



# GENDER, NEOLIBERALISM & FINANCIAL CRISIS CONFERENCE

27 September 2013  
University of York

@GenderConfYork

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THE UNIVERSITY *of York*  
**Department of Politics**

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GIFTS FROM ALUMNI AND FRIENDS



## **Conference Pack: Contents**

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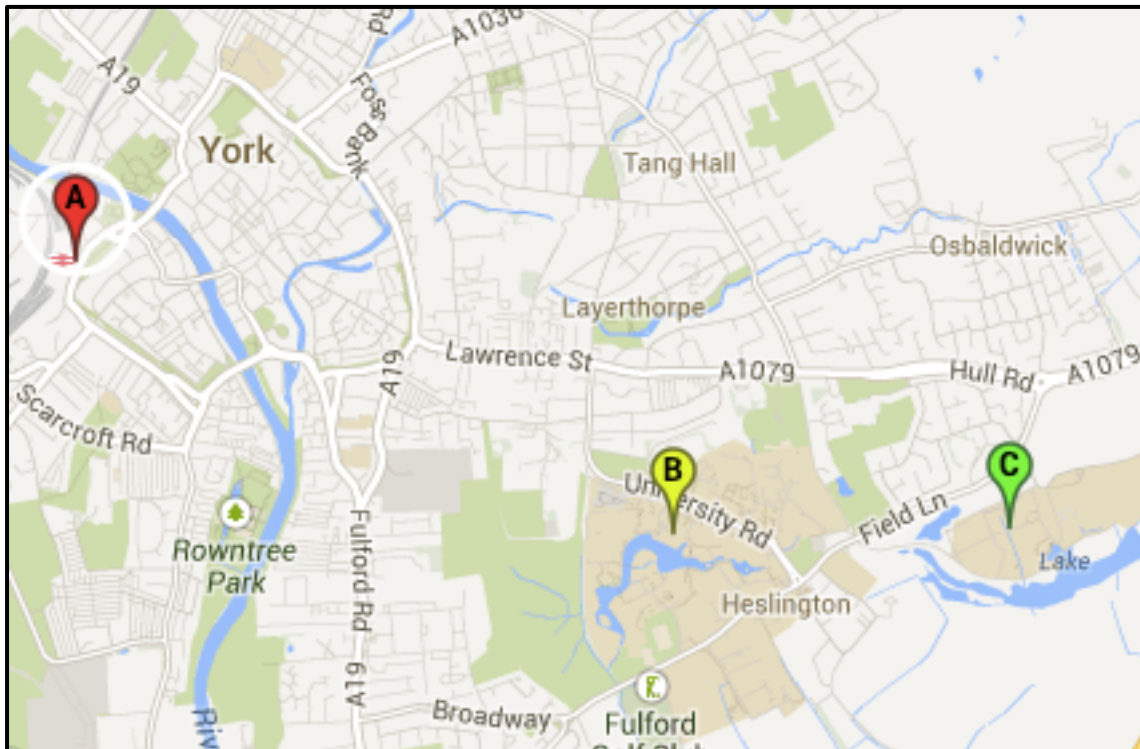
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## Programme of Events

All panels and keynotes will take place in the Lakehouse Room on the 1<sup>st</sup> floor of the Ron Cooke Hub, Heslington East Campus. For parallel sessions the room will be partitioned into Lakehouse A and B. Lunch and breaks will take place in the Ron Cooke Hub Atrium.

