity" and "pariah femininity" and based on the evaluation of social media comments between 2018 and 2022, this analysis has identified four explicit types of beliefs about the topic of women's rights and gender-based violence among women who have expressed opposition to the concept of gender equality. The results from this study demonstrates that the female participation in the anti-gender movement is multifactorial, involving social inequalities and certain cultural believes.

3C SOCIAL REPRODUCTION PANEL 2 moderation Beatriz Realinho

Saskia Zielińska, King's College, London, UK. Resisting and Reproducing the Family: Social Reproduction, Care and the State in Latin America.

bio: Saskia Zielińska is a PhD candidate in the Department of International Development at King's College, London, where she works on adolescent pregnancy from a framework of multi-sided violence in Peru. She also teaches at King's College, London, University College, London, and SOAS, with a primary focus on political economy and sociology of development. Saskia has an MSc in Development Studies from SOAS and an MPhil in Latin American Studies from the University of Oxford. She is also a founding member of the Editorial Collective of Feminist Perspectives. saskia.hoskins@kcl.ac.uk

abstract: Whilst Peru has comparatively low (and falling) rates of teenage pregnancy compared to the rest of the Latin American region, just under 1 in 11 girls aged 15-19 was a mother or pregnant for the first time in 2021, rising to just under 1 in 6 in the poorest income quintile (INEI, 2022). Nevertheless, over recent years, teenage pregnancy in Peru has become increasingly identified as a 'social problem'. Whilst often associated in the literature with the reproduction of poverty, adolescent pregnancy has rarely been theorised in the context of social reproduction. Similarly, the way in which adolescent pregnancy and motherhood reproduces the family itself as an institution of the reproduction of capitalism (Lewis, 2022) is rarely considered and the reproductive labour of adolescent mothers who contribute significant unpaid care work in Peru is often ignored. This paper draws on fieldwork conducted in Huaraz and Ayacucho, Peru, from 2015-2022 for my MPhil and PhD research to discuss how adolescent motherhood both reproduces and is reproduced by capitalist heteropatriarchy, with a particular focus on the reproduction of the hetero-patriarchal family. Whilst gendered social norms heavily dictate the division of labour in Peru, it argues that the specific circumstances of adolescent pregnancy, such as the common patterns of age-gap relationships, contribute to the reinforcing of this gendered division of labour. For instance, as teenage mothers who finish comparatively fewer years of education than the normally older fathers of their children, the income-earning potential of older, more educated fathers entrenches the gendered division of wage-earning and reproductive care-giving labour. Furthermore, the lack of state support for adolescent mothers, such as inadequate provision of

childcare, or limited provisions for continuing education, both reinforce the exploitation of adolescent mothers' unpaid care work, and also reinforces their economic dependence on the fathers of their children.

Olena Lyubchenko, York University, Toronto, CA; Social Reproduction on Europe's Periphery: Reviving Histories, Re-envisioning Struggles.

abstract: Social reproduction has been predominantly theorized in the context of the Global North. The end of 'state socialism' in Eastern Europe and post-Soviet countries, together with the revolutionary feminist knowledge and policy that was historically produced in the region, is seldom mentioned in these discussions. What has been recently theorized as the "crisis of care" and precarisation of life and labour among middle-class white populations in the western world is nothing but the business as usual for those in "post-socialist" countries for the last thirty years. Neoliberal "shock therapy" in Eastern Europe and post-Soviet countries, earlier implemented in Latin America, was accompanied by a massive dispossession that initially "Third-Worldized" the region and buttressed patriarchal institutions and discourses. Feminisation of poverty and dispossessive neoliberal reforms aiming to bring the region "closer to Europe" have turned it into a "frontier of Europe's cheap social reproduction". This is why we contend that our region is a vantage point from which to advance Marxist Feminist theory, and draw on the rich body of feminist scholarly work, organizing, and history of struggles that long put questions of material emancipation and the critique of political economy to the forefront of feminist debates. This panel is also an invitation for Eastern European and post-Soviet feminists to place social reproduction, a critique of political economy, and processes of racialization at the centre of our struggles and knowledge production in the region. The discourse of gender equality that arrived to Eastern European and post-Soviet countries with the politics of Europeanisation in post-1989 is often emptied of any socioeconomic content, terminology of class and (re)productive labour, the histories of 'Second-Third World' internationalism, and of peripheral capitalist 'development'. These questions are ever more urgent in the context of massive destruction of care infrastructure amidst Russia's attack on Ukraine and the discussion of the country's post-war reconstruction, which currently sidelines and mutes the agenda around social reproduction, care, and women's support structures.

Prakriti Prabhat Sharan (SOAS, UK); The Invisible Worker: Abjection of the Female Sweeper Scavenger.

Bio: Prakriti Prabhat Sharan, School of Oriental and African Studies, (SOAS) University of London. At present, I am pursuing my M.Phil. with the Centre for Gender Studies at SOAS. My research involves studying memoirs of women in revolutionary movements within the cannon of the Indian feminist literature. The focus is on trying to bridge the gap between mainstream feminist academia and activism. Apart from this my research interests include, phenomenology; feminist philosophy; feminist theory; subaltern studies, women's movement, resistance

abstract: Indian women studies discourse, today is indeed incomplete without the inclusion of Caste. There has been a considerable effort on the part of feminists to link gender and caste; as this system still remains endemic to Indian social fabric. The Women's movement in India witnessed a considerable theoretical shift (*Dalit Feminist standpoint position*) (Rege, 1998) with the assertion of the autonomous Dalit women's organisation and its assertion of the Dalit women's identity, despite the factions that emerged within the movement, I believe with time the movement has been dialogic. As a result of which the discourse has been able to move beyond the myopic lens of identity politics. One of its academic endeavours has been to expand the existing debate of gendered division of labour on the lines of Caste, with an aim to bridge the gap between academia and activism. Considerable research has been done grappling the issue of how the burden of the most degraded informal labour falls on the shoulders of marginalised women. It is these women who form

the majority of the informal workforce, and whose lives are often invisibilised and devalued. Women sweeper scavengers are workers who are not just marginalised but fall outside the margins of informal work-force. Sweeper-scavenging is not just a task of picking up filth and dirt but it is rather an ideology engendered and reified by Caste. (Gopal, 2013) Women's bodies acquire different meaning under patriarchy and capitalism, but what about the bodies that are "ambiguous"? There's a sense of filth, shame and stigma that is affixed to the body of a woman sweeper scavenger, and it is this sense of shame and stigma that I intend to study through the lens of phenomenology. The ambiguous body of the female sweeper scavenger differentiates itself from other visible bodies in terms of its orientation, through the tasks it performs and the spaces it occupies. I propose that the ambiguous body is volitional agent who's experience of the 'world' around her marks an epistemic shift in the existing perceptions of gendered labour, caste and cleanliness. **Keywords:** Female sweeper scavenger, phenomenology, stigma.

18.00-20.00 – 4 GENERAL PANEL **RESISTANCE moderation: Tomasz Kitlinski**

Sylwia Chutnik, **Warsaw, PL; Emotional work – (still) we are not robots.**

Bio: Dr Sylwia Chutnik Writer, lecturer at SWPS University, contact: sylwia.chutnik@gmail.com
Phd. Writer and social activist. A graduate of the Institute of Polish Culture at the University of Warsaw with a specialization in culture animation and Gender Studies at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw. Lectures at the SWPS University in Warsaw and Pedagogical university in Cracow. She also gave guest lectures and acted as a keynote speaker many conferences. Her scientific texts and research have appeared in more than twenty books collections and anthologies. Scientific interests: anthropology of everyday life, literature 20th and 21st century, history of emancipation movements, care work, city and gender.

abstract: "You cannot mechanize the care of children or over the sick, or psychological work needed to regain physical and emotional balance," wrote Silvia Federici in in her famous text from 2010 *Feminism and the Politics of the Commons in the Era of Accumulation primary*. However, the 20th century brought a lot of mechanical and technological things solutions that help run a household, both benefit, but there are no unpaid and paid workers substitute for emotions - a robot that listens to confidences, supports in difficult times, caring when sick and laughing while watching TV together. An important aspect of caring work is therefore emotional work understood by Arlie Russell Hochschild as "consciously regulating the expression of one's emotional states after is to demonstrate the emotions desired in a given position." In the case of work we do not limit her to cleaning, cooking or shopping. Caring about family well-being and acting as a "guardian of the home", which, like the constant ritual of cleaning and supplying the house is mentally taxing and yet more invisible than daily dusting. Sociologist Izabela Desperak calls it literally an "emotional grind". It is precisely the lack of "evidence" in terms of care work and household, their repetition and routine is one of the points of tension, which the philosopher Jolanta Brach-Czaina wrote that it is transparent and therefore elusive. Labor exploitation reproductive and emotional burden falls mainly on women and in this topic research and statistics have not changed for years. Based on own research conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic regarding the situation of people providing care for dependent persons, including an attempt to define work emotional and comparative analysis with solutions of collective care in Warsaw housing cooperatives of the interwar period and from the times of the People's Republic of Poland (company nurseries, activities of the Commission for Relieving Women from Work in Household and support of the Women's League) I will show the possibilities of transformation into practice of the slogan that in fact "it takes a whole village to raise a child".

bildungsLab: Bahar Oghalai, Saphira Shure, Natascha Khakpour, María do Mar Castro Varela, Nikita Dhawan; The Art of Resistance.

