

Elisabeth Alabarce, Spain*Feminismo, marxismo y la violencia de género en el contexto actual español*

En España, en lo que llevamos de año, han sido asesinadas 76 mujeres por violencia machista. Es una cifra que escandaliza al movimiento feminista de este país porque, pese a tener una legislación que establece medidas de Protección Integral contra la Violencia de Género (LO 1/2004), no se observa su impacto efectivo.

Las y los feministas ponen de relieve que, en una sociedad formalmente igualitaria y con políticas públicas de igualdad, en las que las mujeres estamos alcanzando mayor protagonismo en la esfera pública, no se puede seguir perpetuando más un contrato social basado en la histórica subordinación de las mujeres.

La masculinidad hegemónica negativa está en la raíz de la violencia de género, una masculinidad que lleva a los hombres a continuar controlando la fuerza de trabajo de las mujeres mediante la discriminación, el abuso, la injusticia, la desigualdad, la violencia y, como súmmum, el asesinato machista.

En definitiva, eso que el marxismo identificaba como la primera forma de opresión de clase (la que ejercen los hombres sobre las mujeres) está llevándonos a una grave vulneración de derechos humanos.

[Translation pending]

Marianthi Anastasiadou*Marxism-Feminism/Feminism-Marxism in Greece Today: Old Obstacles, New Challenges*

What is feminism today in Greece? What kinds of feminist organizing come from the past and what new ones have been emerging lately? How is feminism from a Marxist perspective situated in the current Greek political environment? These are initial questions that need to be explored for two basic reasons: first, in order to map and comprehend feminist organizing in Greece today and second, in order to reflect on what feminism(s) exist(s) in the country today, how they are related to each other and what perspectives they open for the future. As for the Marxism-Feminism/Feminism-Marxism approach, it is quite marginalized as a perspective at the moment, lost between the old socialist practices on the “woman question”, the still vivid second wave distrust towards the left and the newer third wave feminist deconstructive approaches. However, the question “What is the need for a Marxism-Feminism/Feminism-Marxism in Greece today?” could bring forward the debate on gender relations and social organizing in the above contradictory feminist field.

Marianthi Anastasiadou is a PhD Candidate in Pedagogy at Freiburg Pädagogische Hochschule, writing her doctoral thesis on neo-Nazi discourse and the construction of gendered political identities in contemporary Greece. Her research interests include gender and feminism, far-right politics and construction of political identities as well as current migration policies in Europe. In recent years she has been a member of “Odysseas” Solidarity School/ Thessaloniki as well as of the European Network of Women in Greece. She is currently working as a pedagogic with unaccompanied refugee minors in Northern Greece.

Adelheid Biesecker, Sarah Breitenbach, Uta v. Winterfeld*Umkämpfte Identität – umkämpfte Natur*

Mit dieser Einheit möchten wir das männliche Ringen um Identität mit herrschaftlichen Mensch-Natur-Beziehungen verknüpfen. Wir beginnen mit Konflikten zu Beginn der Neuzeit, fahren fort mit Mechanismen von Externalisierung und enden mit dem Problem der Identifizierung.

Adelheid Biesecker war bis 2004 Professorin für Ökonomische Theorie an der Universität Bremen. Arbeitsschwerpunkte: Mikroökonomie aus sozial-ökologischer Perspektive; Geschichte ökonomischer Theorie; Ökologische Ökonomie; Feministische Ökonomie; Zukunft der Arbeit. **Sarah Breitenbach** studierte Afrikanistik und Politikwissenschaften. Ihre Arbeitsfelder sind internationale Entwicklungspolitik, Armut und Landwirtschaft (Nahrungsmittelsouveränität), soziale und ökologische Transformation und Nachhaltigkeit. **Uta v. Winterfeld** ist Privatdozentin am Fachbereich Politik- und Sozialwissenschaften an der Freien Universität Berlin seit 2006. Projektleiterin am Wuppertal Institut für Klima, Umwelt, Energie seit 1993. Forschungsschwerpunkte: Naturbeherrschung und gesellschaftliche Naturverhältnisse; Nachhaltigkeit und Geschlechterverhältnisse; Partizipation, Governance und Demokratie; Anpassung an den Klimawandel.

[Translation pending]

Frieda Afary, Farzaneh Raji

Comparing and Contrasting Marxist-Feminist Theories of Women's Oppression

This paper will discuss the different ways in which four Marxist-feminist thinkers have theorized the particular oppression that women experience under capitalism. It will take up the contributions of Anne Foreman's *Femininity as Alienation* (1977), Lise Vogel's *Marxism and the Oppression of Women* (1983), Michele Barrett's *Women's Oppression Today* (1980) and Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (1982). While Anne Foreman grounds women's oppression in alienation, Lise Vogel views it as directly related to women's role as bearers of children and producers of workers. Michele Barrett traces women's oppression back to the "ideology of familialism", and Raya Dunayevskaya cites Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* to argue that this oppression is rooted in the mental/manual division of labor. Although these works were written over thirty years ago, the questions and explanations they offer continue to be relevant to discussions of Marxist Feminism today. Our assessment of these works has also been informed by Heather Brown's recent work, *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study* (2012).

Frieda Afary is an Iranian-American librarian and translator who resides in the U.S. She produces the blog "Iranian Progressives in Translation." **Farzaneh Raji** is an Iranian writer and translator who resides in Iran. She is the author of *Del-e Anar [The Heart of the Pomegranate]* and *Didar dar Duzakh [Visit in Hell]*, two novels about Iranian woman political prisoners.

Raji and Afary are the co-translators of the forthcoming Persian edition of Heather Brown's *Marx on Gender and the Family: A Critical Study* (Brill, 2012 and Haymarket, 2013).

Edma Ajanovic, Stefanie Mayer, Birgit Sauer

'Gender' as Symbolic Glue for Right-Wing Actors in Europe

In recent years right-wing populists/extremists and right-wing Catholic as well as conservative actors have been building new alliances in several European countries around the notion of 'gender-theory' or 'gender-ideology'. These groups construct 'gender' as a totalitarian ideology, which aims to create a new, 'gender-less'

human, thereby attacking the institution of the family and European societies as a whole. This reading of 'gender', which has been developed by the Vatican from the 1990s onwards, is instrumental to forming coalitions across the right-wing political spectrum. The term 'gender-ideology' constructs a discursive node, which links issues of equality for LGBTIQ, women's emancipation, gender mainstreaming and academic gender studies to resistance against sexual education in schools and kindergartens or against gender-sensitive pedagogy more broadly. 'Gender-ideology' in this sense functions as an empty signifier as defined by Laclau and Mouffe. It enables the creation of chains of equivalences that link different concerns and re-articulates them in one (seemingly) coherent discourse. The success of this discourse in raising support for conservative movements among different parts of the population can at least partly be explained by its populist character, i.e. by its creation of a double antagonism targeting elites as well as 'others', who are constructed as antagonists of 'the people'. Albeit shaped differently by diverging national, regional and local contexts, still basic premises and argumentative logics can be discerned which span the different European and national arenas of 'anti-genderism'.

After developing this European context our paper will present results of empirical research undertaken in Austria, where we analysed 'gender ideology' by means of a critical frame analysis. We will focus on dominant argumentative patterns to show how 'gender ideology' functions as a discursive node that bridges differences between actors and interlinks disparate strands of discourse and diverse political concerns. Through an analysis of the role ascribed to Islam we can show the flexibility of right-wing and religious constructions of gender relations and the connections between 'gender ideology' and broader right-wing populist and extremist discourses. Through this interweaving of social, demographic and cultural fears existential threats to 'the people' are constructed and partially blamed on feminist and queer theories and politics.

Edma Ajanovic is an external lecturer at the University of Vienna. She completed her PhD in Political Science in June 2016. Her main research topics are racism, right-wing populism as well as gendered aspects of migration. **Stefanie Mayer** completed her PhD in Political Science in February 2016. Her main research topics are feminist theories and politics and critical investigations of racism, right-wing extremism and right-wing populism. **Birgit Sauer** is a professor of Political Science at University of Vienna. Her research includes feminist state and democracy theory, gender and governance, and politics and emotion.

Doris Arztmann, Eva Egermann, Jonah I. Garde, Elisabeth Magdlener

Talking Crip with Marxism-Feminism

"We disrupt the Social Order", writes Simi Linton on the self-empowered understanding of the Disability Rights Movement that developed new discourses and images.

What are the connecting threads between ideas and paradigms within Disability Studies and Crip Theory and Marxist-Feminist discourses? Realities of work, care work, bodies and access, relations of production and re-production, resistances around disability and illness and their manifestations, fights about normativity and crip-time, chances and criptopias... "Disrupting the social order" of exploitation with the means of dis/ability and a crip perspective.

Coffee, cake and fruits served/Wheelchair-accessible

Doris Arztmann studied Political Science, History, Women's and Gender Studies as well as Russian at the University of Vienna, Gothenburg University and Odessa Law Academy. Doris' PhD project is on the topic of inclusion and school. **Eva Egermann**, artist and cultural scientist. Besides artistic projects, publications (e.g. "Regime. Wie Dominanz organisiert und Ausdruck formalisiert wird" ["Regimes. How Dominance is Organized and Expression Formalised"], "Class Works" or "Crip Magazine") or curatorial projects, part of the research-project "Model House – Mapping Transcultural Modernism"; visiting researcher at U.C. Berkeley, PhD in Practice at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna. **Jonah I. Garde** studied Development Studies at the University of Vienna and is currently working on a Ph.D. project on Cultural Imaginations of Inclusion and (Un)Timely Bodies. Their book "Crippling Development? Ambivalences of 'Inclusive Development from a Crip-Theoretical Perspective" (2015) has been awarded the Peter Lang Special Award for Humanities. **Elisabeth Magdlenner**, chairperson of CCC** – Change Cultural Concepts, lecturer in the field of Queer DisAbility (Studies), activist and academic projects, dancer/ member of the community dance movement DanceAbility and A.D.A.M. (Austrian DanceArt Movement), occasionally an author on these topics (in different contexts).

Adelheid Biesecker, Uta v. Winterfeld

Contested Identity and Contested Nature

This section wants to combine the male struggle for identity with dominating and dominant human-nature relations. We start with conflicts at the beginning of the New Age, continue with mechanisms of externalisation and finish with the problem of identification.

Adelheid Biesecker was professor for Economic Theory at the University of Bremen until 2004. Main research areas: microeconomics from a social-ecological perspective; history of economic thoughts; ecological economics; feminist economics; future of work. **Sarah Breitenbach** studies African Studies and Political Science. Working interests: international development policies, poverty and agriculture (food sovereignty), socio-ecological transformation and sustainability. **Uta v. Winterfeld** has been a private lecturer at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, Freie Universität Berlin since 2006; project co-ordinator at the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy since 1993. Main research areas: mastering nature and societal relations to nature; sustainability and gender; participation, governance and democracy; adaptation to climate change.

Ashley Bohrer

"Theorising the Drug War": Drugs are the New Hedges – Capitalist Confinement from Enclosures to Mass Incarceration

In the fifteenth century, British landowners engaged in a new strategy of wealth accumulation: the creation of hedged-in land enclosures that forced poor peasants off their land, confined them to city slums, and turned them into the first proletarian work force in history. The birth of capitalism as a world system was dependent on the creation of these hedges; hedges were thus the first tactics of capitalist dispossession, and emerged as a tactics specifically aiming at restricting the mobility of the poor.

After enclosures, capitalism continued to invent ever-new strategies of confining the working class. Workhouses and poorhouses, the forerunners of modern-day prisons, mushroomed in the sixteenth century to manage the newly impoverished workers, women, and children; this phenomenon was so widespread that Yann Moulier-Boutang refers to it as "The Great Fixation." As Silvia Federici notes, women

became confined to the domestic sphere so their labor could be used for capitalist accumulation but has remained unpaid. At the same time, European powers ushered in the new regime of race relations through its use of confinement strategies of colonial capitalism in Middle Passage ships, mines, and large-scale plantations to expropriate the land and labor of African and Amerindian peoples for the benefit of Europe. After the end of *de jure* slavery, tactics of redlining, segregation, and the creation of slums, constituted a mechanism of both control and accumulation of racialized capitalism. Throughout capitalism's history, confinement has been used as a tactics of accumulation shot through with the raced, gendered, and classed components that an intersectional analysis of capitalism identifies as crucial.