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| <u>9:00-9:30</u>   | <b><u>Registration and welcome</u></b>  |
| <u>9:30-11:00</u>  | <b><u>Opening Keynote: Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson</u></b><br>"Impacts and Alternatives"<br>Chair: Carole Spary  |
| <u>11:00-12:30</u> | <b><u>Parallel Sessions</u></b><br>Lakehouse A<br>Panel 1: Feminist Activism and Resistance<br><br>Lakehouse B<br>Panel 2: Gender Policy and Institutions                 |
| <u>12:30-1:30</u>  | <b><u>Lunch (Atrium)</u></b>  |
| <u>1:30-2:45</u>   | <b><u>Parallel Sessions</u></b><br>Lakehouse A<br>Panel 3: Representation, Identity, and Marginality<br><br>Lakehouse B<br>Panel 4: Financial Crisis and the Third Sector |
| <u>2:45-3:15</u>   | <b><u>Break</u></b>   |
| <u>3:15-4:45</u>   | <b><u>Parallel Sessions</u></b><br>Lakehouse A<br>Panel 5: Cultural Interpretations of Crisis<br><br>Lakehouse B<br>Panel 6: Care and Social Reproduction                 |
| <u>5:00-6:00</u>   | <b><u>Closing Keynote: Sylvia Walby</u></b><br>"Gender and the crisis: Theorizing gendered neoliberalism"   |
| 6:00               | Closing remarks   |
| <u>7:00-9:00</u>   | <b><u>Conference dinner, Red Chilli</u></b><br><b>** Please register and pay for the dinner in the morning**</b>  |

## York city and campus maps



**A: York rail station**

**B: University- Heslington West campus**

**C: Univeristy- Heslington East campus (Conference location)**

Visitors to Heslington East should board the number 44 Unibus at the railway station, which travels to Heslington East via University Road. The Unibus runs approximately every 10-15 minutes from Monday to Saturday and every 20 minutes on a Sunday.

### **Heslington East Campus**



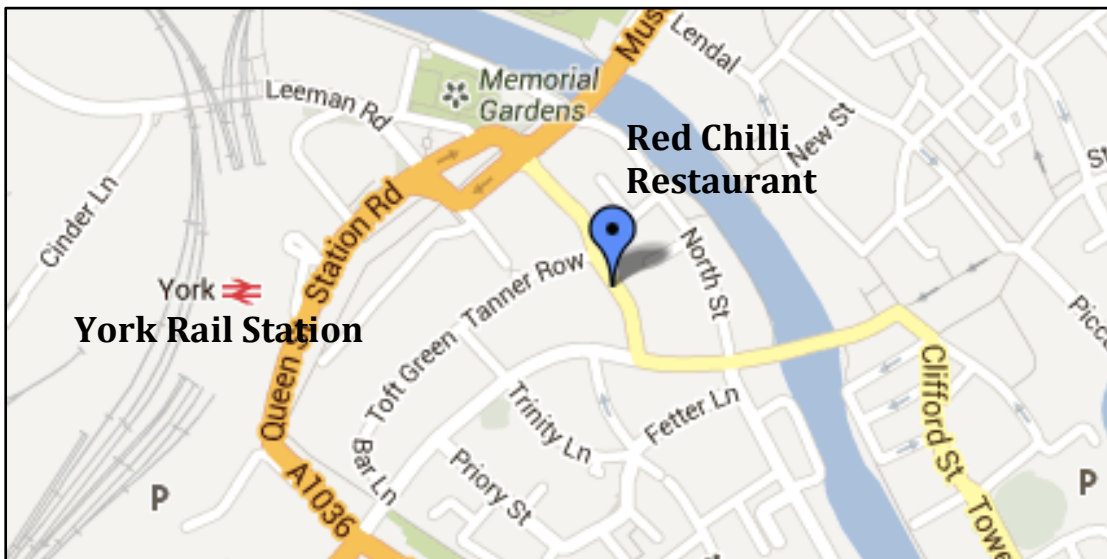
The Unibus provides a free shuttle service from any bus stop on University Road to the Heslington East campus. Bus stopped are labeled 'B' on the map at left.

The Conference will take place in the Ron Cooke Hub (middle of the map, on the water)

There is one cashpoint on the Heslington East campus located outside Langwith College reception building just down the path from Ron Cooke Hub.