<https://www.bildungslab.net/en/>

abstract: The panel explores different forms of resistance. For that matter, the conditions that enable resistance as well as the heterogeneous strategies and tactics of resistance are visited. On one hand, distinct forms of oppression and diverse contexts come with specific modes of resistance. On the other hand, different forms of resistance reveal a great deal about the structures of oppression in place as about the societies they are arising from in general. But what exactly is resistance? And how do we learn the art to resist? When do people resist, why, and how? To answer these complex questions, we might have to look at the particularity of vulnerabilities, but also at the histories of resistance movements. Starting with the revolution in Iran the panel throws light on different modes of resistance analyzing them with a focus on Marxist-Feminist approaches. Amongst others, the relation between resistance and solidarity as well as the links between spontaneity and organization will be addressed. The panel also throws light upon ideas like love, empathy, and care and their role in protest and solidarity movements. **Bahar Oghalai: The Jin Jiyan Azadi Revolution**, which is currently taking place in Iran, is challenging the foundations of an entire system based on misogyny and patriarchal violence. Internationally, this revolution is also moving many societies. There is a large Iranian diaspora that is reorganizing in the face of this historic revolutionary movement. In this paper, referring to Haraway's situated knowledge and Braidotti's nomadic subjects, I will analyze the perspectives and actions of those Iranian feminists from the diaspora and their connections to the Jin, Jiyan, Azadi Revolution in Iran who were already feminist activists in Iran before their migration and are now looking at what is happening in Iran from the diaspora. The contribution explores the question of what role the diasporas, their knowledge, and their perspectives can play in the context of this revolution. **Saphira Shure (University Bielefeld/Germany), Love, Compassion and Solidarity**, Taking meditations by bell hooks and Eva Illouz on love and compassion as forms of repair work as a starting point, the contribution will sketch out ways in which a counterintuitive idea of love can provide an alternative feminist understanding of resistance and solidarity. To do so, vulnerability as well as repair as political categories will be addressed. **María do Mar Castro Varela (Alice Salomon University of Applied Science, Berlin/Germany) Strike and Sabotage. A Feminist Analysis**. Strike and sabotage are well-known strategies used by oppressed groups to resist and likewise prepare for a revolution. Without workers the production has to stop, the streets are not cleaned, the airports cannot function. Furthermore, strikes are spaces where learning and unlearning take place. The paper will present the art to strike and sabotage from a Marxist-Feminist point of view. It takes as a departure point Rosa Luxemburg's idea of mass strike and Gayatri Spivak's meditations on general strike. **Discussant: Nikita Dhawan (TU Dresden, Germany)**

DAY 3 – 18 NOVEMBER 2023

10.00 – 12.00 – PANELS ROUND 5

5A PANEL HEALTH AND CARE PANEL moderation: Tomasz Kitlinski.

Nanna Hlín Halldórsdóttir, University of Iceland; Fatigue beyond work: A phenomenological exploration of the many faces of fatigue among ME/CFS patients in Iceland.

bio: I am a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Philosophy at the University of Iceland, specialising in feminist philosophy, critical theory and medical humanities. I've also been living with ME/CFS for 14 years and I have taken part in disability activism for this group as well as more forms of activism in Iceland.

abstract: The different experiences of tiredness form a considerable part of life, yet the concept of fatigue has not been extensively researched compared to, e.g. the concept of pain. Interestingly, much of the literature on fatigue is associated with work management, how to extract as much labour power out of the human body as possible, and a critique of such enterprises. Furthermore, the importance of being active and energetic arguably characterises the contemporary neoliberal wellness culture, even the approaches that revolve around meditation and rest. But is fatigue essentially linked with work and energy expenditure? Is it possible to think fatigue beyond work, as an essential part of life; a sign or a sense that helps us balance between different activities and passivities? This paper explores the relationship between work and fatigue in light of 13 qualitative interviews with people living with ME/chronic fatigue syndrome in Iceland. ME (and Long Covid) patients live with different kinds of chronic fatigue as well as various debilitating symptoms, thus becoming highly aware of how different circumstances and events in life affect them. A common theme throughout the interviews is a sense of a strong work ethic before the onset of the illness and how living with the illness means a transformation of this work ethic and a reevaluation of the fundamental values and principles guiding the participant's lives.

Ruth Badru, University of Bristol, UK; Public investment and gendered dimensions of Wellbeing. A Case Study of Emerging Economies

Bio: Dr Ruth Badru is a University Lecturer at the School of Economics, University of Bristol . Ruth holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Otago, New Zealand and her research interests are mainly in the areas of Macroeconomics, Applied Econometrics and Quantitative Methods, and Feminist Political Economy. She has taught courses on these and other subjects at all levels. Ruth's current research is focused on the empirical evaluation of the impact of gender inequality on meso and macroeconomic outcomes. Outside of academia, she is currently acting as a research/policy consultant and grantee for both private and public sector stakeholders in Nigeria - including the African Women Empowerment and Development Guild of Nigeria and the African Economic Research Consortium. r.badru@bristol.ac.uk

NON-TECHNICAL ABSTRACT This paper applies a dynamic empirical analysis to estimate the gender distributional effects of public expenditure. The focus here is on semi-industrialised export-oriented nations for which gender wage inequality can be growth-enhancing. This attention on export-oriented economies is important because countries in this category are characterised by rapid economic growth for which gender inequality can be beneficial, due to low unit labour costs to producers. While such rapid growth may, over time, lead to a reduction in the gender wage gap and the feminisation of the labour force, this may result in the temptation to ignore investment in initiatives needed to improve women's economic well-being and status, without making men worse off. Moreover, statistics are rarely in agreement with this assumed impact of growth on women's overall well-being, especially in the areas of women's political empowerment, economic participation and opportunities. According to the World Bank, 'economic empowerment is about making markets work for women (at the policy level) and empowering women to compete in markets (at the agency level)' (World Bank 2006: p.4). Using time-series data for Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa – all of which are semi-industrialised countries (SICs) – we examine whether different components of public spending (i.e., physical and social infrastructure expenditure) may potentially have varying effects on facets that contribute to women's economic empowerment; namely, capabilities, livelihoods and empowerment/agency. This categorisation is also important as the ways in which gender inequality influences macroeconomic outcomes may itself depend on the nature of gender inequality. We find that,

overall, our gender well-being measures are more favourably responsive to public spending in the social sector. On the other hand, physical infrastructure expenditure has consistently positive effects on women's livelihoods and empowerment outcomes only in the short run. Viewing such considerations through an extended lens, fiscal spending can then become better aimed at concurrently achieving gender equality, allocative efficiency and economic growth. Such relevance of gender equity to the goals of economic efficiency and higher growth should then be sufficient to motivate policy makers, who may otherwise ascribe to the economic theories that advocate for limited government intervention or austerity measures in periods of crises, to recognise that public finance can be an effective tool in promoting these mutual interests. **Keywords:** gender, economic and political empowerment, government spending, social infrastructure, physical infrastructure, ARDL.