This paper looks at the rise of capitalism in early modernity to argue that mass incarceration, inextricably tied to the drug war, is only the latest strategy of confinement reserved for the working class. Drawing on the works of Silvia Federici, Michelle Alexander, Michel Foucault, and Yann Moulier-Boutang, I argue that confinement constitutes a central strategy of capitalist accumulation. This analysis in no way seeks to erase the particularities of the war on drugs or mass incarceration, but rather seeks to place it in historical and theoretical context, connecting our present reality to the history of working class, feminist, and anti-racist struggles that has characterized the fight against capitalism since its inception. Reading the formation of the racist and sexist regime of mass incarceration as a strategy of a structural and logical component of the structure of capitalism will allow us to see that the struggle against the drug war must emerge as a struggle against the global socio-economic system of capitalism itself.

Ashley Bohrer is a feminist, activist, writer, translator, foodie, and all-around badass based in Syracuse, NY. Her academic work uses Marxism and intersectional feminism to analyze the global transformations of capitalism from the early modern period to the present. She teaches philosophy at Hamilton College. Outside the university, Ashley does activist work with a variety of organizations including The Center for Jewish Nonviolence, Jewish Voice for Peace, Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ), and Black and Pink, an LGBTQ prison abolition collective. She sits on the editorial staff of *HYSTERIA: A Journal of Hysterical Feminisms* and *Red Wedge Magazine*.

Annabelle Bonnet

Feminism, Politics, Social Struggle: History of Women and Trade-Union Feminism in France in the 1960s and the 1970s.

This paper questions the relationship between Marxism and feminism in twentieth century France through the study of two unevenly known existing historiographies about feminism. On the one hand, there is the famous “women’s history”, developed in academic studies during the 1970s, which interprets the history of feminist achievements at that time, in France, under two common perspectives: first as an intra-academic movement that would have spread outside the academy, in the social world and whose resulting different feminist groups – the most popular one is known as the *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* – would have popularized in public opinion the issue of women’s domination. Secondly, as a story born from the autonomisation of feminist struggles from the socialist struggle, with relations appearing competitive and problematic and suggesting the presence of internal contradictions within socialism. On the other hand, there is the

historiography developed at that time, but unknown nowadays, within the French trade-union field by the General Confederation of Labour (*Confédération Générale du Travail*), with two main objectives. The first aim is to show the limits of the academic view of the history of the feminist movement that gives so little visibility to the pivotal role trade-union feminism had in the struggle for the acquisition of women's rights in France in the twentieth century (such as the struggle to promote the policies concerning salary, independence of women from their families, sexuality, and the victories regarding contraception and voluntary termination of pregnancy). And the second aim is to show that, without denying the existence of contradictions within the trade-unions, the collective struggle of classist unionism and the feminist struggle are historically related. Therefore, this paper, which is divided into three parts, will firstly present the emergence of an academic history on this subject, as well as the point of view adopted within that field. Then, it will present another historiography, the one of trade-union feminism, stressing its role in the acquisition of women's rights. Finally, it will propose some hypotheses towards the interpretation of the confrontation of these two historiographies.

Annabelle Bonne is doing her PhD at the EHESS (*École des hautes études en sciences sociales*), Paris on "Does Philosophy have a Gender? Women Philosophers and Philosophy in France from the Period of National Construction (ca. 1883) to the Present". Her areas of interest are: historical sociology of intellectuals, sociology of gender, social theory, history of women's studies and feminism, political philosophy. She published "Feminismo, política, transformação social: historia das mulheres e luta sindical na França dos anos 1960-1970", Uberlândia, Brasil, *Crítica e Sociedade, Revista de Cultura Política*. V. 5, N. 2, Junho, 2016.

Selin Çağatay

Feminist Struggles in the Middle East and North Africa

Since the beginning of 2010s, grassroots mobilizations in the Middle East and North Africa politicized thousands of young women and feminists who joined various struggles for democratic rights and gender equality. At the same time, many countries in the region experienced political instability and/or authoritarian regimes, fundamentalist movements, ethnic and sectarian clashes, foreign intervention, and huge waves of migration and asylum seeking. In many countries, political polarization and increased violence in all forms have created difficult conditions for women to pursue feminist politics and press their demands for democracy and equality. Yet, an increasing number of feminist groups in the region problematize and challenge oppressive laws and practices, fundamentalism, and ethnic, religious, political, and gender-based violence, and organize for peace and/or social, political, economic, cultural, and sexual rights.

This paper discusses how recent political developments in the Middle East and North Africa reflect on women's activism and feminist politics in the region. It focuses on the status of "women's rights" in the dominant and oppositional political discourses, and the different agendas, strategies, and forms of organizing and activism feminists adopt in their struggles against male domination in different contexts.

Selin Çağatay has recently defended her PhD dissertation in Comparative Gender Studies at the Central European University in Hungary. Her main research interests include women's and feminist activism in Turkey and worldwide, intersectionality studies, Turkish political history, and women's

paid and unpaid labor. She is a member of the Socialist Feminist Collective in Turkey. Her articles appeared in *Feminist Politika*, *Evrensel Kültür*, *Birikim*, and *iz3w*.

Ankica Čakardić

Luxemburgian Critique of Political Economy: from the Theory of Accumulation to Social Reproduction Theory

Rosa Luxemburg claims that imperialism in general represents a specific mode of accumulation. That position represents the starting point for her theory of expanded reproduction, as well as her critique of Marx, which we will both present here. Our text is divided into two parts. The first part offers an overview of Luxemburg's critique of political economy along three points which represent the critique of Marx: (1) external trade, (2) formula for the value composition of commodities = $c + v + s$ and (3) the problem of demand in social reproduction. The second part offers a sketch for 'Luxemburgian feminism' consisting of (1) an overview of Luxemburg's critique of bourgeois feminism and (2) a preliminary application of Luxemburg's 'dialectics of spatiality' on the social reproduction theory. As feminist analyses of Luxemburg's critique of political economy are rather rare, the first part of the paper overviews the three aforementioned elements of her theory of accumulation in order to connect them to the social reproduction theory in the second part of the paper. We discuss the Luxemburgian critique of political economy as a tool for a materialist analysis of the connections between the household and the market, or more precisely, the link between the methods of capital accumulation and women's reproductive labour. At a time when systematic analyses of the relation between the market and the state – either at the national or international level – are necessary starting points for a discussion of any short- or long-term alternatives to the capitalist mode of production, Rosa Luxemburg's dialectics of spatiality and her connection to the social reproduction theory seem to present not only a valuable introductory reference but also the political model best suited to organise alliances among parallel structures and align their progressive goals.

Ankica Čakardić (1977) received her PhD at the Department of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb, where she has worked as an assistant professor since 2010 and is now holding the chair of Social Philosophy at the Department of Philosophy. Her research interest lies at the interface of political and social philosophy with an emphasis on the Marxist critique of social contract, intellectual history and philosophy of gender focusing on feminist political economy. She is a coordinator of educational programmes at the Centre for Women's Studies in Zagreb, has edited two books and published numerous academic articles, essays and translations in domestic and international journals and collected volumes. From 2011 to 2013 she was the co-president of the Croatian Philosophical Society. She is a member of FemFront, a Marxist-feminist reading group in Croatia. In 2015 she published 'Theory of Accumulation and Contemporary Luxemburgian Critique of Political Economy' in: *Filozofska istraživanja*, Vol. 2 (138), pp. 323-341 and 'Women's Struggles and Political Economy: from Yugoslav Self-Management to Neoliberal Austerity' in: *Welcome to the Desert of Post-Socialism: Radical Politics After Yugoslavia*, edited by Srećko Horvat and Igor Štiks, London: Verso

Rebecca Carson

Indigenous Feminism and the Problem of Wave-Based Historical Determination: a Marxist Critique

Abstract In light of the current indeterminate status of the speculative feminist fourth wave it would be helpful to turn to Marxist interpretations of the problems

surrounding historical periodisation. The Marxist critique of periodisation is a significant tool in addressing the increasing need to pay attention to the specificity of localized problems facing feminist thought today that carry different geographical and temporal problematics. There is a plethora of feminist literature that contests the usefulness of historicizing the feminist movement through the structuring principle of the 'wave', most notably an editorial project initiated by Linda Alcoff called 'Breaking Feminist Waves' that aims to reclaim feminist texts from being reduced to their wave determination and thus falsely considered outmoded by the teleological function of wave-based periodisation. Periodisation, a form of temporal domination that puts the multiform of times that make up the complex nature of social reality to its own uses, imposes synchronic pressure on the multiplicity of diverse social practices. In this way the concept of the 'wave' leaves out an analysis of multiple lived temporalities that assume different levels of power and geographic experiences of both space and time to exist. These 'para-temporalities' reflect what Ricoeur refers to as 'human time,' that is the multiplicity of human narrative as the condition of temporal existence. The question then becomes, can we philosophically ground the problem of feminist waves in the problem of historical periodisation as practically applied to the theoretical problems incurred by the ambivalent fourth wave?

Since the early nineties, it has been predicted and claimed by Indigenous feminist activists and scholars from Andrea Smith, Joyce Green, Kim Anderson to Lee Maracle that the fourth wave would be 'Indigenous feminism.' Yet, speaking of power structures and systemic exclusion internal to feminist movements in terms of who gets claim to history, this is almost completely unacknowledged in feminist circles that are currently beginning to write the fourth wave into history. Explicitly not a post-colonial theory (the literature here largely comes from Canada, New Zealand and the United States – all countries that are not empirically post-colonial for Indigenous communities), Indigenous feminism is itself always already ambivalent to historical construction and the history of feminist waves. This is because both the women's movement and the use of historical concepts have always been for Indigenous women yet other forms of colonization. Confronting and systematically refuting the extreme forms of violence experienced by Indigenous women (there are currently more than 1,200 murdered and missing Indigenous women in Canada alone unaccounted for), Indigenous feminism makes an important contribution to the philosophical questioning of periodisation and historicism through the implicit analysis of how the construction of history not only fails to account for the multiform of Indigenous social practices but systemically creates the conditions for ongoing violence in Indigenous communities. Thus we could say that Indigenous feminism as the fourth wave would provide the theoretical ground to dialectically reclaim feminist thought from teleological historicisation through an imminent critique of waved based periodisation in feminist thought.

Rebecca Carson is a writer based in London and New York. She is a PhD candidate at the Centre for Research in Modern European Philosophy at Kingston University in London working on philosophy of time in Marx's concept of fictitious capital.

Raphaële Chappe

Rosa Luxemburg: The Accumulation of Capital 100 Years Later

Verso Books is publishing the complete works of Rosa Luxemburg in English, a major project which began with the publication of “Economic Writings: Volume I and II”. The second volume (published in 2015) contains a new translation of “The Accumulation of Capital”. The central thesis of this masterpiece is the idea that capitalist accumulation relies on non-capitalist external markets to overcome a “realization crisis”. Her critical interpretation of Marx’s circuits of capital (Vol. II of “Capital”) is so bold that modern readers even see Luxemburg as a precursor of economists such as Keynes and Minsky. One hundred years after the publication of “The Accumulation of Capital”, Luxemburg’s ideas have generated new scholarly interest and insights on the changing modalities of capitalism and imperialism.

In recent years, we have seen capital in constant need of new international investment opportunities, the financial sector expand greatly relative to the size of the productive economy, and the socialization of financial risk. Luxemburg identifies the need to continually open up new territories for investment as a general dynamic at the heart of the process of capital accumulation. Her analysis of the role played by international finance in this regard – how finance enables capital accumulation to continue – can help us conceptualize the growth of finance both as an expression of the need to overcome capitalism as a purely closed system, and as an expression of imperialism. Luxemburg discusses the role played by finance in capital accumulation in Ch. 30, where she puts forward her analysis of the international loan system prior to World War I. Though somewhat incidental to the main argument of the book, her take on international finance yields interesting results when applied to modern-day financial capitalism.