## Conference Dinner

### Restaurant and Train Station



**Where:** Red Chilli Restaurant, 21-25 George Hudson St, York city center

Red Chilli is a popular Chinese restaurant with a wide variety of dishes and vegetarian options. The conference dinner is a set menu that includes a drink, starter, and main. For more information, you can visit [www.redchillirestaurant.co.uk](http://www.redchillirestaurant.co.uk)

**When:** The meal will start at 7:00

**Cost:** Dinner is £20 per person and **you need to pay and register in advance on the day of the conference.** Please pay at the registration table in the morning of the conference. We can only accept cash. Volunteers can help you find the cash point nearby the conference venue.

**Getting there:** The restaurant is very close to the train station and accessible by bus or taxi. By bus, take the 44 towards the train station and get out on George Hudson Street just opposite the restaurant.

## Bursary Information

For those who have already been awarded travel bursaries, you can pick up the paperwork at the registration desk. The volunteers there have a list of bursary recipients and award amounts, so they can help you with paperwork and process. Please remember to include all receipts and required information when you claim. Please send the paperwork off to the PSA who will reimburse you as soon as you can after the conference.

## Keynotes

### **9:30-11:00, Lakehouse A&B** **Opening Keynote: Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson** **“Impacts and Alternatives”**

**Diane Elson** is a specialist in the field of gender and development and is currently a Professor of Sociology at the University of Essex. Her current research focuses on global social change and the realisation of human rights with a particular focus on gender inequality and economic and social rights. She is the author of the books *Male Bias in the Development Process*, and *Budgeting for Women's Rights: Monitoring Government Budgets for Compliance with CEDAW (Concepts and Tools)*, and of many other publications and articles.

**Ruth Pearson** is a specialist in the field of gender and development and is an Emeritus Professor of Development Studies at the University of Leeds. Her research is broadly focused on gender, globalisation, and women's work in the global economy. Her research ranges from border industries Mexico and Thailand, new technology work in the Caribbean, to new forms of household responsibilities in Cuba's transition. She is the author of over 60 publications, including the forthcoming *Women, Work and Gender Justice in the Global Economy*.

Together, **Diane Elson and Ruth Pearson** coauthored one of the founding contributions to the field of gender and development: “Nimble Fingers Make Cheap Workers: An analysis of Women's Employment in 3rd World Export Manufacturing” (1980). A volume to celebrate their contributions is upcoming from Routledge, titled *New Frontiers in Feminist Political Economy* (Eds. Waylen and Rai, 2013). Discount flyers from the publisher for this volume will be available at the conference.

### **5:00-6:00, Lakehouse A&B** **Closing Keynote: Sylvia Walby** **“Gender and the crisis:** **Theorizing gendered neoliberalism”**

**Sylvia Walby** OBE, is a British sociologist, currently Professor of Sociology at Lancaster University. In 2008 she was appointed to the UNESCO chair in Gender Research to facilitate the development of policy-relevant research on gender equality and women's human rights around the world. She is noted for work in the fields of the domestic violence, patriarchy, gender relations in the workplace and globalization. She is the author of *Theorizing Patriarchy* (1990), *Globalization and Inequalities: Complexity and Contested Modernities* (2009), and *The Future of Feminism* (2011), among others.

**11:00-12:30, Lakehouse A**

**Panel 1: Feminist Activism and Resistance**

**Chair: Juliana Bidadanure**

**Matthew Evans, York**

*Race, class and gender: Reflections on land and housing rights activism in neoliberal South Africa*

Drawing upon fieldwork carried out researching social movements, nongovernmental organisations and trade unions involved in land and housing rights activism in the Western Cape, this paper reflects upon the interaction between race, class and gender in post-apartheid South Africa. Since the end of formal apartheid in 1994 the government of South Africa has been met with strong criticism from social movements and other actors due to the allegedly neoliberal direction of its policies. The country remains divided by profound social and economic inequalities. This paper posits that in order to understand the gendered aspects of these divisions, and attempts by activists to resist and overcome them, it is necessary to apply an analytical lens taking account of the interaction of gender with race and class. Reflecting upon the commonalities and differences present in the broad land and housing rights network in the Western Cape, the paper highlights the need for scholars to take account of local conditions and cautions against overgeneralisation of Northern experiences of crisis and Western approaches to feminism.