Liz Montegary, Stony Brook University New York USA; Fertility Disrupted: The Financialization of Family Building in the United States

bio: Liz Montegary is Associate Professor and Chair of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Stony Brook University in New York. Her work has appeared in *GLQ*, *WSQ*, *Signs*, *Cultural Studies*, and *Feminist Formations*. She is the co-editor of the collection *Mobile Desires: The Politics and Erotics of Mobility Justice* (Palgrave, 2015) and the author of *Familiar Perversions: The Racial, Sexual, and Economic Politics of LGBT Families* (Rutgers, 2018).

abstract:

This paper takes as its starting point the rapid rise in the number of US-based startup companies trying to “disrupt” the fertility industry. Specifically, I am interested in the companies emerging at the nexus of “fem tech” (the sector trying to “consumerize” women's healthcare through virtual health management tools) and “fin tech” (the sector offering digital alternatives to traditional financial services and banking institutions). The “innovations” these startups offer have nothing to do with developing new medical treatments or knowledges; rather, these “fertility tech” companies purport to revolutionize access to assisted reproductive technologies (ART) by offering prospective parents flexible financing plans and family-building lines of credit. By situating these recent innovations within a longer history of fertility lending in the United States, my paper examines the intersections between consumer finance and reproductive medicine. In doing so, I offer two important contributions. First, I address a gap in the literature on the financialization of reproduction. While Marxist-feminist scholars have theorized the management of household debt and family finances as a form of carework, there is a lack of research on the specific intersections between fertility and finance and what recent developments mean for our understanding of social and biological reproduction. Second, this paper zeroes in on the fertility market's efforts to expand its consumer base by advertising products and services to anyone considering having a child, regardless of whether they are struggling with infertility. Companies promise prospective parents a seamlessly consumerized experience that will allow them to finance the use of reproductively technologies, gain control over their procreative capacities, and optimize their family building processes. Through an analysis of the entrepreneurial forms of parenthood promoted by “fertility tech,” this paper illuminates the financialization of the bourgeois family form while also considering the place of ART within a broader family abolition movement.

Irina Herb, University of Jena, DE; Wages for Pregnancy and Fertility? The Body as Commodity in the Context of Assisted Reproductive Technologies from a Marxist-Feminist Perspective.

Bio: Irina Herb, Friedrich-Schiller University Jena, Germany. Irina Herb studied sociology (Georg August University Göttingen, Germany) and international relations (University of Oxford, UK). Following her studies, she worked outside of academia for some years, during which she spent much of her time in activism and party politics around issues of reproductive justice and reproductive technologies. In the context of her activism, she turned to Marxist Feminists. She is now a researcher the project *Property in the human body in the context of transnational economies of reproduction*, at the Friedrich-Schiller University Jena and the Free University Berlin. Contact: irina.herb@uni-jena.de

abstract: This project is concerned with bodies as commodities in the context of assisted reproductive technologies (ART). It reacts to current debates on the selling of egg cells, which are dominated by liberal ideas of ‘my body my choice’ on the one hand and conservative ideas of what reproduction ought to look like, on the other hand. Within Marxist-Feminism, we find rich insights on housework but the biological side of reproduction – pregnancy and fertility – has yet to receive systematic conceptual and normative attention. This is where this project adds: Aiming to spur debates and collaborations, it draws a first sketch of what a normative Marxist-Feminist response to the commodification of pregnancy and fertility ought to take into account. To do so, ARTs are first located within the structures of capitalist crises and expansion: The crisis of reproduction includes increasing (involuntary) infertility. At the same time, reproductive medicine becomes progressively commercialized: Our research finds a \$31 billion global market with growth rates of 19% and increasing market concentration. We propose that these developments may be captured as changes within (or a gradual loss of?) the means of reproduction, thereby picking up on Silvia Federici’s and Nancy Fraser’s gestures towards ‘new enclosures’. Once the concept of ‘means of reproduction’ is set as the starting point for discussing the commodification of bodies, the terms of debate shift. They shift away from the question of individual exploitation or empowerment towards the ways in which enclosing the means of reproduction gives capital and those in power increasing control over i) who wants children when, ii) who is able to reproduce (genetically and non-genetically) and iii) who is doing the biological work of reproduction. Through this lens, this project produces an overview of existing interventions on exploitation, reproductive justice, stratified reproduction, queer needs, alternative family models, new eugenics and ableism in the context of ART.

5B LABOR PANEL 2 moderation: Beatriz Realinho

Shivani Hasija, Institute of Technology, Delhi, India; Trapped in Capitalism: Women Domestic Workers in India through a Braverman lens.

bio: Shivani Hasija is a PhD candidate at the Indian Institute of Technology, Delhi. Her research interests include labor market and livelihood issues of women and minorities.

abstract: The paper aims to analyze the status of women domestic workers (WDWs) in a capitalist society. WDWs worldwide continue the struggle to gain recognition as workers with adequate wages and social security. In 2019, the occupation was the second largest contributor to female employment in India’s services sector. But what factors are responsible for its increasing demand and ‘unlimited’ supply? In a labor market characterized by low levels of female labor force participation, the influx of women in the occupation is a relatively new puzzle. Relying on Harry Braverman’s work *‘Labor and Monopoly Capital’* to interpret the emergence and changing nature of labor market, we attempt to provide a Marxist explanation of the devaluation of domestic work(ers). The paper also looks at various studies on domestic work across time to situate within the capitalist structure the evolving nature of the employer-employee relations in a labor market situated at the intersection of class, caste and gender. We argue that, unlike the global care chain where the increasing female labor force participation results in a care deficit at home, filled by the ‘import of help’

from developing nations, the rising demand for domestic work in India is not a result of a similar care deficit. It is rather the unequal class relations and cultural and ethnic inequalities that capitalism thrives on that result in its demand. Devaluation of care work as unproductive and deskilled, and distinction of the private and the public, act as preconditions for their exploitation. The ability to purchase things becomes the new status source, and the ebbing of family members leads to the institutionalization of 'care'. At the same time, the 'unlimited supply of labor' in the sector results from slow technological advancement in the service sector, leading to piling up of workforce unincorporated by manufacturing sector.

Laura Bäumel, University of Zurich, Swiss; *Balancing Production and Reproduction in Contemporary Capitalism. An Ethnography and Political Analysis of Mothers Working in Factories.*

bio: Laura Bäumel. Currently working as a PhD student/assistant for Cultural Studies at the Department for Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies at the University of Zurich with the dissertation project "Between Production and Reproduction. Mothers of the Precarious Class in Factories". I studied Cultural Anthropology (BA and MA) and Sociology (BA) at the University of Graz and Humboldt University of Berlin. From 2019 to 2022 I have been running the critical education association "Kontra.Punkt", which is aimed at schools in rural areas (thematic focus: capitalism, climate change and racism). My research interests are in the field of labor studies, protest and movement studies and educational research. Contact: laura.baeumel@uzh.ch

abstract:

In my research, I am concerned with the everyday lives and biographies of mothers working in factories in Styria (Austria¹). Specifically, I examine the related personal and political negotiation between the spheres of production and reproduction in contemporary capitalism. The interviewees' biographies show similarities at several points: they mostly completed an apprenticeship and later became mothers, resulting in a rupture of their employment biographies. Instead of continuing to work in their learned profession, they opted for gainful employment as unskilled temporary workers in various factories. The reasons for this are often that wages are higher in the manufacturing sector, working hours are clearly delineated due to shift work (which ensures that the sphere of reproduction is secure), and it is possible to work the night shift. However, nowadays it is often necessary to begin to work as an unskilled worker in Austria's factories through a temporary employment agency, which, in the long run, means less professional security³. Temporary work will be contextualized here as part of a spectrum of fragmentations in contemporary capitalism. Against this background, I want to show how the interviewees narrate their gainful employment in the factory as a kind of "biographical compromise". In a further step, I would like to present some political consequences of this biographical compromise and rupture outlined above. I assume, this results in participatory hindrances, which can be identified on different structural levels and influence the personal attitudes towards (socio-political) issues. Here I will focus on three interrelated issues: a) Interviewees' attitudes towards gender equality issues and migration. Following on from this and related to it are b) questions about participation in the workplace as well as demands on the company and employers. Moreover, general c) political apathy can be observed, which is related to a) and b) and yields a certain understanding of "the state" and "politics". 1 All information (empirical data and legal issues) in this abstract refer to this local context. The empirics collected so far consist of 18 interviews and field research at an insulator manufacturing facility (July 2022). This is preceded by two years of part-time employment in a car factory (2015-2017) to finance my bachelor studies. 2 What many of the interviewees with young children choose to do in order to provide childcare and complete other reproductive activities. 3 However, Austria has a comparatively good collective wage agreement regarding

temporary employment. Therefore employees have more rights in relation to temporary employments in other countries and in the short run higher wages in relation to their prior jobs, as mentioned above.

Carissa Newsome, University of Cincinnati, USA; Sex workers and labor rights.