We will highlight the modern relevance of “The Accumulation of Capital” in this regard, as well as describe the overall project of the publication of the complete works with Verso Books.

Raphaële Chappe has just finished her PhD in Economics at The New School for Social Research, NY. Her dissertation “A Portfolio-Based Study on Wealth Accumulation and Distribution” studies the extent to which the financial market has contributed to wealth disparities, estimating the impact on the wealth distribution of investor-level characteristics, the role of luck (idiosyncratic market risk), and higher expected returns for wealthier investors through the availability of beta (leverage) and alpha. Recent publications include “The Financial Crisis of 2008 As Cognitive Failure” in the *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, and “The U.S. Financial Culture and its Worldwide Impact” in *Constellations*. She has taught classes on political economy and Rosa Luxemburg’s “The Accumulation of Capital” with The Brooklyn Institute For Social Research. Prior to academia, she practiced as an attorney for eight years in the financial services industry.

Jennifer Cotter

The Labor Theory of Gender: Marxist Feminism and the “Anti-Dialectics” of New Materialist Feminisms

Marxist feminism is revolutionary because of its theory of the dialectic of gender and class in which freedom for all women, not just privileges for some, has a necessary dialectical and material relation to freedom from class relations, imperialism, and the use of gender, sexuality, and cultural differences by capital as “instruments of labor” to raise or lower the rate of exploitation of the global workforces. The

bourgeois feminisms that have emerged in the global North in the wake of the crisis of capital reject the dialectic of gender and class as the “metaphysics of labor” (Braidotti “Bios/Zoe”) and substitute theories of “new materialism.” “New materialism” posits a “new ontology” of “life” in which matter has its own vitality that is said to confound the “binary” terms of dialectical and historical materialism. In this view material contradictions of gender, sexuality, race, and class are represented as Deleuzian “assemblages” constituted by “the precarious, accidental, contingent, expedient, striving, dynamic status of life in a messy, complicated, resistant, brute world of materiality” (Grosz *The Nick of Time*). On these terms, the crisis of capitalism and the forced adjustment of millions of women to the dictates of production for profit are explained as the effects of an ontological condition of life or, as Lauren Berlant claims: “we are all contingent beings, and life proceeds without guarantees” (*Precarity Talk*). This view reduces feminism to the neoliberal logic of irreducible singularities and translates living within the ruins of capitalism into a new metaphysics at a moment when women have been pulled in and out of the workforces of capitalism as exploited producers to bolster the rate of profit. What is necessary today is a Marxist feminism that advances a labor theory of gender, sexuality, and cultural difference rooted in Marx’s labor theory of value and its dialectical critique of global capitalism.

Jennifer Cotter is associate professor of English at William Jewell College where she teaches critical theory and world literature. Her writings on contemporary feminism have appeared in journals such as *the minnesota review*, *College Literature*, *Textual Practice*, *Nature, Society, and Thought*, and (in Polish translation) in *Lewą Nogą*. She has co-edited *Human, All Too (Post)Human: The Humanities After Humanism* (2016) and is currently completing a book on feminism and materialism in a time of bio-politics.

Gabriele Dietrich

A Flower on the Chain or a Tunnel of Subversion?

The engagement with religion in the Indian women’s movement was in full swing in the mid-80s, when a gap was perceived between “secular” feminists (often middle-class) and “ordinary” women, who were seen as being “religious”. There were attempts to bridge the gap. The eighties were also marked by the struggle for a secular “uniform civil code” which was hoped to be more gender-just than the religious family laws.

This struggle was then manipulated by chauvinist religious forces. The destruction of the Babri Masjid (mosque) in Ayodhya in December 1990 aggravated the religious polarization between Hindus and Muslims and led to a stronger influence of patriarchal forces in different religions and assertive patriarchal controls over women’s lives. Religious polarizations achieved a new quality with the communalist attacks on Muslims and the massacres of early 2002 in Gujarat after the Godhra train fire incident. In the meantime, the majority of communal forces have been in power at the centre for over two years. Self-appointed vigilantes try to create a “Hindu nation”, with cow worship and beef ban, and decide over people’s life or death.

This precarious situation has led to a new assertion of women vis-à-vis chauvinistic religious forces, e.g., there have been agitations for women’s rights to enter sacred places (temples, dargahs, mosques) and to participate in pilgrimages. Controversies over purity and pollution, menstruation etc. have been carried out in the public

sphere in unprecedented ways. Muslim women have asserted their rights to maintenance under secular laws and Bohra Muslim women are fighting against genital mutilation. Women contest the interpretation of religious texts in different religious communities. They create a new dynamic of subversion, transgression and transcendence. The assertion of Dalit and Adivasi forces in this situation gives a strong progressive direction to these contestations.

Gabriele Dietrich is a senior feminist in the Indian Women's Movement, who has spent all her working life in South India, mostly Tamil Nadu, where she was a professor teaching Social Analysis at the **Tamil Nadu Theological Seminary** in Madurai. She has been involved with women's organizations in the autonomous sector since 1979. She has published widely on religion, secularism and communalism in India, the interface of caste and patriarchy, and social transformation through people's organizations. She is an Indian citizen.

Feride Eralp

Decolonial Feminism and Women's Organizing against War in Turkey/Syria

This presentation shall focus on the recent and interconnected developments in Turkey and Northern Syria, with a perspective that foregrounds how this war shapes and is shaped by masculinity, and how this affects the position and struggle of women in the midst of high-level international interests, complex regional politics, and ever intensifying tensions and animosities. I will start by laying out a general cartography of the war in Northern Kurdistan (Turkey), with its latest incarnation as sieges on various towns, and how it is related to the broader framework of the war in Syria, with different forms of Turkish state intervention in Western Kurdistan (Rojava – Northern Syria). This calls for a general understanding of this war as a form of conquest. Later, I will argue how this creates a politics of hate and animosity, which further enables the state in its continuation of this war and all-over increase of authoritarianism. My question is what happens to women in the midst of these new forms of war and cross-border politics of hate? How may we relate burning a trans woman to death in Istanbul to taking naked pictures of a dead guerilla woman's body in the Kurdish town of Muş? What is the link between the imagery circulated globally by ISIS with regards to, say, Êzidî women and selfies of highly misogynist wall writings by Turkish special operation forces (not only produced, but also circulated by themselves) in towns under siege in Northern Kurdistan (Turkey)? How do women resist, insist on rebuilding, recreating or protecting their lives in this context? And does this create a framework in which organizing against war must be a decidedly decolonial feminist issue? With these questions in mind, I will attempt to explain how women organize against the war in Turkey and the (at times fraught) relationships this has with the Kurdish women's movement.

Feride Eralp is a member of the Women's Initiative for Peace, the Istanbul Feminist Collective and the Group for the Emergency Prevention of the Killing of Women in Turkey. After finishing her studies in the field of anthropology, she returned to Turkey and worked extensively as a volunteer in Suruç (a border town), during the war in Kobanê. Following this, she has volunteered in various war zones in Northern Kurdistan (Cizre, Yüksekova, Nusaybin), during rebuilding processes after long sieges. She has participated in this work, and other organizing against the war waged by the Turkish state on Kurds as a feminist activist.

Khayaat Fakier

Reflections on Marxist -Feminist Organising in South Africa

This paper draws on insights from an initiative we established five years ago called “The Feminist Table”, to address the multiple crises working class women experience in South African society. Annual Feminist Table workshops involve about sixty women from grassroots organisations around South Africa. For these women feminism is a way of life rather than a form of politics. This implies that a re-working of Northern Marxist feminism to address the legacy of colonialism and apartheid is necessary. The paper argues that the care work these women do outside the market in two specific spaces: the household and the environment, contains a transformative potential. The emphasis is on the importance of building institutions and practices outside of capitalism, such as co-operative arrangements for childcare; agro-ecology co-operatives; bulk buying; decentralized, community-controlled forms of renewable energy; the development of ‘people’s restaurants’; and seed-sharing, to mention a few examples. The paper argues that these collective arrangements could contain the embryo of an eco-socialist feminism.

Khayaat Fakier is a senior lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, where she teaches and supervises students in the sociology of work and the sociology of migration. Her work has been published in journals such as *Antipode* and the *International Feminist Journal of Politics*. She has recently co-edited a volume titled *Socio-Economic Insecurity in Emerging Economies: Building New Spaces*, published by Routledge.

Tucker Pamella Farley

Neoliberalism, Intersectionality and Lesbian-led Movement Globally: Groups in Action

Progressive lesbian-led organizations and their communities globally are not only taking the brunt of reactionary, neoliberal attacks masquerading as populist movements while gutting public assets for private profit; but they are also consciously organizing against the organized Right and building progressive alliances to resist them and shape a more equitable society.

I reflect briefly on how the activist lesbian feminist movement from its earliest days has provided impetus and insights to the development of the current international feminist practice of intersectionality.

I situate that lineage in the growing shift of capital from one stage to another, where the intersectional model of organizing for social change fits the latest stage of global financialization of the Social Structure of Accumulation. In this stage I argue that calling on and working with multiply constituted disaffected groups in progressive alliance is appropriate for Marxist Feminists.

Tucker Pamella Farley, Professor Emerita, City University of New York, Brooklyn College. Activist Scholar. Farley developed the first Women’s Studies Program to grant degree credit, the first campus Women’s Center, and Project Chance for Returning Women; worked to found the National Women’s Studies and New York Women’s Studies Associations; organized CUNY-wide LGBT group; with the Committee for Lesbian and Gay Studies co-founded CLAGS at the City University of New York Graduate Center. Farley has published in the US and abroad. Member Marxist-Feminist Group I since 1962; first west coast swing leader dancing competitively in USA.

Ann Ferguson

Women's Leadership, the Right to Care and Revolutionary Reforms in the United States

Women's leadership to demand revolutionary reforms is central to challenging neoliberal capitalist globalization and the corporate oligarchy in the US today. US white supremacist capitalist patriarchy is enmeshed in a multi-level care crisis which it cannot resolve. I use examples from radical workers, anti-racist, feminist, community and environmental activism to highlight an emerging Marxist-feminist strategy of creating alliances around a radical right to care and be cared for, not only for and by family, but for and by communities and the environment.

Ann Ferguson is professor emerita of Philosophy and Women, Gender, Sexuality Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. She has published five books on feminist theory, the most well-known is *Sexual Democracy: Women, Oppression and Revolution* (Westview Press, 1991). She is an advisory editor for *Against the Current*, a socialist journal, the coordinator of the Arise for Social Justice Advisory Board, a community organizing group for poor people's rights in Springfield MA, and an environmental activist.

Elmar Flatschart

Form-Analytic Marxism and the Value-Dissociation-Theorem

The tradition of German value-form-analytic Marxism is currently gaining impact in the materialist debate in English-speaking countries. The strength of this tradition lies in its theoretic incisiveness and analytic potential – it moves on a very abstract level and explains the 'ideal average' of capitalist society and its economic and political forms. Form analysis is a valuable tool for underpinning more concrete and complex research projects. Its refusal to combine practical-political and theoretical-analytical agendas has evoked controversial debates, but the separation of these agendas doubtlessly avoids numerous problems of traditional Marxism.

Value-form-analysis has always been a very 'masculine' affair with regard to both its protagonists and its research focuses. The androcentric universalism showing itself in that must be criticised from a feminist point-of-view. Moreover, it is also necessary from a theoretical perspective to take into account the comprehensive interdependence of capitalism and patriarchy. The only complex and formative attempt at linking value-form-analysis to Marxist-feminist approaches was undertaken by Roswitha Scholz. Her concept of value-dissociation combines a broad set of materialist, symbolic and psychoanalytic facets. I am going to present this concept and discuss it in relation to different approaches of value-form-analysis.