**Lisa Rodan, Goldsmiths**

*Creating gendered space of resistance in austerity Britain: how female migrant workers negotiate agency*

"This paper examines the impact of political, economic and social factors on organisations in the UK voluntary sector who work with and behalf of migrant women in the negotiation of 'agency', 'empowerment' and 'emancipation'. Through bibliographic research and small scale ethnographic fieldwork I will employ a Foucauldian analysis of the power structures inherent in these organisations, which occupy a unique position in the space between migrant women in their various degrees of citizenship and the state. I will argue that institutionalised, bureaucratic systems have diverted feminist aims and practices within civil society into an overarching neoliberal paradigm which propagates a certain category of ideal gendered citizen and denies the voice of non-hegemonic alternatives. The paper consists of three chapters which respectively deal with methodology, gendered perspectives on the institutional power structures arising from the wider socioeconomic context surrounding the migrant discourse and development of the voluntary sector before finally offering findings from ethnographic and bibliographic research, analysis and conclusions."

**Beatriz Ranea Triviño, Complutense University of Madrid**

*Feminist activism within alternative social movements in Spain*

In this paper I would like to talk about the Spanish context and how the movement known as 15M started. I will focus on feminism within this social movement. Spain is one of the Mediterranean countries where the European Union, International Monetary Fund and World Bank are implementing serious neoliberal politics. This politics have deeper impact on working class and specially on women. Women are suffering the worst consequences of austerity. Moreover, in Spain, austerity has come by the hand of a catholic conservative party. This means that women's rights are constantly called into question. For that reason, new feminist groups have been founded within alternative social movements. I would like to talk about strategies, actions,

civil disobedience, resistance, alliances with old feminist groups and chances of feminism within this context.

### **Megan O’Branski, Newcastle**

#### *Violent Identity, the Deployment of Abjection, and the Weaponization of the Female Body in Armagh Gaol*

In 1980, Irish republican prisoners in Armagh Gaol began a protest that mirrored ongoing resistance in the H-Blocks at Long Kesh. Known as the No Wash or Dirty Protest, the actions of the prisoners were met with reactions of intense horror and disgust. Yet as horrifying as the men’s protest in the Maze appeared, the women’s protest seemed to illicit a strong reaction in the public. Previous investigations into the women’s No Wash Protest have shown that this intensified response was a reaction to the presence of menstrual blood in the protest, which I will argue specifically weaponized the sexualized body of the female prisoner, making the protest more emotively powerful.

This paper will explore the use of the body as a weapon of resistance, but in particular, the weaponization of the abject body. This is part of a wider project that argues for the importance of the body as a site of intersection and materialization in the violent expression of large group identities. In particular, the female body is implicated as a consistent site of discriminatory practices, making its use as a weapon of resistance of considerable interest. I will argue that there is a high degree of intersection between performances of the ethnic body and the gendered body, and that this protest demonstrates an instance of the deployment of the sexualized body of the female other as a weapon intended to elicit an intense emotive response.



**11:00-12:30, Lakehouse B**  
**Panel 2: Gender Policy and Institutions**

**Chair: Sydney Calkin**

**David Webber, Warwick**

*Home and Away: Gendering the Policies of the Coalition Government for Britain and the Global South*