Bio: Carissa Newsome, she/her/hers is a graduate student at the University of Cincinnati (UC) obtaining her master's degree in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies. Her current research focuses on the labor rights of sex workers. She applies a Marxist feminist perspective to her work in "The Right to Be Paid for Emotional Labor: How Sex Worker Rights Activists are Organizing Around Labor Rights," emphasizing that uncompensated emotional labor has long been an issue that is raced, classed, and gendered, making sex workers, especially vulnerable. This research will help to complete her master's degree. After she earns her WGSS MA degree, she hopes to pursue a PhD in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies, continuing her work on sex work, Marxist feminism, contracts, and labor rights.

abstract: Sex workers have been organizing around their labor rights since the 1990s. Organizations have been doing work around wages, healthcare, and other workplace exploitation but what we know less about is if and how activists are organizing around compensation for emotional labor. Using a Marxist feminist perspective in "The Right to Be Paid for Emotional Labor: How Sex Worker Rights Activists are Organizing Around Labor Rights", I examine sex worker rights activist's organizing efforts throughout the United States. From June to September 2022, I conducted oral history interviews of activists of varying ages, races, sexual orientations, gender identities, socioeconomic statuses, and types of sex work. During this time, first-person accounts following the same criteria were also analyzed. Following my findings, I offer a Marxist feminist perspective to sex worker rights activism, centering sex workers' and sex worker rights activists' voices, and consider contracts as a possible solution to the uncompensated emotional labor that sex workers do. This paper contributes to Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies and Marxist perspectives on sex work, care and emotional work, activism, contracts, and labor rights.

5C FEMINIST THEORY PANEL moderation: Ewa Majewska

Daniela Vicherat Mattar, Leiden University College, The Hague, NL; Care: A source of vulnerability and resistance.

Bio: Dr. Daniela Vicherat Mattar is Associate Professor of Sociology at Leiden University College, The Hague. She is interested in exploring the connection between material forms and various socio-political dynamics in the city, especially in relation to alternative experiences of citizenship and care.

abstract: The Covid-19 pandemic has been a painful reminder that care does not function in egalitarian manner. Gender, race and class serve to reinforce patterns of subordination that make those engaged in care work less visible, their needs less important, than those privilege enough to pay to be cared. And yet, the pandemic also revealed how deep is the 'care crisis' affecting most societies across the world. Understood as a consequence of capitalist society (Haug, Thesis X, 2018) and, as a consequence, also a 'democratic crisis' (Tronto, 2017), the unequal distribution and value attributed to care work is a prevailing source of vulnerability for women, particularly racialized migrant women. This can be easily demonstrated by looking at the lucrative industry of domestic workers developed in the Philippines with state support. In this paper, I intend to discuss how care work is both a source of vulnerability and resistance for Filipina domestic workers. Using insights from the documentary *Overseas* (Sung-A Yoon, 2019), I intend to unpack how transforming existing relations of production is not only a feminist question (Haug, Thesis I, 2018), but also a question of pondering the value of (individual) rights. The logic of choice and the logic of care seem to be at odds in the

experiences of Filipina domestic workers. Yet, these experiences also demonstrate how care, and care work, can offer the impulse to move our understanding of rights beyond their individual and collective definition. In doing so, care (and care work), can also be understood as a source of resistance to the prevailing commodification of social relations in current societies under the guise of 'choice'.

Eric Llaveria Caselles, Technical University Berlin DE; Marxism-Feminism as a framework to re-think trans politics and theory.

Bio: Eric Llaveria Caselles is a researcher and PhD candidate at the Center for Interdisciplinary Women's and Gender Studies (Zentrum für Interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung) at the Technical University Berlin. He researches and teaches in Trans and Gender Studies from a Marxist-Feminist perspective. He organized the conference "Trans Dialogues on Life, Work and Resistance" in 2022 with trans activists from Nicaragua, Argentina, Kenya, Germany, Singapore and Malaysia (www.globaltransdialogues.com). He is currently working a series of articles in which he seeks to articulate an alternative perspective to the gender identity paradigm in trans theory and politics. He is interested in elaborating the notion of gender intransigence as a structural feature of the modern/colonial and capitalist mode of social organization from which the phenomena of "gender identity" and "transsexuality" in their current forms can be explained. **Contact:** llaveriacaselles@tu-berlin.de

abstract: In my work as researcher, I use Marxism-Feminism as a framework to re-think trans politics and theory in ways that move beyond identity politics and liberal rights approaches. My academic work is in conversation with trans activists of community-based organizations from the global south which deal with issues of poverty, housing, healthcare, or citizenship. I would like to present and discuss some arguments within the context of the conference as a way to explore the place of transsexuality/transgenderism within Marxism-Feminism. A first argument I want to make is that the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions for trans people is severely limited by the hegemonic gender identity paradigm. This paradigm is an inheritance from the medical discourse and is upheld by gender studies and trans activism in their use of "gender identity" as an individual attribute or inner truth. I claim that this notion is not only othering, reductionist and colonial, but it also limits the political imaginary to different versions of gender liberalism. Second, I propose to think of transsexuality as the containment of a conflict between the multiplicity of the generative capacities of bodies and their possible articulations on the one hand, and the intransigent organization of the human social reproduction in the figurations of the woman-(house)wife-mother and man-husband-father-worker, the institutions of the family, the household and the workplace on the other. This Marxist-feminist perspective politicizes the social exclusion of gender marginalized groups (such as trans) through the horizon of social reproduction and the simultaneous critique of capitalism, patriarchal structures, gender intransigence and racism. As a consequence, trans politics and theory can move beyond identity politics or subversive performativity towards transversal, internationalist and revolutionary alliances that pursue the fundamental and global reorganization of social reproduction.

Lyuboslava Kostova, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Female Disability between Vulnerability and Empowerment: Inspirations for Feminist Social Research.

abstract: 'We cannot have a world where everyone is a victim. 'I'm this way because my father made me this way. I'm this way because my husband made me this way.' Yes, we are indeed formed by traumas that happen to us. But then you must take charge, you must take over, you are responsible.' (C. Paglia). This article deals with the concept of disability as an inner source of inspiration and creative capabilities due to inherent human vulnerability. The focus emphasizes three main points: disability, inspiration and self-

fulfillment. Is it possible to use your own disadvantages to create a better and more honest version of yourself? Feminist philosophy gives us such perspective because in its roots it is all about embodiment. Eva F. Kittay and Adrienne Ash are just some of the examples. What is really unique about feminism is neither its political correctness, nor the so-called ‘cancel culture’ of today. The real advantage of feminist research is its own situatedness, engagement and attachment. If the object of science is to grasp the essence of subjects independently of knowers, then one must distinguish sharply the knower from the known. However, when the objects of inquiry are knowers themselves, this dichotomy rules out the possibility that knowers’ self-understandings help constitute knowers’ perspectives and intellectual approaches. Thus, for many feminists their own research is a form of deeper understanding of the social structures, the important actors, and basically – of themselves. Feminist inquiries can be a source of both healing and empowerment, especially in the cases where female social researchers (have a connection) with disability and willingness to accept their own vulnerability. For me, this perspective is extremely important and precious. **Keywords:** vulnerability, disability, feminist social research, empowerment.

Suzana Rahde Gerchmann, City, University of London, UK; Gendered Subjectivity Law and Capitalism. Women’s Oppression and the role of Law in Emancipation.

Bio: Suzana Rahde Gerchmann (she/her) is a PhD Candidate and Graduate Teaching Assistant at City, University of London, where she is also one of the Co-Directors of the Centre for Law & Social Change. Suzana’s research explores the gendered aspects of legal subjectivity, focusing on the relationship between law, gender and capital and the role of law (or the limits of law) in liberation. In this research, Suzana is supervised by Dr Grietje Baars and Dr Sabrina Germain and draws from Marxist Feminist and decolonial perspectives. She is inspired to challenge everyday injustices. Above all, she wants to do her part in social change.

abstract: This research explores the legal dimension of subject formation, focusing on the relationship between law, gender and capital and the role of law (or the limits of law) in liberation. To unfold this entanglement, I take gender pricing – the practice of charging men and women differently for the same or substantially similar products and services where women are the most affected – as a case study. Until now, legal scholarship analysed this phenomenon under a positivist/liberal scope and classified it as sex discrimination, claiming regulation as an efficient way to abolish gender pricing. However, these solutions do not address the problem adequately, as they rely on individualised and anti-discrimination measures, overlooking the structural causes of gender oppression and women’s experiences in capitalist societies. To have an emancipation-driven discussion, this gap must be filled. And to address it, my overarching research questions are: How are law and capitalism interrelated in the gendered constitution of the legal subject as a consumer? Taking gender pricing as a case study, what can we learn about (1) the legal aspects of a gendered subjectivity, (2) the meaning of being a woman in capitalist societies, and (3) the role of law (or the limitations of law) in liberation? In responding to these questions, through a theoretical methodology and a critical framework, I situate gender in capitalist societies. When I turn to gender pricing, I am interested in mapping the sites of intersection between law, gender and capital and how they are interlocked in a system that not only gives rights but imposes subjectivities. By unveiling the role of law in the construction of gender identities, I draw from Marxist Feminist and decolonial perspectives and hope to elucidate its limits in our struggle for liberation and explore different solutions to emancipation. **Keywords:** gender; legal subjectivity; law; capitalism; pink tax.