Elmar Flatschart studied Political Science and International Development in Vienna and Frankfurt a.M. and finished his dissertation on critical-dialectical theory of society in 2014. His research interests are philosophy of science, materialist feminism, theories of society-nature relations and questions of emancipatory praxis. He is currently lecturer at the University of Vienna. Upcoming publication: (2016) *Crisis, Energy, and the Value Form of Gender*. In: Brent, Bellamy/Diamanti, Jeff [Eds.]: *Marxism and Energy*. MCM' Press, Chicago.

Jules Gleeson

The Byzantine Eunuch as a Pre-Modern Gender Category: a Test for Materialist Feminism & the 'Three Schools'

This paper will introduce a consideration of pre-modern gender relations, specifically looking at Byzantine eunuchs as an instructive case of a category which was both historically reproduced through its role in the state, and occupied a troubling position. Historians remain unsure how best to categorise eunuchs (who used male pronouns and were welcome in the military or clergy, but were forbidden to marry and often denigrated in our remaining sources). I will suggest this impasse can be resolved through materialist feminist theory. Specifically, their service to the bureaucratic state appears to have served as an inter-generational basis for eunuchs to be created across time. Drawing on the work of Kathryn Ringrose, I will consider eunuchs as an unmistakable instance of 'gender construction', which accordingly calls into question both naturalising, dyadic assumptions.

In recent years, Marxist feminist has come to be characterised by discussion of 'social reproduction'. Much has come to rest on the idea of patriarchy 'dissolving' (or at least being in the process of dissolving) into capitalism that only a view of pre-capitalist gender systems can advance our grasp of these purported 'three schools' (Arruzza 2014). This approach seemingly requires displacing 'patriarchy' onto pre-capitalist conditions (implicit in both the 'unitary' and 'indifferent' schools, and their claims), without outlining what the previous prevailing 'patriarchal system' looked like. Continuing this debate will not be possible without Marxist Feminist examination of 'patriarchy' as a posited historical system. This paper will contribute to assessing the prospects of such a project.

I will review how well seeing eunuchs as both participants and cultural reproduced by the demands of social reproduction serves as an explanation, and whether they instead demonstrate that 'modes of production' are (ultimately) 'indifferent', after all.

Jules Gleeson is a comparative historical researcher originally from London, based in Vienna (studying at the University of Vienna while also working for Dresden's **FOVOG** research centre). She previously studied History (BA Cantab) at Jesus College, Cambridge and a Masters in Late Antique & Byzantine Studies at King's College London.

Her current project is analysing the foundation of monasteries at Mount Athos, and particularly their use of gendered ideals and entry restrictions to define their institutional ideology. She has most recently published an analytic polemic proposing the abolition of the family, *Kinderkommunismus*, and has forthcoming pieces on urban degradation in Syria for *Ritual Magazine*, and the relationship of transgender politics to gender abolition for *Viewpoint Mag*. Her interests are differing approaches to Marxist theory, mysticism (particularly the development of Neoplatonism), and gender theory. She has spoken on the history of eunuchs at venues ranging from Historical Materialism conference (2013), to Leeds International Medieval Conference (2014).

Ana González

The Argentinian Feminist Movement: Women's Rights and Social Justice in a Latin-American Perspective

This presentation intends to show, from a critical point-of-view, the development of the feminist movement in Argentina and its diverse trends: from the socialist women at the beginning of the twentieth century and their struggle for political rights to nowadays, where we experience a massive mobilizing of feminism by a variety of

popular and political organizations that merge the strife for women's autonomy and liberation with social justice and anti-imperialism. This perspective assumes a Latin-American point of view. It develops the difference between Marxism as a method of analysis and Marxism as a form of historical and political identities, which includes the recognition of class and ethnic differences between women. This requires the need to respect each other's processes, alliances, and common as well as diverse demands.

Ana González is an Argentinian feminist social anthropologist. Specialist on human rights of women, indigenous people and economic, social and cultural rights. Professor at Buenos Aires National University. Former United Nations agent at the Guatemala's peace process (MINUGUA) and member of the researcher group of the Guatemala Clarification Commission (CEH) about the Guatemalan genocide. Former state functionary at the National Indigenous Affairs Institute and National Human Rights Secretary. Activist of the Argentinian feminist movement, who has worked with poor and marginal women, peasant and indigenous women in Argentina, Mexico and Guatemala.

Catia Gregoratti

Antonio Gramsci's Feminist Questions

Within the past three decades Antonio Gramsci's political theory has witnessed a revival of unprecedented proportions, influencing theoretical developments in disciplines as diverse as sociology, geography, international relations and international political economy, as well as a number of interdisciplinary area studies such as cultural studies and post-colonial studies. Feminists from different disciplinary traditions have also engaged with Gramsci's ambivalent treatment of the "woman question". Early commentators lamented a rift between Gramsci's concrete attempts to engage women workers in political activities, e.g. in the party, within the party's publications and in factory councils, and his archaic and occasional theoretical reflections on women. More recent interventions have alluded to the possibility of Gramsci's writings gesturing towards a theory of social reproduction, sexuality and women's emancipation. Closer readings of Gramsci's pre-prison and prison writings credit the Sardinian theorist and political activist for offering insights on women's critical conception of the self and on their liberation from patriarchal structures of oppression – two central premises of the struggles of many feminist movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and that carry on in the present. This paper reviews these debates with the view of establishing how, and in what ways, working with Gramsci's thought can contribute to the polyphonic repertoire of Marxist-feminist theory.

Catia Gregoratti is a lecturer in Politics and Development at Lund University. Her research is situated within the field of critical international political economy. She has conducted research on UN-business partnerships, transnational partnerships for women's empowerment and, more recently, on the business case for gender equality and its contestation.

Marina Gržinić

Marxistisch-feministische Perspektive: vom ehemaligen Jugoslawien zum neoliberalen, faschistischen Europa

Ich befasse mich mit der Geschichte der marxistisch-feministischen Perspektive, wie sie von den 1960er Jahren bis heute im Raum des heutigen Jugoslawien präsent war, wobei ich die territoriale Fragmentierung Jugoslawiens und seine Entwicklung hin zum gegenwärtigen neoliberalen und turbokapitalistischen Zustand reflektieren

möchte. Dabei werde ich gleichzeitig auf die gegenwärtige Lage des Feminismus in Europa, insbesondere auf seine ausschließenden Praxen und Politiken, eingehen. Europa ist blind gegenüber den Ursachen von Migration und „Flüchtlingskrisen“. Der Feminismus muss daher seine Agenden zum Verhältnis von Kapital und Arbeit, von Kontrolle und Freiheit neu überdenken.

Marina Gržinić ist Philosophin, Theoretikerin und Künstlerin aus Ljubljana und arbeitet seit 2003 als Professorin an der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien. Ihre Arbeit umfasst Ideologietheorie, Technologietheorie, Bio-/Nekropolitik und Transfeminismus in Verbindung mit Dekolonialität. Gržinic implementiert ihre Forschungsergebnisse regelmäßig in Bildungsprozesse, insbesondere in den künstlerischen Disziplinen, und ist in unterschiedlichen Kämpfen gegen Enteignungsprozesse, Rassismus und brutale Diskriminierung involviert. Seit 1982 ist sie als Videokünstlerin aktiv, wobei sie – gemeinsam mit der Künstlerin und Kunsthistorikerin Aina Smid aus Ljubljana – Installationen und performative Interventionen durchführt.

Marina Gržinić

Marxist-Feminist Perspective: from Former Yugoslavia until Neoliberal Fascist Europe

I want to elaborate on a history of the Marxist-Feminist perspective that was present in the space of former Yugoslavia from the 1960s on until today, reflecting the fragmentation of Yugoslavian territory and its development toward its contemporary turbo neoliberal capitalist condition. In doing so, I will as well rethink the position of feminism today in contemporary Europe that develops exclusionary practices and policies. Europe is turning a blind eye to causes of migration and the “refugee crises”. Feminism therefore has to revisit its agendas regarding relations of capital and labor, control and freedom.

Marina Gržinić is a philosopher, theoretician and artist from Ljubljana working at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna since 2003. Her work is directed towards a theory of ideology, theory of technology, biopolitics/necropolitics, and transfeminism in connection with decoloniality. Gržinic regularly implements her research results in the processes of education, especially art disciplines, and engages in different struggles against processes of dispossession, racism, and brutal discrimination. Gržinic has been active as a video artist since 1982, making installations and performative interventions in collaboration with the artist and art historian Aina Smid from Ljubljana.

Friederike Habermann

Queering the World Altogether

A queer-feminist and postcolonial application of the Gramscian theory of hegemony reveals that categories like sex and race are constructed in the struggle for dominance; I call this approach subject-based hegemony theory (Habermann 2008).

While (male/ white/ ...) privileged subjects are actively (and be it unconsciously) performing this re/construction of identity categories in order to re/establish their privileges, nevertheless sexist/ racist/... behaviour is intrinsically related to economic conditions; e.g., care work is less profitable than productive labour, therefore the tendency remains to delegate it to people who (in this process) are re/constructed as a subordinated category of identity. While in Fordism these have been women, under post-fordist conditions (and also as a result of the women's movement) this is shifting to migrants.

How can these insights help to build bridges to and between movements? There are obvious connections to three. First, the anti-racist and migrant movement. Second,

the care movement; in Austria and Germany known as ‘Care Revolution’. And third, the commons movement, because only a society that stops the logic of exchange can overcome the division between productive and reproductive work.

Given that traditional forms of politics based on the belief in sudden changes (‘revolution’) have proved insufficient, the insight of the interdependency of our identities with material conditions reveals the necessity to queer both our identities and our society in a common process. Since these movements belong to the most exciting forces of transformation nowadays, their further enrichment with Marxist and feminist analysis will expand the possibilities of transformation.

Friederike Habermann is an author, activist and free-lance academic as well as an economist, historian and political scientist. Her most recent publication: *Ecommony. UmCARE zum Miteinander* (ed. by Stiftung Fraueninitiative, Sulzbach 2016).

Tine Haubner

Profaning Exploitation

This paper seeks to bring “exploitation” back into Marxist-Feminist discussions as a key analytical term that differentiates not only Marxist analysis from neoclassical economic theory but also Marxist-Feminist-analysis from other feminist approaches. Therefore the concept should be updated to strengthen Marxist Feminist analysis today. Marxist Feminism has contributed important modifications to many traditional Marxist approaches on exploitation that nowadays are becoming increasingly relevant. But exploitation has often been reflected either narrowly or vaguely – even in the context of feminist approaches. As a result of the academic marginalization of Marxist social theory since the 1980s, exploitation has at best become a dead classic in social sciences and many feminist approaches. One reason for this marginalization is a specific narrow-mindedness of many of the Marxist receptions since the 1960s: Exploitation has often been understood as a primarily profit-related economic term within the territory of labor theory of value that seeks to explain surplus on supposedly “free” markets based on the exchange of equivalent commodities. In contrast, the Marxist Feminist perspective has widened the focus on the *global* division of labor and the *global exploitation* of supposedly “non-labor” like domestic and informal work. But even here a profit-related focus infiltrated feminist approaches. This profit-related focus becomes problematic, because many kinds of work cannot be satisfactorily grasped within a profit-focused approach. For example care-work that is less profitable but nevertheless systematically exploited – an exploitation that becomes even more relevant in the face of the global reproduction crisis. As Marxist Feminists we need to talk about exploitation regardless of profits that in the end result from wage labor. We need to talk about exploitation of informal and uncommodified labor. For this purpose I propose a simpler approach on exploitation independent of the labor theory of value that binds together processes of social exclusion and exploitation.