Upon its formation in May 2010, the Conservative and Liberal Democrat coalition government announced plans to reduce Britain's economic deficit through an extensive programme of austerity and spending cuts. In the midst of these cuts however, the Coalition pledged to "create a fairer and more just society" both at home and abroad. At home, the Coalition committed to "remove barriers to equality", "help to build a fairer society" and to take the lead on issues relating to women. Abroad, it has placed considerable emphasis upon matters of international development, and in particular the welfare of women and young girls. Assessing how these twin imperatives have fared in an era of economic crisis, this paper notes the importance that Coalition officials have ascribed to women, or more specifically "economic woman", both in terms of Britain's own growth strategy and the reduction of poverty in low-income, developing countries abroad. Whilst intuitively appealing as a discourse that signals the Coalition's commitment to include women as part of its strategy to deal with the economic crisis and beyond, its construction of a broadly homogenous 'economic woman' nevertheless demonstrates a fundamental failure to understand the multiple experiences, barriers and challenges encountered by different women living in Britain and the global South. Although indeed essential, by prioritising the productive labour carried out by women, government ministers have neglected the crucial social reproductive work undertaken predominately by women. In Britain, this neglect has been ruthlessly compounded by the severity and scope of the Treasury's own austerity measures, including deeply gendered cuts to tax credits, benefits, and childcare provision. Abroad, where the experience of women is more varied still, Coalition officials have correlated the status of women with the degree to which she is integrated in the marketplace, and have set about making women more 'productive', diverting elsewhere aid previously made available for social projects and welfare schemes. This paper contends that the Coalition cannot plausibly claim to support the public equality of women whilst at the same time scaling back the welfare and care services that would otherwise support and value the provision of this social reproductive work in the private sphere. The Coalition needs to have a far fuller, more gendered understanding of the social burden already carried by women, and a much greater appreciation of just how instrumental this type of work is to the functioning of a more equitable and just society. As it is, the current strategies of the Coalition, orientated as they are towards the exigencies of growth-led market capitalism, serve only to restrict the economic and social choices available to women living in Britain and in developing countries overseas.

**Sara Wallin, Sheffield**

*Gendering the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development: Crisis and Expansion*

This paper aims to explore how the European Bank for Reconstruction for Development (EBRD) has responded to the global financial crisis. It does so by focusing on two main dimensions of the EBRD's operations and analysis since 2008, namely: the development of strategies on gender and the geographical expansion to Turkey and the SEMED region. Informed by feminist political economy and feminist studies of globalisation and global governance, the first part of the paper traces the relationship between the strategies on gender that the Bank has developed since 2008/9 and the Bank's wider macroeconomic analysis and crisis response. By conducting this analysis, the paper argues that Bank's explicit approach to gender has been shaped *within* the confines of the Bank's central operational logic; the mandate to promote

'transition' to market economies; initially shaped as an off the peg application of the privatisation and liberalisation doctrines of the Washington Consensus (Griffin, 2009). However, in the second part, the paper analyses how the expansion has still meant that gender has been integrated into the Bank's crisis response. Using insights from recent fieldwork in Turkey in which the EBRD's fit within the national institutional and political context, some early implications of how the EBRD's rhetoric and policies may contribute to reshaping and perpetuating unequal patterns of production and social reproduction along the lines of gender, class and urban-rural divides are discussed.

**Maja Dragosavac, CIPS, University of Sarajevo**  
*Gender Mainstreaming: the Macedonian case*

This paper analyses the tensions in promoting gender justice in contemporary Macedonian society. As Macedonia is striving for negotiations towards the EU membership, it is complying its legal framework with the Community's *acquis*. On a trace of that obligation, a decade ago the country has adopted National Action Plan for Gender Equality proclaiming gender mainstreaming as one of the main tools for achieving it. However, although Macedonia is transitional economy and multiethnic society with strong patriarchic order, the Plan seems to completely neglect both the consequences of structural changes on women, as well as the intersectionality of women's discrimination based on social, ethnic and rural-urban cleavages. In contemporary Macedonia the activity rate of women on labor market reaches 44%, while employment rate hardly passes 30. Since 2009 elections, there is none single female mayor, while 39% of Albanian women do not have the information about political quotas. Only 2% of rural women are land owners, which is one of the main prerequisite for conducting agrarian activities, while, in order to survive on neoliberal market, clothing manufacturing as Macedonia's biggest industry sector is forced to keep labor expenses low, affecting women the most. The paper thus argues that national policies based on the EU gender policies are constrained with such neoliberal framework that in spite of progressive laws, women in Macedonia are unable to achieve economic, social and political equality with men as patriarchal relations in the private and public spheres continue to prevail and hinder their progress towards it.