6A WAR PANEL moderation:

Oksana Dutchak; University of Frankfurt, DE; *Imperial wars and fragile solidarities: how to build a feminist path without losing each other*

Bio: **Oksana Dutchak** is co-editor of Ukrainian *Spilne/Commons* Journal. Dutchak holds a PhD in social sciences. She is currently continuing her academic work at Goethe Universität - University of Frankfurt. Her research interests include: protests, workers' protests, gender inequality, social reproduction, care labor, Marxism, Marxist feminism. Oksana is devoted to engaged and public research, which contributes to public discussion and policies, trying to give voice to workers and other structurally underprivileged groups.

abstract: What is distinctive about authoritarian capitalism and imperialism in 2023? How are women in Ukraine and Iran resisting authoritarianism and imperialism? How can Marxist-Feminism make a contribution to these struggles both in theory and in practice? Oksana Dutchak will discuss the participation of women in the resistance to Russia's imperialist war in Ukraine and the impact of the war on care work and gender relations. Critical perspectives will be offered on the alternatives to capitalism and heteronormative patriarchy posed by various socialist feminist thinkers such as Nancy Fraser, Ann Ferguson, Maria Mies, Silvia Federici, Kathi Weeks, Frigga Haug and Audre Lorde. Further ideas about theorizing a socialist feminist alternative as well as suggestions for concrete socialist feminist international solidarity work will be discussed.

Sama Khosravi Ooryad, University of Gothenburg, Sweden; *The war on women, authoritarian capitalist patriarchy, and feminist transnational and regional responses Imperialist War, Authoritarianism and Alternatives to Capitalism.*

bio: **Sama Khosravi Ooryad** is a PhD candidate in Film and Media Studies at the Department of Cultural Sciences at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden. Her project is part of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie Doctoral network NETHATE, which is a network of excellence for training to understand and counter hate online. She graduated (cum laude) from a master's program in Women and Gender Studies at Utrecht University. Her master's thesis, focused on the cultural tools of constructing political kinship via social media activism as well as urban performative protests against compulsory hijab in Iran by the Girls of Revolution Street. She also holds bachelor's and master's degrees in English literature from Urmia University and Shahid Beheshti University, respectively, in Iran.

Natalia Kovyliava, University of Tartu Estonia; *"Between Horror and Hope: Feminist Anti-War Resistance Performances and Strategies of Mobilizations in and outside of Putin's Russia"*.

bio: **Natalia Kovyliava** is a Ph.D. candidate, Junior Fellow Researcher in Political Science, Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies, University of Tartu (Estonia). Her current dissertation project, titled "Gaining Voice: Feminist Grassroots Mobilizations in Putin's Russia," explores the emergence and development of the feminist grassroots movements and their tactics and strategies in Russia starting from the early 2000s. Natalia holds an MA in Political Science from Central European University (Budapest, Hungary)

and an MA in International Relations from the Higher School of Economics (Moscow, Russia). Natalia has been a volunteer and/or interned for such organizations as Sakharov Centre, Memorial, EU-Russia Civil Society Forum, German-Russian Exchange, and Transparency International - Russia.

Abstract: Since the start of Russian aggression in Ukraine on February 24th, the Russian feminist grassroots immediately reacted to this event and joined forces to protest against the war. On February 25th, a group of feminist activists published a manifesto, which outlined the anti-military and anti-Putin agenda of the Russian feminist grassroots movement and called for the international feminist movements to join the anti-war protest actions worldwide. As for today, they were able to attract supporters not only in Russia but received much international attention and support worldwide. Relying on the gendered opportunity political structure theory and the concept of the discursive eruption from the social movement studies, as well as literature on the outcomes and impacts of the movements, the presented paper aims to analyze the online and offline performances that made the movement visible and recognizable to the Russian and international public, their strategies and tactics of mobilization, and the preliminary impacts of the Feminist Anti-War Resistance (FAR). In addition, the paper reflects on their relations to other anti-war movements and initiatives in and outside of Russia through network analysis of social media and other publicly available sources. The study relies on the extensively rich online data from the Feminist Anti-War Resistance channel on Telegram, Instagram, Facebook and supporting materials such as newspaper interviews, Youtube interviews, and personal reflections of activists from the semi-structured online interviews. In general, the study's results demonstrate how marginalized and vulnerable groups may find a way to resist the dictatorial regime to spread their anti-war messages and gain a voice within a very hostile environment, build a transnational (online) network of feminist anti-war cells inside and outside of Russia, form new identities and agendas within the feminist grassroots movements and impact political agendas of other anti-war initiatives and organizations sharing similar goals and claims.

Gabriele Michalitsch, University of Vienna, AT. *Masculine Toughness: Neoliberalism, Authoritarianism, and Militarization*

bio: **Gabriele Michalitsch**, PhD, is a political scientist and economist at the Universities of Vienna and Klagenfurt (Austria). She has held (visiting) professorships in Beijing (2016), Budapest (2007) and Istanbul (2003-04), among others, and was chair of the Council of Europe's expert group on gender budgeting. Her research focuses on political economy, political theories, and feminist economics.

abstract: In my contribution, I argue that neoliberalism has laid key foundations of currently increasing authoritarianism and – long before the war in Ukraine – growing militarization. By referring to critical theory and linking Marxism and psychoanalysis to feminist theory, I focus on "masculine toughness" as a de-democratizing political and social principle of social polarization, growing poverty, and increased social exclusion as well as of dominant competition and ruthless self-reliance. These factors have also provided the ground for the revival of the friend-foe dualism as a guiding political idea and for the rapid militarization of the European Union. With empirical reference to politically-militarily neutral Austria, the talk shows how neoliberal "masculine toughness" currently promotes authoritarianism and militarization in Western societies and fundamentally re-traditionalizes gender relations.

6B LITERATURE/HERSTORY PANEL moderation: Beatriz Pedroso

Natalija Stepanović, UCL, UK; On Leaving and Being Stuck Behind. Adventurous Lesbians and Impassive Queers in Croatian and Serbian Women's Literature.

bio: Natalija Stepanović - I hold a master's degree in Comparative Literature from the University of Zagreb (2019) where I primarily studied Croatian gay and lesbian prose. In 2021, I graduated with a master's degree in Critical Gender Studies from Central European University. My analysis of women's literature in socialist Yugoslavia is to be published as a part of *Dacoromania litteraria*'s project "Women's Life Writing in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe" in 2023. My essay on legal and activist aspects of the gay struggle for adoption in Croatia is included in Springer's 2022 collection *Mapping LGBTQ Spaces and Places*. I am currently a PhD student at University College London. My main academic interests are critical theory, queer prose, women's writing, and working-class cultures. I collaborate with Zagreb Pride in efforts to popularize regional queer culture and contribute to several feminist media outlets. natalijastepanovic@yahoo.com

abstract: In *Epistemology of the Closet*, Eve Kosofsky Sedwick prefaces elaboration of secrecy in queer culture with a quote that resonates with Southeastern European lesbian literature: "the knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in the closet". While regional queer writing frequently depicts negotiations between remaining closeted and coming out, my essay will focus on movement and worldliness as well as their class-based foundations. I will compare unpublished manuscripts of Croatian modernist painter, sapphic traveler, and antifascist fighter Nasta Rojc with recent regional textual production. Rather than encountering a new generation of active subjects, in post-socialist confessionals, we are confronted by a variety of marginalized protagonists whose small-scale revolts need novel narrative modes. As Sara Ahmed argues in *The Promise of Happiness*, queer happiness tends to be equated with upward mobility, "getting up and getting out". Cynical intellectuals who are moving abroad for schooling and fooling around are common heroes in local gay literature. The characters in lesbian working-class literature tend to languish on the periphery rather than heading toward Western Europe as Nasta Rojc did at the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, romantic tales about daring individuals seem exceedingly far-fetched from the perspective of underprivileged subjects who perceive the world as perniciously precarious rather than delightfully open. To explain this shift I will be relying on Lauren Berlant's notion of cruel optimism and argue that modernist queer narratives of emigration and acclaim function as unattainable fantasies in postmodern lesbian literature. I intend to focus on the novels *Turbofolk* (Viktorija Božina, 2018) and *My Dowry* (Nora Verde, 2020) as well as the short story collection *A Decent Life* (2012). The title of the last publication is telling: rather than striving for a good life, contemporary prose depicts characters attempting to have a livable one.

Emily Marie Passos Duffy, UCP, Lisbon, Portugal; Erotic Labor and Survival: poems and a hybrid photo essay.