Tine Haubner works as a research assistant at the Friedrich-Schiller-University in Jena. Her main working and research topics are critical theory, sociology of work (especially care-work), the welfare-state and social inequality. Publications: Die neue Kultur des Helfens. Zur sozialpolitischen Instrumentalisierung des Ehrenamts in der Pflege, in: Luxemburg 1, pp. 112-118 (2016) and “Osteuropäische Care Workers im Licht der neueren sozialwissenschaftlichen Forschung und Theoriebildung”, in: Zeitschrift für Gerontologie und Ethik 2/2014. pp. 9-27.

Nancy Holmstrom

The Relationship between Political Practice and Theoretical Analyses

While abstract theoretical analyses of the world are essential to guide our political practice, there is often a less direct implication than might be thought. The wages for housework debate and the capitalism/patriarchy/racism intersections will be discussed.

Nancy Holmstrom is professor emerita from Rutgers University, and lifelong activist. Her publications include *The Socialist Feminist Project: A Reader in Theory and Politics* and *Capitalism For & Against: A Feminist Debate* (with Ann Cudd), as well as numerous articles on core political philosophical topics including exploitation, rationality, freedom, and human/women's nature. Her current focus is on how to build an eco-socialist movement to combat the ecological crisis.

Shannon Ikebe

Social Reproduction and the Crisis of Fordism: Gender Politics of the Swedish Wage-Earner Funds in the 1970s

The resurgence of Marxist-feminist theories of social reproduction in recent years provides us with a potent tool to reinterpret the historical development of capitalism and class struggle. In this project, I seek to examine the development of class struggles in the “long 1970s” of the crisis of Fordism, and its reactionary resolution in the form of neoliberalism, from the perspectives of social reproduction theory. I focus in particular on the rise and fall of radical labor politics in Sweden in the long 1970s, in the form of the socialist “Wage-Earner Funds” (*löntagarfonder*, WEF) as the critical case.

The defeat of this radical tendency by the early 1980s, in Sweden as well as in the entire advanced capitalist world, led to the neoliberal solution to the Keynesian crisis, which continues to cast a long shadow onto political landscapes today. Closer examination of those critical struggles suggests that male dominance in post-war Fordism contained a tendency that steered itself towards the succession by neoliberalism upon its own collapse. The operation of such tendencies in Sweden, where socialization of social reproduction was comparatively advanced, serves as the “critical case” that would apply to Fordism throughout the advanced capitalist world.

Shannon Ikebe is a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the University of California-Berkeley, United States and a visiting scholar at the Department of History, Södertörns University, Stockholm. He studies the history of social democracy and labor movements in Europe and his works have been published on *Jacobin*, *Viewpoint Magazine*, and *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*. He is a Graduate Student Representative of the Labor and Labor Movement Section of the American Sociological Association (ASA). He is also active in the labor movement in the United States, as a former officer of the UAW Local 2865 – UC Student-Workers Union, and a conference organizer for the Coalition of Graduate Employee Unions (CGEU).

Charlie Kaufhold, Ann Wiesental

Analysing Capital and Gender Relations Using the Example of Capital Accumulation and Social Reproduction

Marx is still a central reference to understand the punitive laws of capital accumulation, their conditions and necessities. To frame capital and gender relations, it is necessary to understand social reproduction and its relevance for the accumulation of capital as a significant connection. In this workshop, we will

contribute to value theory debates concerning gender relations. An analysis of social reproduction within relations of capital is advantageous for feminist struggles since it determines intervention points and contradictions that make changes effective. The contradiction between social reproduction and the urge for profit which is inherent to the system should be seen in this context. Analysing this contradiction creates clarity concerning the conditions, state and interface of social reproduction and the circuit of capital accumulation. This comprises displacements between paid reproduction and commodified, individual-related services in the care-sector and therefore an expansion of capital accumulation in the area of unpaid social reproduction. An example is the economisation of resources in hospitals. In Germany, for example, work in hospitals has become more profit-orientated through the implementation of the DRG system (Diagnosis Related Groups).

This workshop will focus less on practical examples and more on a theoretical analysis of the connection between capital and gender relations using the example of capital accumulation and social reproduction. The analysis of gender relations as productive relations is part of this examination as is the study of the successful accumulation of capital and its conditions for social reproduction.

We will present different approaches to these questions in the workshop and will discuss them with the participants.

Charlie Kaufhold and **Ann Wiesental** live in Berlin and are part of the *trouble everyday collective*. They write, hold workshops and give lectures on feminist criticism of economics. They work on Marx' Critique of Political Economy and feminist materialism. The *trouble everyday collective* is a feminist group that has been existing since 2014. The collective wrote the book "Die Krise der sozialen Reproduktion" ["Crisis of Social Reproduction"] that was published by the UNRAST publishing house.

Elisabeth Klatzer

Marxist-Feminist Perspectives on Economic Governance in the European "Union": a Key Battleground for Overcoming Oppressive Power Relations and Modes of Exploitation

As Spivak points out, the women's movement in Europe is fighting against a conglomerate of debtor and creditor states which pretend being a Union (Spivak 2015: 564). Feminist researchers and activists coming together in feminist movements are confronting multiple struggles.

There is a lack of Marxist-feminist analysis on European "Union" dynamics to highlight how the EU is a particular site of struggle as it is a terrain where there is an ongoing aggressive dynamic of weaving together different forms of oppressive power relations and modes of exploitation into a universal system. All social practices are structured and coded through gender relations. Social production includes both, the production of life and the production of means of life (Haug). The subjection of the production of life under European capitalism is progressing rapidly. Any thorough analysis of dynamics in the EU needs to take into account these two sides of social production and its interrelatedness in producing systems of oppression.

The EU is a key battleground in the struggle against the capitalist-masculine stronghold. Based on a Marxist-feminist analysis of current reconfigurations of power relations at the European level, the paper puts forward perspectives on

central tenets for change. As Frigga Haug puts it, understanding ‘work on the living’ as a disruptive element for the production of profit (Haug 2015: 99) is an essential in the analysis of the potential and dynamics of struggles at EU-level.

This paper sets out perspectives for European feminist movements to strengthen their critique of the EU modes of capitalism and presents some hypotheses on creating a favourable dynamics to open avenues for transformative impulses towards overcoming the combined systems of oppression and defining solidarity beyond the European Union.

Elisabeth Klatzer is a political economist; researcher-activist on feminist economics, Gender Budgeting, questions of an emancipatory, democratic and social justice oriented transformation of the social and economic systems, integration and disintegration in Europe; board-member of ATTAC Austria, and member of the feminist activist network *Femme Fiscale* which deals with questions of feminist budget and economic policies.

Birge Krondorfer

The Question of Education: The Lack of Critique

Today education is on everybody’s lips while at the same time it is being silenced. The dominance of market and technology has changed the European education system; what is produced by it is knowledge pretending to be worth the effort. It requires additive accumulation of competences – lifelong learning – without promoting the reflection of society and the self or emancipatory knowledge.

Thinking which distances the thinker from the system is no longer in demand. This means that for women in particular who had to struggle hard for access to the institutions of education, this situation is precarious. The neoliberal restructuring of universities and other institutions of education is alarming for critical (left, feminist, ‘alterist’) education. Where have all the spaces of liberating thought and critical education for women gone?

Birge Krondorfer/Frauenhetz – is a Vienna-based political philosopher and feminist activist. She has been a lecturer in gender studies, culture, education and politics at different universities in Austria and abroad since 1991. Speaker, writer and editor on theories and practices of gender differences. Studies in group-dynamics, supervision, mediation, intercultural training. Co-founder and activist of the feminist education space Frauenhetz, and, among others, Plattform 2000frauen, Verband feministischer Wissenschaftler_innen, the working group ‘Demokratie braucht Bildung’, EL-FEM (the feminist network of the European Left). Co-editor of: *Prekarität und Freiheit? Feministische Wissenschaft, Kulturkritik und Selbstorganisation*, Münster 2013; *Gerburg Treusch-Dieter. Ausgewählte Schriften*, Wien/Berlin 2014.

Kornelia Kugler and Hanna Bergfors (directors) / Systrar Productions

Nichts ist erledigt (Not Yet Over)

Film presentation

62’, German and English with English subtitles, 2016

One momentous night in Berlin, three women working in a coatroom struggle for reproductive choices better than just the neoliberal freedom to have them. *Nichts ist erledigt (Not Yet Over)*, a multi-genre fiction film, invites us to look at feminism’s™ unfinished business from the bottom up.

The film deals with the relationship between the possibilities and limits of reproduction, both technologically and socio-politically. We wanted to look at the current relevance of a classic call to arms by Marxist feminist theorist Silvia

Federici, “Wages for Housework” (1975), by relocating its demands in today’s landscape of fast-paced technological change and increasing precarity. While the film takes place in Germany, it treads on international ground because of its negotiation of motherhood and feminized labor in times of neoliberal uncertainty. Thus, *Nichts ist erledigt (Not Yet Over)* is not a film for or against motherhood, but rather an essay on the conditions of reproduction today. The three protagonists find a collective voice together in the coatroom where they work to counter that of the conference speaker and the kind of corporate feminism she represents onstage. While she preaches the cult of “having it all”, she overlooks at whose expense that ‘all’ comes. On the contrary, as our film title proclaims, we think that there is still a lot that needs to be done.

Verena Letsch, Hannah Schultes

Recognition of Reproductive Workers – Battlefield or Pitfall?

The reasons for low wages and precarious working conditions in the reproductive sector have long been object of critical feminist investigation. Scholars researching care work in Germany and activists emphasize that the precarious character of labor relations in the segment is due to a lack of recognition of ‘care work’ as fully-fledged work. Looking back, the idea is not new. Women from different European countries and the United States organized the “Wages for Housework” campaign of the 1970s to draw attention to the fact that reproductive labor in capitalist societies is largely unpaid and rendered invisible while it produces the commodity most essential to capitalism: labor force. The organization of reproductive work has changed, as have feminist perspectives on it. With the rise of feminist activism around care work in Germany, discussions around the issues of the “Wages for Housework” campaign

(re-)gain momentum – however, these debates are often focused mainly on the demand for ‘recognition’. We depart from the notion of recognition and pose the question of how to understand the demand of recognition of reproductive workers: as a battlefield for Marxist-feminists or as a pitfall? We intend to discuss the demand for recognition of reproductive workers in such different contexts as labour struggles and the conditions of EU migrant care work. We argue that “Wages for Housework” as an anti-capitalist demand still sheds light on today’s shortcomings.

Verena Letsch has just finished her Master in Sociology at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Her thesis investigated the experience, rationalization, and critique of social inequalities by students of the social sciences. She now works for Frauenpolitischer Rat Brandenburg in Potsdam. **Hannah Schultes** is writing her Master thesis on labor relations of Spanish nurses at the Social Sciences department of Humboldt University in Berlin. She was an editor for the online review magazine “*kritisch-lesen.de*” and is currently working as an editor at monthly leftist newspaper *analyse & kritik*. She has in one way or another worked on anti-Muslim and police racism, Marxist feminism and migration and labor regimes.

Ligaya Lindio McGovern

Mainstreaming the Marxist Feminist Frame in the Context of Global Capitalism

The Marxist Feminist perspective as a framework for analysis and guide for creating social movement for the liberation of working class women continues to be marginalized in mainstream thought and discourse. Yet, the Marxist Feminist framework is much needed in shaping a critical and revolutionary response to the

continued global expansion of capitalism as a major neoliberal project aggressively shaping the global political economy. This marginalization of the Marxist Feminist thought and praxis in the women's movement contributes to the reinforcement of global capitalism – at times in subtle ways, but quite powerful in mainstreaming the liberal feminist paradigm that lacks a critical view of capitalism. Third World revolutionary women activists as well as scholars, including myself, are uncomfortable with the marginalization of Marxist Feminist thought in mainstream feminism.

The first theme of the presentation elucidates the essential arguments that constitute the Marxist Feminist frame in response to the ideological project of global capitalism and what political action will look like if guided by the Marxist Feminist frame. Central arguments are framed around the following theses: (1) the exploitation of women in the capitalist mode of production is the principal source of or contradiction in the oppression of women and is central in the maintenance of global capitalism, (2) the exploitation of reproductive labor is central as well in the maintenance of the capitalist mode of production (as it was of slavery) and its implications in shaping a revolutionary women's movement, (3) the alliance of modern imperialism (armed with militarism) and capitalism must be focused on and it must be shown how the global exploitation of working class women binds this alliance.