**Sara Reis, Kings College London**  
*EU Gender Policy: Bound to an economic logic?*

Gender equality is often regarded as the most developed social policy at the EU level. Albeit with stronger legislative tools in what concerns employment rights and equal opportunities, gender equality in the European Union ranges from equality in the workplace to reconciliation of work and family life, childcare, and violence against women. In a polity whose *raison d'être* is mainly economic integration, with limited competence to define and harmonise social standards, the evolution of a social policy area such as gender equality should be considered somewhat exceptional. The Commission's efforts in pushing for common-standard legislation to be approved at the European level, as well as the European Court of Justice's notorious active role in broadening the meaning of gender equality through several litigation cases are very well documented in the literature. The second-wave of feminists and the activism of interest groups such as EWL should also be taken into account.

**1:30-2:45, Lakehouse A**

**Panel 3: Representation, Identity, and Marginality**

**Chair: Ros Williams**

**Ken Searle, Birmingham**

*Beyond 'gay' and 'straight': neoliberal sexuality, masculinity, and identity*

Much of the mainstream commercial discourse surrounding masculine identity reflects an aspirational form of discourse, increasingly being based round neo-liberal binaries of “success” and “failure”, as opposed to sexual ones of “gay” and “straight”. To support this argument, this paper examines the impact a consumerist approach has had on bestselling British magazines aimed at gay men over the past twenty years. Here, the desire for a successful identity in the context of a corporate society is demonstrated through an analysis of aspirational, consumerist discourse and images prevalent across the magazines. While arguing binaries surrounding sexual and gendered identity have blurred in masculine identity, this paper also argues neo-liberal binaries are becoming increasingly prevalent. It demonstrates that, while the magazines remain directed at an explicitly gay audience, it bases itself on successful aspirations. Therefore, existing sexual binaries remain prevalent through signifiers of economic success to be aspired to.

This paper argues sexual identity is, in spite of a financial crisis, adopting neo-liberal signifiers and maintaining existing ones. It argues aspirational points in a successful identity remain consistent across all genders and sexualities, in different forms based on their audience. Therefore, gendered and sexual binaries are in turn eroded, with market-driven identities based round “success” and “failure” becoming increasingly significant. Through observing much of the neo-liberal and consumerist discourse within the UK as a whole over the past twenty years or so – surrounding discursive paradigms of ‘Boom’ and ‘Bust’ –the unique empirical framework of aspirational identity in gay lifestyle magazines provides a pertinent contribution to theories on how heteronormativity is maintained

**Gemma Ahearne, Liverpool John Moores University**

*'Ladies Day': a visual study of raciality and neoliberal marginality in Britain*

This paper is a study of the relationships between raciality and neoliberal marginality explored through an investigation of the construction of white deviance in contemporary Britain. The paper will study the ways in which white women are constructed as ‘guardians’ of the race, proprietors of the norms of whiteness, and as literal producers of a post-industrial underclass that does not simply seem to blur classed and gendered boundaries, but which also fundamentally blurs racial boundaries. In doing so this study will examine how racialized boundaries are visualised, reproduced, and regulated, through the visualisation and corporeal inscription of the deviant white working class woman.