Bio: Emily Marie Passos Duffy is a poet, writer, researcher, and performing artist. She holds a Master of Fine Arts in Creative Writing and Poetics from Naropa University. She is a doctoral student in Translation Studies at the Universidade Católica Portuguesa, where she is a member of the CECC research center and a proofreader for *Diffractions: A Graduate Journal for the Study of Culture*. She is the author of *Hemorrhaging Want & Water* (Perennial Press 2023), a finalist in the Noemi Press Book Award (2020), and a recipient of the Disquiet International Luso-American Fellowship (2020). s-eduffy@ucp.pt

In response to the conference agenda items, *the body as commodity and battlefield, precarization, and*

migration, I propose to read a selection from my full-length poetry book, *Hemorrhaging Want & Water*, which deals with themes of sex work, heritage, labor, and consent. The book's three sections span three cities and places within and between them—from a harbor ferry, to a VIP room, to the tallest bar in the world. Poems tunnel through space and time while unspooling questions of family heritage, identity, labor, violence, and erotic possibility. Guided and beguiled by an Alias, the work makes contact with the velocity needed to survive in a world that has teeth. My accompanying hybrid photo essay, titled "My reliquary blushes", will include ephemera from the strip club as a meditation on excess and the performance of femininity as survival strategy. This work will look at the mundane, the grotesque, and the discarded detritus that makes up the lifecycle of a night working in the club. Cash and sexuality are two things considered taboo by society and organized religion, easily critiqued when they are expressed in excess. Sex workers deal intimately with both. The concept of a reliquary— container for holy relics—draws into question what is considered holy and worth preservation. These photos aim to illuminate pockets of divinity and sanctity present within that which is often considered "dirty" or "excessive." My poems and multimedia works are inspired by my own experiences and in conversation with feminist theory, practice, and literature from McKenzie Wark, bell hooks, Julia Kristeva, Rachel Rabbit White, and countless others.

Aneta Ostaszewska, University of Warsaw, PL, *Women's work in the academia in the context of alienation*.

bio: **Aneta Ostaszewska** is an Associate Professor at the University of Warsaw (Poland) and Director of the Centre for Women's and Gender Research. e-mail: a.ostaszewska@uw.edu.pl

abstract: The proposed paper is inspired by my personal experience of many years of "being an academic" / "a woman in the academy" and by the research results of a project that I have completed on the situation of women in universities in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. This proposal is to capture the specificity of academic work through the lens of gender and the category of alienation already in a post-pandemic reality, although still threatened by a global crisis. The historical starting point and its reference is Karl Marx concept of estranged, alienated labour. Starting from this concept, I argue that one of the key historical processes we are dealing with, is the deepening alienation of work (and undoubtedly precarisation), especially in the context of gender. In view of this, I propose a panel about the work experience of a rather specific group of workers such as women academics, socially perceived as a privileged and emancipated group. By confronting this stereotypical image of women academics, I would like also to pose the question of whether women working in the academy constitute a distinct class/group in the sense of shared goals, interests and experiences? The area of panel discussion and exploration would be individual and collective narratives of female academics; they shall serve as an exemplification and framework for mapping the current problems, needs and challenges of women regarding work in academy. **Keywords:** women's work, alienation, gender, equality, academy, university.

6C (DIGITAL) VIOLENCE, NEOLIBERALISM: moderation Ewa Majewska

Anne Roth, policy advisor on digital policy for the parliamentary group "Die Linke" in the German Bundestag, Berlin, DE; Gender specific digital violence.

Bio: A political scientist by education, Anne Roth is senior advisor for digital policy for the 'Left Party' in the German federal parliament. She cofounded the first interactive media activist website, Indymedia, in Germany in 2001 and has been involved with media and digital rights activism ever since. She became the "collateral damage" of a terrorism investigation against her partner in 2007 and was senior advisor for the

parliamentary inquiry on mass surveillance of the German Bundestag after the Snowden revelations 2014 – 2017. She lives in Berlin. anneroth@posteo.net

abstract: In my contribution to the conference I would like to look at a topic that combines the gender inequality of digital technology with another field that affects members of different genders very differently: domestic violence or other forms of gender specific violence in different forms of relationships. Everyone seems to be aware of hate speech and harassment when they occur on platforms or via social media and spread from there into the physical space. But there's still a peculiar blind spot when it comes to the enhancement of violence carried out through the use of digital technologies in less visible ways. And there are many: Monitoring e-mails, messages, location, browser history of current or former partners, threatening to forward intimate pictures or videos to other family members, colleagues or publishing them online, using drones to capture intimate situations through windows, monitoring bathrooms or changing rooms with invisible cameras, remotely controlling smart devices just to name a few. Just like domestic violence is a policy area that lacks resources, support and interest the same is true for gender specific digital violence beyond platforms. In my proposed talk I would like to give an overview of the different forms of digital violence, the lack of both data and research as well as political ambition to deal with the impact of digital technologies on already existing structures of violence. Possible questions to discuss: Why are victims of digital violence often so ill prepared to understand and handle digital attacks? Why is cybercrime a topic of top priority and yet so little attention on digital crimes in social relationships? Should we as feminists address glaring deficits in the handling of such cases by law enforcement and if not what needs to be done?

Michalina Grzelka, Ph.D.; Caregiving Automatons.

Michalina Grzelka, Ph.D. mgrzelka@albany.edu

abstract: I met Magdalena in 2020. In her early fifties, she is a mother of Adam, a twenty-five-year-old man with an intellectual disability and on the autism spectrum. They live together in an apartment on the outskirts of Warsaw. Magdalena agreed to participate in my study on gender, disability, and family caregiving in postsocialist Poland. I interviewed her in October 2020. It was during that interview, when Magdalena, a full-time caregiver of her disabled son, called herself a “caregiving automaton” (*automat do opieki*). That expression stayed with me for a long time. Magdalena used it to describe her existence in the (uncaring) system which stripped her of her job and ambitions. The lack of adequate state assistance to parents of (adult) children with disabilities in Poland reduced Magdalena to a robot programmed to fulfil her caregiving duties. Magdalena's perception that she had been reduced to a mere caregiving machine became even more poignant ten days after the interview, when, on October 22, 2020, the Constitutional Tribunal of Poland declared the law authorizing abortions for malformed fetuses to be unconstitutional, effectively banning most of the small number of official abortions carried out in Poland. The ruling caused mass protests across the country during which many women (myself included) shouted or wrote on their cardboard signs: “We are not incubators!” signaling that the ruling of the Constitutional Tribunal reduced women and their bodies to devices whose only task is to keep the fetuses growing inside them alive. Inspired by my interview with Magdalena, in this presentation I analyze the mechanisms adopted by the Polish government that turn women into “caregiving automatons,” machines that are expected to give birth and care for their (adult) children with disabilities while receiving a minimal state support. Within this context, I show how the responsibility for caregiving is organized along gendered and generational lines. However, I am not only interested in exploring how responsibility for care is distributed in postsocialist Poland, but also in examining the extent to which currently existing models of caring for people with disabilities are a legacy of the state's socialist past as well as how they are influenced by the policy shifts that occurred in Poland after 1989. Furthermore, I examine

what tools and mechanisms the Polish state utilizes to turn women, and especially mothers of people with disabilities, into caregiving automatons.

Sayamsiddha; Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability, New Delhi, India; Platformization of Patriarchy: *Women in the Platform Economy in India*.

abstract: In the globalized world, with the advancement of technology, the informality from the past decades is now being extended through digital platforms. There is now a creation of a virtual workforce who as self-employed individuals can work in a piece rated fashion. The platform-based labour market is a contemporary manifestation of the neoliberal era. While the platform economy is an emerging sector, the participation of women in the sector is significantly low in India. It is also often limited by the historically rooted ideas of sexual division of labour which are not only replicated but also amplified through these platforms. This can be understood from the overwhelming representation of women in work typically considered feminine such as domestic, beauty and care work even within these platforms. The primary objective of this paper is to explore the ways the new forms of accumulation under digital capitalism benefit from the existing gender inequalities and also provides space for such inequalities to thrive. It attempts to understand the conditions of work, the various methods of control used at work and the resistance put forward by women platform workers both individually and as part of collectives and unions.