The second theme discusses how Liberal Feminism divides women in contrast to Marxist Feminism that promotes solidarity among women and shapes politics that creates the collective power necessary to change capitalism. The third segment applies the Marxist Feminist frame in analyzing a Third World women's movement that attempts to operate within this frame, highlighting the successes and obstacles it encounters.

Ligaya Lindio McGovern is Professor of Sociology at Indiana University Kokomo, USA. With a special field in Women and Development, she is author of *Globalization, Labor Export and Resistance: A Study of Filipino Migrant Domestic Workers in Global Cities* and *Filipino Peasant Women: Exploitation and Resistance*. She is also co-editor of *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance* and *Gender and Globalization: Patterns of Women's Resistance*.

Gabriele Michalitsch

Re-/Producing Gender. A Feminist Critique of Political Economy

How is the binary-hierarchic gender order (re-)produced in the economy? How are gendered subjects formed? Starting from these two basic questions, the contribution aims at a twofold purpose:

First, referring to the macro and the micro levels it analyses how material and discursive practices are connected to ensure the persistence of binary-hierarchic gender relations. The analysis focuses on the material relations between gender, labour and capital as well as on the inscription of gender into economic knowledge (with reference to Adam Smith, neoclassical economics and the dominant notion of "the economic").

Second, by combining elements of Marxian, Foucauldian, critical and feminist theories the contribution intends to provide a theoretical framework for a feminist analysis of political economy on the structural as well as the individual levels. Marx's analysis of capital, Foucault's concept of government and

Adorno/Horkheimer's culture industry are put into relation with each other with the focus being put on gender, hereby developing a specific feminist approach to analyse power and domination in contemporary capitalism.

Gabriele Michalitsch is a political scientist and economist, currently Professor for International Politics, Department of Political Science, University of Vienna.

Diana Mulinari, Nora Räthzel

Three Gender Regimes at a Transnational Corporation in Three Countries

Much needed research has been conducted in so-called export processing zones (EPZ) across the countries of the global south, where surplus profits are made on the basis of super-exploitation, i.e., practices generally condemned across the political spectrum. Our research on the working lives of workers at the Swedish transnational corporation Volvo is an attempt to understand the 'normality' of globalising capitalism. In Sweden and internationally Volvo has always been perceived as a good employer, paying good wages and being one of the first companies to replace the assembly line by teamwork, which allows workers greater flexibility and control over the workplace. Through the shared experiences of Volvo workers and employing an intersectional analysis of class, gender, and 'race', we will present three gender regimes in three Volvo plants in Umeå (Sweden), Tultitlán (Estado de Mexico), and Durban (South Africa) respectively. We identified three gender regimes: gender transformation in Mexico, where women were proud to do 'men's jobs'; the demands of being industrial workers and household heads in South Africa, where women are often the only wage earners in the family; and a form of gender segregation connected with gender equality in Sweden, where women were constructed as equal but were nevertheless found predominantly in one area of production.

Diana Mulinari is Professor of Sociology at the Centre of Gender Studies, University of Lund, Sweden. She has written extensively on gender and development in Latin America, and on the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, and class in the context of the Swedish welfare state. Her publications include: *Complying with Colonialism. Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Nordic Region* (with Suvi Keskinen, Sari Irni, and Salla Touri, 2009) and *Transnational Corporations from the Standpoint of Workers* (with Aina Tollefsen and Nora Räthzel). **Nora Räthzel** is Professor emerita at the University of Umeå, Sweden and Visiting Professor at the Universities of Surrey, UK, Vigo, Spain, and Vienna, Austria. Her research interests are environmental labour studies, gender, class, ethnic relations in everyday practices, transnational corporations.

Her publications include: *Trade Unions in the Green Economy. Working for the Environment* (with David Uzzell, 2013) and *Transnational Corporations from the Standpoint of Workers* (with Diana Mulinari and Aina Tollefsen).

Paula Mulinari, Rebecca Selberg

Anti-Work Concept and the Marxist- Feminist Concept of Work

What type of challenge does the anti-work perspective pose to Marxist intersectional working life studies? What understanding of paid work and reproductive work does this increasing field of research have?

In this paper, we will review three contributions to the tradition of anti-work literature and put them in a conversation with our own research among nurses and service workers (Selberg 2012, Mulinari forthcoming 2016). The aim is twofold. First, to introduce the anti-work tradition and its critique of the work ethic of capitalist production. Second, to challenge the visions and utopias as some anti-work

theorists outline them, based on an analysis of the interdependent labour process in health care. In dialogue with anti-work theories this paper aims to both affirm and point to some limitations in the calls for an anti-work perspective and a post-work society agenda put forth by these scholars, as well as to discuss their contribution to Marxist feminist understanding of work and its transformation.

Thus, what this paper does is to align two perspectives: on the one hand feminist ethnographic studies of interpellation, focusing on the process of subjectification under production and reproduction in a capitalist economy; on the other hand the meta-critique of anti-work theorists who move beyond the gendering of and at work in order to understand and challenge the overall implications of the work society. In contrast to recent feminist publications in the anti-work paradigm, the paper maintains a focus on the empirical level.

Paula Mulinari works at the department of social work, Malmö University. Her research focus is on issues of workplace resistance and conflicts, with a specific focus on service work. Her current research is on tipping practices in Sweden, and forms of everyday resistance among different workgroups. Recent publications: “Weapons of the poor: Tipping and resistance in precarious times”. In: *Economic and Industrial Democracy* (2016); “Exploring the experiences of women and migrant medical professionals in Swedish hospitals: Visible and hidden forms of resistance” In: *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* vol 8, nr 34, pp 666-677 (2015). **Rebecca Selberg** is a lecturer at the Institute of Gender Studies at the University of Lund, Sweden. She conducts research on work and gender relations in an intersectional perspective. For her dissertation *Femininity at Work* (2013) she received the price of the best work of the year in Sweden. *Nursing in Times of Neoliberal Change: An Ethnographic Study of Nurses’ Experiences of Work Intensification* (2012) in *Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies* is another of her publications.

Pragna Patel

Fundamentalism, Cultural Relativism and Women’s Rights in the Context of the UK
Drawing largely on the work of Southall Black Sisters, this paper will examine the rise of fundamentalism and religious identity politics in the shadow of the War on Terror, racism and austerity measures in the UK. It will explore the concomitant emergence of a patriarchal and communalised law and social policy approach to minority women underpinned by cultural relativism. These developments delegitimise political voices of dissent and amount to a wider assault on secular and progressive feminist struggles for equality, human rights and justice.

Pragna Patel is the founding member and director of Southall Black Sisters (SBS) and Women Against Fundamentalism. She has been centrally involved in SBS’ key cases and campaigns around domestic violence, immigration and religious fundamentalism. She has written extensively on race, gender and religion, including ‘Faith in the State? Asian Women’s Struggles for Human Rights in the UK’, in: *Feminist Legal Studies*, Spring issue, 2008, ‘Multifaithism and the Gender Question: Implications of Government Policy on the Struggle for Equality and Rights for Minority Women in the UK’, in: *Moving in the Shadows*, ed. by Yasmin Rahman, Liz Kelly and Hannana Siddiqui (Ashgate Publishers, 2013) and, more recently, ‘Religion and Caste in the UK: Reflections on Hindu and Sikh Fundamentalist Mobilisations’ (with Sukhwant Dhaliwal), in: *The Social Equality of Religion or Belief*, ed. by Alan Carling (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

Jelena Petrović

What Does (Il)legality Stand for Today?^[2]

The impossibility of changing the neoliberal system which shapes and oppresses everyday life on all social levels, as well as the simultaneous and paradoxical act of reproducing and resisting dominant social structures (a side-effect of

contemporary emancipatory politics), puts us in the position to rethink what revolutionary (artistic) practices of today are. The attribute of revolutionary means that these practices – in a very concrete context – are both politically involved and transformative of society.

Today, within the imperative of democratic citizenship, the self-righteous ‘first world’ politics seeks to smooth over repressive forms of the new final solution. By introducing a new binary opposition – illegal/legal –, while claiming human rights as a tool of neoliberal systematic restructuring, this final solution offers a false choice between the permanent war for global good (i.e., the war on terror), and any possible form of radical resistance to the neoliberal society (preemptively marked as a terrorist or illegal one). Facing those alternatives, we should consider the following: who are all those illegal, undocumented, non-allowed, non-belonging, non-xyz ‘bastards’ who resist or just stay outside these legal neoliberal oppressive structures? What, if only by being ‘illegal’ can people break through the repressive system of the global inequality that we live in? Or simply: what should the content of a social revolution be today – beyond all those misinterpreted notions of freedom, as well as beyond an emptied revolutionary vocabulary from the history of resistance?

Following those questions, this paper is about the meaning of illegality within contemporary neoliberal society, as well as on the meaning of freedom outside it.

Jelena Petrović is a feminist scholar, cultural theorist and art worker. (Co)Author of texts, events and projects related to (post)Yugoslav subjects – particularly with regard to the (post)Yugoslav history, artistic practices and feminism. She completed her PhD at ISH Ljubljana Graduate School of Humanities (2009). Co-founder and member of the feminist curatorial collective *Red Min(e)d* that deals with the relationship between contemporary art and feminism in the post-Yugoslav space (since 2011). Since 2014, she has been teaching about feminist curating in the contemporary arts at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, University of Ljubljana. Appointed as the endowed professor for Central and South Eastern European Art Histories at the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, Austria (2015-2017).

Monica Quirico

Self-Government and Self-Organization: the Feminist Contribution to an Erratic Marxism

This paper is intended as part of a co-authored “book-in-progress” focusing on theories and experiences that, though not neglecting the question of the State and of political democracy, have looked further, towards a community where the exhaustion of the State would not be the culmination of more or less strict historical laws, but rather the outcome of struggles and experiments carried out in the midst of class conflict. If Self-Government and Self-Organization have remained marginal in the history of Marxism – the latter being mostly identified, both by enemies and friends, with statism – feminist contribution to these questions has been even more peripheral.

The paper aims to discuss theoretical approaches and struggle experiences related to Self-Government and Self-Organization both in classic Marxist feminist thinkers such as Alexandra Kollontai, Clara Zetkin and Rosa Luxemburg, and in leading representatives of current Socialist Feminism, with an emphasis on Nancy Fraser, Judith Butler and Lidia Cirillo. This analysis will provide as well the opportunity to think about relationships between Marxist Feminism and other Left feminist

currents as far as the question of a systemic alternative to neoliberal Capitalism is concerned.

Monica Quirico got her PhD in History of Political Ideas and Institutions, and Political Philosophy from the University “La Sapienza”, Roma, Faculty of Political Sciences (2000). She has obtained the national scientific qualification for associate professor at the Italian University and is a Honorary Research Fellow at the Institute of Contemporary History, Södertörn University, Stockholm, where she has delivered papers in international conferences and seminars.

Currently (2015-2017) she is research fellow at the Institute for the History of the Resistance movement and of Contemporary Society in Turin, where she carries out the sub-research about commemoration of Italian fallen soldiers in Afghanistan within the international research program “The Politics of Military Loss”, funded by the Swedish VR (project leader: Cecilia Åse, Stockholm University).

Her main research field is Swedish and Italian history and society in comparative perspective; on these issues she has published several books and journal articles in Italian as well as in English and in Swedish language.

Marie Reusch

Motherhood and Being a Mother in a Structural Field of Tension between Domination and Emancipation

In feminist debates motherhood and being a mother are treated rather one-sidedly as being structured and distorted by domination. This closes the door to utopian, visionary, creative impulses facilitating an access to the world and the search for emancipatory overflows. I speak in favour of a feminist and critical possibility to place motherhood and being a mother within the potential horizon of emancipation. This is necessary if, in this structural field of tension between domination and emancipation, we do not want to determinate motherhood and being a mother in a biased way as a kind of domination only.