A growing body of literature has explored the roles of media and political discourse in constructing moral panics about white working classes and a white post-industrial sub-proletariat in Britain, particularly with reference to the construction of folk devils such as ‘chavs’ (cf. Jones 2011) and binge-drinking women (cf. Skeggs 2005). Among the tropes common to constructions of the deviant white working class women are notions of excess, inadequacy, and decline. For example, the extant literature notes the ways in which representations of white working class women emphasise their visual excess, drawing upon tropes of gaucheness and the grotesque to caricature them as lacking taste, as well as drawing attention to the spectacularisation of working class women’s excess through tropes about binge drinking and promiscuity. Notions of inadequacy also figure heavily in constructions of the ‘chav’ woman, from notions of inadequate taste and morality to claims of inadequate parenting said to be bound up with the reproduction of an atavistic white class. This paper will use the visual to explore theory using the example of the Grand National ‘Ladies Day’.

**Rosallia Domingo, De La Salle University, Philippines***Feminist Pedagogy of Difference: Promoting Gender Equality In and Through Education in the Philippines*

The Philippines ranked 8 out of 135 countries in the 2012 World Economic Forum Global Gender Gap Report, with a score of 0.776 where 0 represents inequality and 1 represents equality. “The Philippines stays the highest-ranking country from Asia in the Index. It ranks first on both education and health and is also among the top 20 on economic participation and political empowerment,” the WEF said. Landing on the top 10 in the following indicators: legislators, senior officials and managers, literacy rate, enrolment in secondary education and years with female head of state, prove that the Philippines has made progress in promoting gender equality. United Nations Development Programme UNDP Philippines acknowledges that these gains, however, do not necessarily translate into positive measurable changes in the roles and status of women. Obstacles to substantive gender equality in the Philippines still persist.

As processes of learning inflect our understanding of the role of relations in shaping individuals, a pedagogy, which seeks to empower those who have been excluded from traditional power structures, can help provide measurable changes in the roles and status of women in a society that aims for a substantive equality. Seeing the limitations of providing equal access to education, or otherwise known as the human rights framework, in achieving measurable changes in the roles and status of women in society, this paper attempts to illustrate how a feminist pedagogy centered on difference and embodiment can aid in the state’s aims of achieving substantive equality.

**1:30-2:45, Lakehouse B**

**Panel 4: Financial Crisis and the Third Sector**

**Chair: Abigail Tazzyman**

**Tanita Maxwell, Aberdeen**

*Bearing the Brunt: Feminist Organisations and the Financial Crisis*

Services and organisations which address such issues as domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault have been described as ‘under threat in this climate of cuts’ (Scottish Women’s Budget Group 2010: 2). Inadequate resources have the potential to undermine feminist organisations’ ability to respond to social, political and economic problems and support service users (Moghadam 2011, Walby 2009, Riordan 2010, Fawcett Society 2009, Dütting 2009). Womankind Worldwide (2009) argue that the state of an economy has wide ranging impacts on relations between men and women, prospects and opportunities.

This paper will analyse the ways in which feminist organisations have been affected by the recent economic downturn in Scotland. Drawing upon several interviews with service providers, I will examine their discourses to discover whether they feel they are bearing the brunt of the financial crisis or otherwise. I will outline the benefits of collaboration and cooperation as opposed to competition between feminist organisations, when trying to keep violence against women and gender equality on the political agenda. Important concerns such as short term funding streams, increasing demand on services and a distinct lack of time available to develop fundraising and advertising activities will also be discussed.

**Bridget Lockyer, York**

*Women and Austerity in the UK Voluntary Sector*

Since the worldwide financial crisis in 2008 and the election of a Conservative-led coalition in 2010, the UK’s welfare system is in the process of reorganisation and cut backs. Women make up two-thirds of the workforce in the public and voluntary sectors, and have been disproportionately affected by job losses and continued underemployment. Focussing on the voluntary sector, which is intrinsically linked to and part-funded by the public sector, this paper will focus on the experiences of women who work in small to medium voluntary organisations. The voluntary sector is also experiencing fundamental changes, unsure of its role and sustainability in an increasingly marketised welfare environment. This paper will discuss the impact of austerity measures on women’s careers in the sector, as flexibility and movement; factors which once characterised a voluntary sector career are restricted. It will also consider how the push to make voluntary sector organisations more ‘business-like’ could have a lasting and detrimental effect on a sector which is often praised for its equality. Overall, this paper aims to open up a debate about the impact of austerity and welfare cuts on a complex sector and in particular, the women who work within it.