15.30 – 17.30 – PANEL ROUND 7

7a STRATEGIES AND DEMANDS PANEL moderation Katarzyna Rakowska

Paula Mulinari and Rebecca Selberg, Malmö University, Sweden. Care as Real Utopia.

bios: **Rebecca Selberg** is a sociologist and gender scholar whose main research interests are in labor and social reproduction, as well as public sector work and care work. One of her latest contributions to Feminist-Marxist debates was in the edited volume *Post Rosa: Letters Against Barbarism* (together with Maureen Kasuku, edited by Hjalmar Jorge Joffre-Einhorn). Rebecca.selberg@genus.lu.se **Paula Mulinari** is a gender scholar whose main research interests are in experiences of everyday racism; class struggles and resistance. One of her latest contributions is the article “Waiting in welfare lines. Exploring everyday racism as waiting in the migration and unemployment complexes in England and Sweden” in *European Journal of Social Work* (together with Maja Sager). Paula.mulinari@mau.se

abstract: Based on extensive interviews and transdisciplinary collaborations with care workers in the Swedish public sector, we present to our peers in the Marxist-Feminist conference an approach to anti-capitalist struggles centered around the concept of care. We explore nurses’ knowledge, skill, and utopian visions with the aim of analyzing what forms of structural and organizational change they view as necessary to create a more socially sustainable situation for themselves, and their patients. Silvia Federici, the leading feminist-Marxist thinker on social reproduction, capitalism, and social struggles, has argued that “a premise for me is that capitalism has to go. Thus, whatever struggle we engage in must aim to sow the seeds of a different society and begin a process of re-appropriation”. We take this premise as our point of departure, arguing that the struggles by nurses for different forms of care and work in the public sector can be understood as seeds – or horizons – for alternative forms of organizing our lives. A central argument is that, in the accounts of nurses interviewed for the research we report on, we see radical suggestions of a new system of value – one in which care constitutes the moral center of society. The nurses’ visions, we argue, are more than demands

for improved managerial regimes or even more resources (although more resources toward care is, of course, of central importance); they suggest to us a re-interpretation of how to measure output and what to conceptualize as productivity and value. In that sense, they are struggles engaging – as Federici put it – in a process of re-appropriation of social reproduction. We conceptualize this as “care as real utopia”.

Blanka Hasterok, Inicjatywa Pracownicza Warsaw, PL, Situation of Polish workers at Amazon.

bio: Blanka Hasterok - a Silesian who loves her region and workers' settlements there. As part of the Local Activity Programme, she worked as a community animator in the Bogucice district of Katowice. An activist of Inicjatywa Pracownicza. Since 2019 she has been working as a warehouse worker at Amazon, first in Sosnowiec, now in Gliwice. Feminist, for several years involved in the activities of the Silesian Manifa. She supports socially excluded people in finding their paths. Between 2018 and 2021, she ran a foundation that included the Gliwice city carpentry shop and which aim was to support homeless and disabled people.

abstract: In our speech, we will deal with the topic of the situation of Polish workers at Amazon - low wages, employment on temporary contracts, pressures on workers, including female workers. We would point out that Polish workers work for Western customers and are treated by the West as extremely cheap labour. We will discuss the current issues faced by OZZ Inicjatywa Pracownicza, which has entered an industrial dispute with Amazon. We will present how Amazon obstructed the strike referendum in the warehouses, how it acted illegally, and how a strike can be organised in Poland. Polish law is very restrictive in this respect compared to other European countries. We will touch on the company's fight against trade unions, as Amazon is openly hostile to trade unions in general. We will explain why it is so difficult to organise - what role warehouses play in local labour markets. Amazon offers relatively well-paid work for that part of the working class that has qualifications that do not allow them to find other work, or none at all. Working at Amazon is also often seen as a short-term job, hence the high turnover and the difficulty in building a strong union structure. We will refer to the dismissal of protected female and male union activists. We will refer to the Social Congress of Women, organised, among others, by members of our trade union. We will highlight the role of the Congress as opposition to liberal feminist events. We will talk about the importance of women in our union, their activism, role and involvement in trade union activities.

Valgerður Pálmadóttir, Evelina Johansson–Wilén, Eva Schmit, Sweden; Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Sisterhood in the ASAB Cleaning Women's Strike and the Women's Day Off in Iceland.

bio: Valgerður Pálmadóttir holds a Ph.D in History of Ideas from Umeå University (Sweden). Pálmadóttir's Ph.D thesis *Perplexities of the Personal and the Political: How Women's Liberation became Women's Human Rights* (2018) is a contrastive analysis of two Feminist People's Tribunals. Pálmadóttir is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of History at the University of Iceland. Her research interests include the relationship between political activism and ideas about power, identities and liberation in a historical context, and the relationship between social movements and historical change. **Evelina Johansson Wilén** holds a Ph.D in Gender Studies from Gothenburg University (Sweden) and currently serves as an assistant professor at Halmstad University (Sweden) Her research interest include feminist and anti-feminist movements, the political implications of vulnerability, marginalization and experiential knowledge in various political movements, the intersection of ethics and politics within contemporary feminist thought and activism, and feminist epistemology. Currently, she is involved in two research projects. The first project, funded by Riksbankens jubileumsfond, examines the integration of sex and gender perspectives as a measure

of quality by Swedish state-funded research councils and how this integration relates to different conceptualizations of the relationship between science and politics. The second project, funded by the Swedish research council, examines the incel movement and the epistemological tropes that this movement mobilizes. **Eva Schmitz** is a retired senior scholar at Halmstad University. Schmitz defended her doctoral thesis in sociology, *Systerskap som politisk handling : kvinnors organisering in Sverige 1968-1982* (Sisterhood as a political action: women's organizing in Sweden 1968-1982), at Lund University in 2007. She has written extensively on the feminist movement and on the female worker's role in the rise of the labour movement in Sweden until the 1930s. She has studied women's strikes in Swedish history from the point of view of gender and class and the history of the struggle for abortion in Sweden and internationally.

abstract: In recent years women's- and feminist movements have increasingly employed the form and rhetoric of strikes in framing their protests. The rise of the women's strike movement has been seen as an indicator of an invigorated wave of feminist activism that focuses, to a greater extent, on structural economic injustices. Furthermore, this symbolic mass strike trend actualises the notion of solidarity across differences. The aim of this paper is to provide a historical aspect to the growing research on strikes as a multifaceted form of protest, particularly as it appears within the feminist movement. The paper analyses articulations of collective identity, solidarity, and sisterhood in two different kinds of 'women's strikes' that took place in the Nordic region during the mid-1970s; the ASAB cleaners' strikes in Sweden during the winter of 1974-1975 and the Icelandic Women's Day Off that took place on October 24, 1975. This contrastive analysis includes exploring how the relationship between gender and class was conceptualized by leading participants, organizers, and bystanders. In addition, we employ these cases to study how solidarity and sisterhood across differences among women might have appeared in practice while at the same time reflecting internal tensions and varying interests. Moreover, the article reflects on the specific form of the strikes and the potential impact their respective form might have had on the political articulations that came out of them. By this, we hope to contribute to the historical and theoretical discussion on solidarity within grass root activism, gender aspects of labour struggle, and expressions of political identity.

7b (POST)PANDEMIC CAPITALISM AND EMANCIPATION PANEL moderation Marga Ferre

Swantje Höft, Vienna, AT; *Between Past Perfect and Future Perfect: On the Convergence between post-socialist and post-pandemic Feminist Utopias.*

Bio: Swantje Höft (East Berlin, 1988) is pursuing a PhD in Comparative Gender Studies at the Central European University. Her thesis explores domestic and cleaning workers' unionization in Spain and how they approach feminist syndicalism (*sindicalismo feminista*) as a form of unionization with life at its center. In her master thesis in gender studies, she analyzed the utopian imaginations of GDR feminists during the German Reunification. She holds another master's degree in development studies and a bachelor in sociology from the University of Vienna. She also studied in Barcelona, Padang (Indonesia), Paris and Santa Marta (Colombia).

abstract: The covid-19 pandemic has unraveled once more how crisis-prone capitalist arrangements are. In order to prefigure alternative futures, we are sometimes incited to return to the graveyard of lost futures imagined in the past. Retrofuturistic imaginations, such as those of East German feminists during the breakdown of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), can be uncannily timely. GDR feminists, who have been of the most pronounced autonomous women's movements in the Eastern Bloc (Martens 2001), participated in the drafting of an alternative GDR constitution with the GDR opposition electoral program of

the Independent Women's League, at the only democratic elections in the GDR, as well as occupying of State Security (Stasi) headquarters in Erfurt. At this utopian moment, East German feminists envisioned a socio-ecological transformation of the GDR into democratic socialism, with a fourfold separation of powers, an intersectional reformulation of Marxist ideas, as well as the necessity to demasculinize existing utopias (Behrend and Maleck-Lewy 1991). Their ideas to demasculinize Marxist analysis does not just resonate with Marxist Feminist ideas in general, they also resemble Verónica Gago's feminist redefinitions of the Marxian notion of class (Gago 2019), Rita Segato's feminization of the revolutionary subject (2019) or the feminist reformulations of wage-centered labor struggles, such as the feminist strike and feminist syndicalism (Gago and Cavallero 2022). This paper explores the convergences between feminism in the post-socialist and post-pandemic feminist endeavors.