I will present for discussion some considerations aiming at a complex concept to analyse motherhood and being a mother. In my point-of-view and in the mediation context between the symbolic order and material conditions, motherhood as an institution and being a mother as concrete practice need to be determined in complex ways so as to avoid a biased determination and to open our eyes for the sense of potentiality.

Marie Reusch, political scientist, research fellow at the chair for Politics and Gender, Department of Political Science, Philipps-University Marburg/Germany. Publication: Reusch, Marie, 2016: Mutterschaft im feministischen Fokus. Der Zusammenhang von Mutterschaft und Emanzipation in wissenschaftlichen Texten und in Mütter-Blogs. In: Dolderer, Maya et al.: *O Mother, Where Art Thou? (Queer-)Feministische Perspektiven auf Mutterschaft und Mütterlichkeit*. Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot, S. 126-141.

Kathryn Russell

Alliances among Labor, Racial Justice and Environmental Activists. Love, Solidarity and Resistance.

In the US, a striking feature of our historical conjuncture is the emerging alliance among labor, racial justice and environmental activists. I will argue that these new social movements mark a deepening awareness of the connections between climate disruption and systematic structural inequalities. Healthy debates over capitalism's culpability for both of these dynamics have emerged, a development that, I will contend, provides fertile ground for Marxist feminist analyses. As

illustrations of my claims, I will use my experiences in the fossil fuel resistance movement and in local organizations such as the Coalition for Sustainable Economic Development and in SURJ (Showing Up for Racial Justice, a national group organizing white people in solidarity with the Movement for Black Lives).

Kathryn Russell is a professor of philosophy emerita from the State University of New York College at Cortland, is an activist with the Tompkins County Workers' Center, the Coalition for Sustainable Economic Development and SURJ (Showing Up for Racial Justice). Anti-fracking action-research led to her article "Will Fracking Bring the Soldiers Home?" *Peace Review* (2013). Other scholarship includes "Feminist Dialectics and Marxist Theory," *Radical Philosophy Review* (2007); and "A Value-Theoretic Approach to Childbirth and Reproductive Engineering," in *Science and Society* (Fall 1994) and *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference and Women's Lives*, ed. by Rosemary Hennessy and Chrys Ingraham (1997).

Ariel Salleh

Marxism and Ecofeminism

Under capitalism, objectification and exploitation of the environment is in complex ways tied to the structural super-ordination of men and their resourcing of women. Yet paradoxically, women's historical positioning as "mediators of nature" for men, has inspired ecofeminism as a grassroots counter-globalisation movement, a sex-gendered ideology critique, an ecological ethic, and an epistemology from below. It converges with a dialectic of internal relations, an ontology of nature as multi-dimensional and processual; and a human identity whose labour interaction with nature is self-affirming. Ecofeminists enjoin the efforts of socialist feminists in the 70s and 80s to situate women's domestic labour in a Marxist problematic. An 'embodied materialism' now complements that economic analysis of the space between capital and labour by focusing on the space between labour and nature. This shifts politics from an androcentric to an eco-centric frame.

Ariel Salleh is a Research Associate in Political Economy, The University of Sydney; Visiting Professor in Culture, Philosophy and Environment, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University; and 2013 Senior Fellow in Post-Growth Societies, Friedrich Schiller University Jena.

Pinar Sarigöl

Motherhood in the Neoliberal Family Corporation

Michel Foucault's oeuvre critically deals with the rationality of neoliberalism and its economic subjects who trace their desires and interests in all areas by *cleverly* avoiding to fall into the traps of the market. This means that the success of the individual is measured in terms of the great internalization of neoliberal rationality which imbues its subjects with the necessities and importance of pursuing self-esteem, self-discipline and becoming self-entrepreneurs in order to manage conducting their external and internal worlds. According to Foucauldian literature, this ability of the subject to be self-governing has been implicitly and gradually constructed by technologies of the self and the political technologies of reason, which have led the subject to comply with this rationality with pleasure. All our social relations and learned social roles gain meaning and functionalities, because they are embedded in market rationality. One of these roles, motherhood, has been selected as the *ideal* role for women. It is worth stressing that nowadays motherhood is defined in the context of family values and values of the nation. Women are caught in the conundrums of gender equality, which intrinsically

subordinates women just as it re-interprets peripheral sexualities. Within the limits of this presentation, I would like to talk about the formation of the female subject and the irresistible desire of being a(n) (ideal) mother under the neoliberal roof of the *family*. My analysis uses the lens of neoliberal governmentality.

Pınar Sarıgöl received her BA from the department of Political Science at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Her master degree was completed in Gender Studies at Ankara University. She is currently a member of Bielefeld Graduate School in History and Sociology and working on her project entitled “Gender, Bio-Politics and Neoliberal Governmentality in Turkey”.

Zoe Sutherland and Marina Vishmidt

Difference and the Universal in Legacies of Feminism

Feminist struggle has often oriented around the problematic of unity and separation, the theoretical framing of which is typically expressed through the binary of a bad universalism and the necessity of insisting upon difference. This paper will argue that Marxist-Feminism is especially apt to think through this problematic. It will survey vectors of difference and universalism in the history of the feminist movement, focusing particularly on the tension between autonomy and separatism, as it played out in the divergent paths of feminisms and tracing the binds between affirmation and negation of difference contra the bad universal of formal equality. Totality and universalism have disparate political-philosophical lineages, yet have strategic affinity in that both invoke the ‘whole’. Looking through episodes such as radical feminist struggles, and today’s polemics between ‘afropessimism’ and ‘black optimism’, as well as the revival of notions of totality in the discourses of ‘xeno-feminism’ and gender abolition, this paper will propose that difference and emancipation have to be mediated by the category of the totality, at the risk of lapsing into ‘mere’ difference or abstract domination, respectively. And it is in this that the Marxist-Feminist framework is the most compelling theoretical position and tool of critical analysis.

Zoe Sutherland is a writer and lecturer based in London and Brighton. She teaches in continental philosophy, critical theory, radical politics and aesthetics at the University of Brighton. Her research revolves around materialist and Marxist feminisms, the politics of the body, contemporary artistic practice and the ‘global’ art world. **Marina Vishmidt** is a London-based writer and lecturer dealing with questions around materialist feminism, art, labour and value. She is the author of *Speculation as a Mode of Production* (Brill, forthcoming) and *Reproducing Autonomy* (with Kerstin Stakemeier, Textem and Mute, 2016). She is part of the Theory faculty at the Dutch Art Institute, lectures in the history and criticism of artists’ moving image at the University of Brighton, and has taught at the University of the Arts in Berlin, Sandberg Institute, Central Saint Martins, and Goldsmiths.

Carmen Teeple Hopkins

Secularism and Sexist Islamophobia in Quebec and France: An Antiracist Feminist-Marxist Response

Laïcité, the secular division of Church from State, is a historically rooted and politically charged term in both Quebec and France that is regularly used to justify anti-veiling laws. In both contexts, the concept of *laïcité* goes back to struggles that challenged the power of the Catholic Church. In recent years, the French government passed two laws on religious dress based on the belief that religion should not overlap with public spaces: a 2004 law that prohibits religious dress from public school spaces and a 2011 ban on face veils in public spaces. A similar law

does not exist in Quebec, but there is a history of *laïcité* controversies and a recent bill attempt that failed.

Researchers document the gendered, racialized, and classed impacts of these laws on veiled Muslim women in France (Chouder, Latrèche, & Tevanian, 2008; Hajjat & Mohammed, 2013) and the racialized effects in Quebec (Leroux, 2010; Mahrouse, 2010). As well, there is a growing literature on the political economic dimensions of veiled women's lives through: (1) the relationship between consumption and the neoliberal marketing of veils to women in the Middle East (Gokariksel & Secor, 2009; Gokariksel & McLarney, 2010; Gould, 2014); and (2) high levels of discrimination that veiled Muslim women experience during hiring processes (Ghumman & Ryan, 2013; Rootham, 2015) and at paid workplaces (Teeple Hopkins, 2015). I contribute to the latter political economy scholarship by theorizing veiled Muslim women as *workers*, who tend to be precariously employed or unemployed in Quebec and France.

The paper argues for the term 'sexist islamophobia', as a way to specify the gendered, racialized, and classed experiences of veiled Muslim women's precarious employment amidst the veil debates. Divided into three parts, the paper first compares *laïcité* laws or proposed bills in French and Quebec. Second, it identifies the socio-economic positioning of veiled Muslim women's employment or unemployment through statistical analysis, media analysis, and secondary sources. Finally, I use the work of the antiracist feminist Marxist Himani Bannerji (1995) who theorizes the exploitation of women of colour in the labour process to demonstrate that an antiracist Marxist response to the *laïcité* debates means opposing anti-veiling laws.

Carmen Teeple Hopkins is a postdoctoral fellow at the School of Geography and the Environment at the University of Oxford, funded by the Fonds de Recherche du Québec – Société et Culture. She is a feminist economic geographer whose research examines precariously employed women in Quebec and France from the perspective of labour geography, antiracist feminist political economy and critical urban studies. Her research interests include social reproduction, transnationalism, neoliberalism, secularism, gentrification, and analyses of gender, race, class, ability and sexuality. She received her PhD in Geography and Planning from the University of Toronto.

Patrícia Vieira Trópia

Women in the Brazilian's Trade Union Movement

In Brazil, since the 1970s, there has been a new approach to studies about labour following the perception that "the working class has got two genders". Since then, issues related to the intensification of the exploitation of women's work and the lack of pay equity, labor and politics have been discussed. It is also evident that these issues were largely driven by the performance of women's struggles within and beyond the workplace. However, if the gender category has become central to understanding working relationships and especially to highlight the perverse forms of domination that exist in large areas of social life, the themes of working women, feminism and activism have been much less attractive. Brazilian society has undergone profound changes in the 90s due to the restructuring of capitalism – reorganization of production, automation, robotics, fiscal adjustment, social cutbacks, economic opening, and privatization of state enterprises. All those changes affect the class structure and job market including an increase in informal

employment and unemployment. Women, who traditionally were placed in low qualified and low paid jobs, had their working conditions, health and life deteriorated. There has been an increased participation of women in the informal labour market, subcontracted housework, part-time and temporary work. Since the 80s, the most progressive trade unions in Brazil have been seeking to attract women. The creation in 1986 of the National Commission for the Issues of Working Women within the largest Brazilian trade union – Central Única dos Trabalhadores – is an example of this change. Although in the 90s, unemployment has reduced the number of unionized members, the trade unions, seeking to reverse this drop, began to attract and stimulate female membership by implementing policies of quotas on board staff. Since the Labour Party came to power, some progress has happened. For example, after a Parliamentary dispute in 2015 the Household Workers obtained some legal rights. The objective of this communication is to present what have been the main struggles, forms of action and claims of Brazilian activist women in the trade union movement.

Patrícia Vieira Trópia is professor of social sciences at the Federal University of Uberlandia, Brasilien. She has a Master Degree in Political Science and a PhD in Social Sciences from Campinas State University (Brazil) and a Post-Doctoral Degree from the University of Lyon 2 (France). She researches social class, unionism and Marxism. She is the author of the book “Força Sindical: politics and ideology in Brazilian unionism”, published in 2009 and editor of the collection “Metalworkers unions in contemporary Brazil”, published in 2012. In 2016 she edited the book “Women workers: (in) visible?”