Nađa Bobičić and Lara Končar, University of Belgrade, Serbia; TAKING BACK THE TIME: CARE AND HOUSEWORK IN A PANDEMIC CONTEXT.

bios: **Nađa Bobičić** (Serbia) is a research associate at the University of Belgrade. Nađa was a member of the programme and organizing committees of the conference 'Feminism and the Left', held in November 2019 under the auspices of the Institute of Sociological Research at the University of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy, as well as of the annual postgraduate course 'Feminism and the Left: Other Histories, Other Futures', held in May 2021 at the Inter-University Centre in Dubrovnik. **Lara Končar** (Serbia) is a PhD candidate at the Department in Cultural and Media Studies (Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Belgrade). Currently, she is working as Research Coordinator in Center for Women's Studies in Belgrade. Lara Koncar is the laurate of the "Zagorka Golubovic" annual award for 2021, established by The Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory (University of Belgrade) for younger researchers for engaged research work, for the best text published in a scientific journal or a collection of scientific papers.

abstract: This presentation will discuss the results of the research project "Taking back the time: housework habits among Millennials & Zoomers", conducted by the Center for Women's Studies from Belgrade (Serbia) and the Association for culture and art CRVENA from Sarajevo (Bosnia & Herzegovina), during the autumn of 2021. Forty-six young women from Serbia and thirty-five women from Bosnia and Herzegovina participated in the research, and took part in the focus groups. The research framework is based on the social reproduction theory and its main focus is on the analysis of structural conditions that shaped housework and care work in the pandemic context in those two countries. That is why the research is structured on two levels. The first one analyzes the structural conditions that shape the lives of young respondents: a) work and educational conditions; b) healthcare and social protection system; c) housing conditions. On the second level, housework and care work is viewed in relation to: a) gender division of labour; and b) labour of love and the state of mental health. In the last segment of the research, respondents were asked to propose ways of organizing this type of labour. Among them, those who call for collectivistic ways of redistribution of the reproductive labour in different types of communities stand out. This question – how to approach care and housework in a more revolutionary way – forms the basis for a new research, which is planned for 2023, and whose preliminary results will be presented in the final part of this paper presentation.

7c INTERSECTIONALITY AND BEYOND PANEL moderation: Beatriz Pedroso

Lubica Kobova, Charles University, Prague, Czech Rep; Popular plebeian feminisms: obstacles in forming meaningful political alliances.

bio: **Lubica Kobová** is Assistant Professor in the Graduate Program in Gender Studies and at the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague. She is the author of several articles on subjects such as the history of feminist political theory (Mary Wollstonecraft, Susan Moller Okin, Judith Butler), democratic political theory, work ethics, reproductive rights, reactionary movements and ideologies, and academic capitalism. Kobová has served on the editorial board of *Contradictions: A Journal for Critical Thought*, and *Human Affairs: Postdisciplinary Humanities & Social Sciences Quarterly*. Lubica.Kobova@fhs.cuni.cz

abstract: Feminist leftist intellectuals have been forming alliances with working-class women in a number of countries of global South recently in order to weaken the strong tie between capitalism, patriarchy and other oppressing and exploitative systems (Gago 2020). Vis-a-vis these political mobilizations, the disconnect between female party members and feminist intellectuals on the one hand and working-class women on the other seems to be growing. Even though symbolically successful mobilizations against antigender movements have been gaining strength in the past years and feminism has seen an upsurge in popular support - primarily amongst metropolitan youth -, yet the contacts and cooperation between leftist feminist intellectuals, leftist party members, women precarious workers and women workers and working class in general have been rather scant. In my contribution, I aim to reflect on my own position of a feminist academic, a left party member, and a labor unionist in order to pinpoint obstacles to forming meaningful alliances and solidarities amongst plebeian women. This, obviously, is not a conundrum to be solved for popular feminisms (Kobová 2021) in Czech Republic, Slovakia and other countries merely. The same issue is at stake for leftist movements whose aim is to hegemonize working class across boundaries of gender, ethnicity, migration status etc. Still, leftist feminists should face the question of how their principles might turn into meaningful political alliances straightforwardly.

Ali Shayequa Z, BMU Munial University, India; Gender, caste and faith: Interplay of minority statuses during the Covid-19 pandemic.

bio: Shayequa is an Assistant Professor of Economics at the School of Law in BML Munjal University (BMU), Haryana. Her research interests are in agricultural economics, labour, poverty and inequality, and gender. Prior to joining BMU, she was an Associate Fellow at the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) where she worked on a wide range of studies such as: Cluster mapping of Gems and Jewellery units; Investment Priorities of India; and Women's Inheritance Rights and Child Health Outcomes. She has also evaluated policies for Ministries such as: Agricultural Price Policy; Faceless Assessment Scheme of CBDT; Monsoon Mission of MoES; and e-Courts Phase II of Department of Justice. Her doctoral thesis dealt with employment and productivity in unorganised food manufacturing since the 1990s in India. She has several publications in the form of peer reviewed research papers, chapters in books and reports. She has also presented her research in national and international conferences.

abstract: Gender, caste and faith: Interplay of minority statuses during the Covid-19 pandemic Marx, in his *Communist Manifesto*, highlighted the importance of improving women's status in the domestic as well as wider social context. History is witness to the fact that oppression and socio-economic precarious position of women and any other minority group gets exacerbated during times of crises. The recent Covid-19 pandemic was no exception to the above rule. One of the world's most stringent lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 crisis was implemented in India. While the impact of the pandemic was felt in female employment in white collar sectors as well, women in the informal sector found themselves in a far worse predicament. Female workers in the intersection set of a backward caste and minority religion would stand a very high chance of becoming destitute. Given that, there is not much data available in the public domain on employment during Covid-19 crisis, it would be unreasonable to attribute all causes for discrimination on the pandemic. However, the annual Primary Labour Force Survey (PLFS) could be a very useful source for

a gendered examination of employment trends of the informal sector of India over the last few years. A disaggregated analysis of (un)employment of women based on detailed activity statuses (viz. 'employed', 'unemployed' and 'not in labour force') over the pre and post pandemic years cross tabulated by their caste and religious identities may throw light on whether there was a change in the composition due to the worsening of precarity of women. For instance, an increase in the share of respondents 'not' in the labour force due to responsibilities of childcare and general health of family members could be correlated to effects of the pandemic on women. This study would highlight the areas requiring positive actions to address long-standing inequalities in various areas of women's lives.

Donya Ahmadi, Holland; A silence that broke: an intersectional analysis of the Iranian #Metoo Movement

Bio: Donya Ahmadi is an intersectional feminist scholar and assistant professor of International Relations at the University of Groningen. Her current research concerns an intersectional and race-critical analysis of the notion of assimilation of Iran's various historically-rooted ethnic groups into a centralized identity, and how this process of assimilation is gendered, class-based and racial, manifested through everyday practices, and fuels migration within and without Iran.

abstract: Over the past two years, Iran has witnessed the birth and growth of an unprecedented movement, whereby countless women have publicly shared having experienced various forms of sexual assault and gendered violence. Inspired by its sister movements overseas, the so-called Iranian #Metoo movement brought to the surface the extent to which violence against women and queer folk is normalized as part of the female or femme-bodied experience. The responses to the movement, however, are multifold. While at the surface level, there seems to be a celebration of the breaking of the silence on behalf of victims of sexual abuse, the movement has also received widespread backlash in various forms, ranging from victim-blaming to relativist narratives that essentialize gendered-violence as part and parcel of the Iranian culture. A US-based Iranian singer, facing multiple allegations of sexual assault, even went so far as to famously declare 'consent' a western construct which loses meaning in the Iranian socio-cultural context. This article will critically examine the discourses arising in response to the movement, by closely looking at one of its most publicized cases of serial sexual abuse. Contextualizing the current #Metoo movement in broader herstories of women's rights activism in Iran, it posits that women's issues have historically been sidelined not only in the mainstream masculinist politics of the pre and post-revolution eras, but also in the progressive socio-political movements of the past century. Ultimately, the article argues that without an intersectional approach to constructing group politics that problematizes class consciousness in relation to gender and sexuality (among other markers), the social-justice movements of the present era will continue to reproduce the familiar hetero-sexist structures that silence women and queer voices and render our struggles obsolete.

Keywords: Women's right movement, Iran, Intersectionality, Feminism, Gendered.