Deniz Ulusoy

Oppression and Resistance in Turkey

Turkey, as a late industrializing country, where different forms of patriarchy co-exist, could be considered a revealing example of the way patriarchy and capitalism may have mutual benefits and interlinked relations. The ruling party – Justice and Development Party (AKP) – since 2002 seeks to reconcile the requirements of these two systems. This is obvious in family politics, labor laws and an increasing accent on religion, the latter serving to justify gender differences and inequality on the basis of divine creation (*fitrat*). In this era of reconciliation between patriarchy and late capitalism, which can be labelled as an era of neo-conservatism, efforts to make women more vulnerable at home and in the market, together with the impact of civil war in Kurdistan, have resulted in male violence, as can be seen in the increasing rates of femicide. On the other hand, despite becoming more and more trapped between family (unpaid labour), precarious conditions of work (paid labour) and male violence, women do not step back, they resist and are more conscious of their right to self-defense. This tightening of the pressure over women has resulted in the spreading of acts of resistance, and the emergence of a young feminist generation.

Deniz Ulusoy is a feminist activist, currently living in Ankara. She was a member of the Socialist Feminist Collective and a member of the Istanbul Feminist Collective. Along with working in various women's platforms, she contributed as a writer to *Feminist Politika* (*Feminist Politics*) – the quarterly magazine published by Socialist Feminist Collective – and to *Mutfak Cadıları* (*Kitchen Witches*), the online bulletin of the Female Labour Commission within the Socialist Feminist Collective, mainly on the subject of female labour and conservatism. She works as a freelance translator.

Barbara Umrath

Marxist-Feminist Theorizing as a Project of Continuing Critical Engagement with the Frankfurt School

Barbara Umrath's presentation will show how starting from Herbert Marcuse's paper *Marxism and Feminism*, first delivered in 1974, feminist theorists have critically engaged with the Frankfurt School tradition of social theory for several decades now. While feminists acknowledged that the particular version of Marxist theory developed by Max Horkheimer, Theodor W. Adorno, and Herbert Marcuse, amongst others, implied a critique of patriarchal gender relations, their readings pointed out two major shortcomings within this tradition: a lack of attention to women's subjectivity and agency and the failure to systematically integrate gender into their social analyses. From a contemporary feminist perspective, one might add that Critical Theory did not question the binary concept of sex, thus reproducing what today is recognized as an essential element of the bourgeois-hegemonic gender order. In her paper, Barbara will argue that while these criticisms mark important developments within Feminist-(post-)Marxist theory, contemporary feminist theory can benefit from a re-reading of certain key concepts within first generation Frankfurt School theory.

Barbara Umrath is a research associate at TH Köln and is currently working on a PhD project in Sociology dedicated to a re-reading of Frankfurt School social theory from a contemporary Gender Studies perspective. She studied sociology, psychology and educational science at the University of Augsburg as well as at the New School for Social Research in New York.

Flora Eder

The Eclipse of Gender and Reason: Adorno and Horkheimer, Subject, and the Relation of Sex and Gender

In her paper Flora Eder will address the question, what Marxist Feminism can learn from the Critical Theory of Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer when it comes to the constitution of subject and individual. Focusing on three for the topical core texts by these authors – *The Dialectics of Enlightenment*, *Zu Subjekt und Objekt* and *Zum Verhältnis von Soziologie und Psychologie* – Flora will show the two aspects of the author's understanding of the meaning of the term subject: subject in the sense of the subordinated individual and subject in the sense of the perceptive individual. She will show how, in a critical continuation of Hegel, they develop a materialist meaning of subject, and how both these meanings of subject have different, but in a dialectical sense related, implications on the questions of the relation of sex, gender and epistemology. As she will argue, the work of Adorno and Horkheimer could be the theoretical base for a materialist-feminist epistemology – referring to Max Horkheimer's *Eclipse of Reason* („Kritik der instrumentellen Vernunft“) Flora will develop outlines for a „Kritik der vergeschlechtlichten Vernunft“ – which could be translated as “Eclipse of Gender and Reason“.

Flora Eder is currently working on her dissertation at the University of Vienna on the topic “Adorno, Subject and the Relation of Sex and Gender“. From 2005 to 2012, she studied Political Science at the University of Vienna. Her research interests are Critical Theory, Feminist Theory and Oral History of Survivors of the Shoah as well as Foucault's critique of welfare states and their benefits for homeless people. In 2016/17 she will continue her studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin.

Karin Stögner

„Race – Class – Gender“ – an Inclusive Concept? Or: What Has That Got to Do with Israel?

Intersectionality – probably one of the most important analytical concepts of the new left – focuses on the multidimensionality of oppression in modern societies and analyses how race/ethnicity, gender and class are interrelated. But intersectionality is not only an analytical concept but at the same time a political programme. This becomes evident e.g. in Angela Davis, an iconic figure of the Black Power Movement and of Black Feminism. In her work, she criticizes the tension between the universal and the particular as a triumph of white male supremacy over minorities that are ethnicized and connoted as non-male. However, her notion of intersectionality strikingly excludes Jews. They are not viewed as a minority with special interests that need to be protected, but rather as representatives of white supremacy. They are denied the right of peculiarity. Accordingly, also Zionism is not viewed as a national liberation movement but solely as one of the last bastions of imperialism and colonialism and the legal rights for LGBTQ persons in Israel on the ground of gender and sexuality in Israel as mere hypocrisy. Thereby, a thorough delegitimation of Israel takes place. In her presentation Karin Stögner will address these issues and analyse them against the background of Critical Theory. By means of immanent critique and determinate negation, Karin will ask whether intersectionality as a methodology can be rescued for a critical feminism that does not exclude the Jews.

Karin Stögner is currently a visiting professor for Critical Theory of Society at the Justus Liebig University Gießen; lecturer at the Department of Sociology at the University of Vienna, research assistant at the Institute for Conflict Studies; from 2009 to 2011 she was Marie Curie Fellow at the Central European University, Budapest; in 2013, visiting researcher at Lancaster University, UK; in 2014, visiting researcher at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. Most recent book publication: *Sexismus und Antisemitismus. Historisch-gesellschaftliche Konstellationen* (Nomos 2014)

Nira Yuval-Davis

Anti-Fundamentalism, Anti-Racism and Feminist Politics

In this presentation I shall discuss the thorny question of how feminists do/can/should deal with issues of religious fundamentalisms especially those among racialized minorities. I shall briefly discuss the context for the rise of these movements and different feminist strategies to respond to them. Overall I argue that they should be seen as part of the global and European rise of populist authoritarianism as defensive identity movements and thus related to some wider issues of the ways socialist feminists should deal with recognition movements of the oppressed.

Nira Yuval-Davis is a diasporic Israeli Jew, a founder member of Women Against Fundamentalism and a former President of the International Sociological Association's Research Committee 05 on 'Racism, Nationalism and Ethnic Relations'. She is the Director of the Research Centre on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB) at the University of East London. Among her books are *Woman-Nation-State*, 1989, *Warning Signs of Fundamentalisms*, 2004, *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*, 2011, *Women Against Fundamentalism: Stories of Dissent and Solidarity*, 2014 and the forthcoming book *Bordering* (2017). Her works have been translated to more than ten languages.

Chairs

Antje Géra (Hamburg) is a philosopher working as a lecturer in the area of political philosophy and critical theory at the Leuphana University in Lüneburg and the Institute of Philosophy in Hildesheim. Her dissertation analysed a philosophical concept of resistance. At present she conducts research on materialist theories of aesthetics and language. She is a fellow speaker at the Institute for Critical Theory Berlin, co-organiser of the Rosa-Luxemburg Salon in Hamburg and author of the entry 'Melancholy' for the Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism. She has written on critical theories of the image "Zuviel! Zuviel! Oh, daß ich nun erwache". Zum Programm des 'dialektischen Bildes' Walter Benjamins, in: *Anthropologischer Materialismus und Materialismus der Begegnung*, Berlin 2014; Der Traum des armen Dummen. Überlegungen zur Bildlichkeit des Spektakels, in: *Spektakel als ästhetische Kategorie. Theorien und Praktiken* (in progress)

Angela von Kampen (*1988) wrote her master thesis in education for special needs at the University of Hamburg and studied fine arts at the HfbK Hamburg.

Carina Klugbauer studied political theory at the University of Frankfurt; interests of work: Marxist-feminist theory, domestic labour debate, care debate.

Ruth May is a city planner as well as the scientific head of the *Feminist Section of the Institute for Critical Theory* (InkriT) and its managing director. Her research focuses lie on the development of the city and labour in the 20th century; European urban development and urban history; comparative European studies on approaches to urban regeneration from a feminist point-of-view; ways of appropriation of urban spaces: member of the editorial staff of *Das Argument* magazine and member of its feminist editorial group; member of the editorial staff of the *Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuchs des Marxismus*.

Selected publications: Planstadt StalinStadt. Ein Grundriß der frühen DDR (1999); Inbesitznahme des Städtischen. In: *Das Argument* 303 (2013); Migrantinnen als Existenzgründerinnen (2013); *Marktfrauen* im Historisch-kritischen Wörterbuch des Marxismus, vol. 8/II (2015), „Wege des Marxismus-Feminismus“ (ed. with Frigga Haug), *Das Argument Buch*, 2015.

Ines Schwerdtner (*1989) studied political theory at the Goethe University in Frankfurt. She is the coordinator of *Das Argument, Journal for Philosophy and Social Sciences*, and a member of the feminist section of the Institute for Critical Theory (InkriT).

Cultural Programme

arge blumen

Cutting Edge, Fragment #3, Poltergeist

arge blumen – a Viennese dialect translation of "les fleurs du mal" – is an artistic work community (Arbeitsgemeinschaft, or ArGe for short) that has grown out of a long-term collaboration between Monika Bauer and Eva Lepold. Working from a feminist socio-critical perspective, Bauer and Lepold have developed a style characterized by elements of Butoh, intense physical expression, and involvement in contemporary issues.

At the Marxism-Feminism Conference, together with the sound designer Andreas Wiesbauer, they will perform Fragment #3, *Poltergeist*, from their latest work, *Cutting Edge*.

Aiko Kazuko Kurosaki, starsky

IN-VISIBLE-IN

In the Western world, woman is omnipresent and visible everywhere as a projection space for male phantasms, quite in contrast to her work, her creating, her achievements. IN-VISIBLE-IN turns at these classical structures and puts women in relation to each other, with their synergies allowing us to think anew women's visibilities and invisibilities. A woman is projecting onto another woman, fragments of light and word are hitting upon movement and material and are thus seen to be mutually dependent. The materials used, salt, flour and textiles – with their attributes of fragility, delicacy and ephemerality reflecting clichés of femininity – at the same time represent the wealth that has been accumulated and distributed unequally in the capitalist and patriarchal system.

This performance, especially produced for the 2nd International Marxism-Feminism-Conference 2016 in Vienna by Aiko Kazuko Kurosaki and visual artist starsky, uses common clichés and patterns in order to break and deconstruct them and to evoke emotional multi-layered spaces of association.

Idea and concept: Aiko / starsky; choreography: Aiko Kazuko Kurosaki; projections: starsky; sound: Electric Indigo (tbc); dance/performance: Aiko Kazuko Kurosaki, Martha Laschkolnig; Monika Bauer, Eva Lepold; technical director: Andrea Korosec.

Aiko Kazuko Kurosaki is a dancer, choreographer and performer born in Japan but living and working in Vienna. Solo and group performances at numerous festivals in Austria and abroad. Focuses on projects critical of society and the environment. Site-specific, interactive and intervention-based work in public spaces. Performance / flash-mob at the UN-Vienna headquarters for the anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki against the re-opening of nuclear power-stations in Japan after Fukushima. Co-initiator and artistic director (since 2013) for One Billion Rising Vienna – Ending Violence against Women and Girls, an annual event taking place in front of the Austrian Parliament. **(starsky) Julia Zdarsky** creates video-installations, stage projections, live-visuals and wide-screen projections with images, language, communication, and spaces melting into one artwork, a synthesis of individual parts, in which sudden illuminations of short duration remain in the viewers' emotional memory. She has projected on to the Museum of Islamic Art and the Palace of the Emir of Qatar in Doha, the City Hall, State Opera, University, Imperial Palace, St Stephen's Cathedral, Künstlerhaus and the Austrian Prime Minister's office, among others. There is nothing she could not dip into colour, form, word or light: architecture, structure, environment, public spaces.