**Ann Marie Joyce, Limerick**

*The neoliberal governance of gender, sexuality, and immigration: Catholic NGOs and anti-trafficking campaigning in Ireland*

The Irish Catholic Church has played a key role in the governance and regulation of women throughout the twentieth century, and research undertaken to date covers topics such as such as abortion politics (Smyth 2005), the containment of ‘fallen’ women in Magdalene Laundries (Smith 2007), and the politics of the heterosexual family (Conrad 2004). The ‘Celtic Tiger’ economic boom with its accompanying large-scale immigration considerably altered Ireland’s social landscape, whilst a backlash against the Catholic Church amid an array of sexual and physical abuse scandals have led to an apparent decline in the social and political power of the Church (Smith 2007; Inglis 1998). Recent research (Gray 2013) has found that whilst

there is deep disenchantment with the Catholic Church within Irish society today, the turn to religious NGOs as agents in the governance of migrants has created new spaces of authority for the Church. Reflecting a tendency for moral panics to emerge in times of economic or political uncertainty (Rubin 1984), anti-trafficking and anti-prostitution discourses have increased in recent years in Ireland. In 2011, several Catholic NGOs working in the area of migrant rights launched an anti-trafficking campaign called 'Turn off the Red Light'. This paper will discuss how the campaign's sudden success offers an opportune moment to explore how the complex politics of gender and sexuality in Ireland are embedded in neoliberal modes of governance which operate through processes of persuasion (Rose, O'Malley and Valverde 2006) in ways which ensure the continuing regulation of gender and sexuality.

### **3:15-4:55, Lakehouse A**

#### **Panel 5: Cultural Interpretations of Crisis**

**Chair: Claire Westall**

**Annabel Quaynor, London School of Economics**

*'A voice of a generation'? – What Lena Dunham can tell us about the pressure neoliberal societies put on young women. Modernity, subjectivity, and post-feminist sensibility'*

"With the US-American TV show *Girls* Lena Dunham, writer, director and producer of the series, as well as actress of the main character, tries to bring "realistic females on screen" (in Goldberg, 2012). Her show explores a part of the population that has not yet been seen on television before. She tells the story that is specific to the experience of the early-twenties demographic- a generation that grows up in the shadow of the economic crisis. *Girls* is about the lives of four college graduates living in New York City who next to working out their troubles with men, are also trying to figure out what they want to achieve in life professionally. Through a thematic analysis, this study identified what, according to *Girls*, the pressures are that young women in neoliberal societies experience. It also examined how the TV show reflects on these pressures and exercises embedded criticism on the neoliberal idea of the individual. The social relevance of this text was also highlighted: Through in-depth qualitative interviews with viewers from the UK and Germany, it also explored how the *Girls* audience's experience corresponds to those of the main characters and how they cope with these struggles.

**Judith Schulz, University of Mannheim**

*Dear Money: What can cultural interpretations tell us about the financial crisis, corporate culture and risk behavior?*

Since the collapse of the investment bank Lehmann Brothers in September 2008 and the subsequent financial crisis a number of novels dealing with the economy and especially the financial system have been published. Among them is *Dear Money* (2011) by Martha McPhee. The novel tells the story of the protagonist India Palmer, a respected author in financial despair, who undergoes the transformation to becoming a successful Wall Street trader. Set in 2004, the novel points out that some of the factors leading to the financial crisis can be found in the corporate culture on Wall Street as the actors in the financial system are characterized by demonstrations of strong masculinity, such as overconfidence, excessive risk-taking and a lack of responsibility.

To achieve a holistic understanding of the financial crisis including its gender dimension, it is thus necessary to take a look at the contemporary cultural production in general and, more specifically, literature. In line with the New Economic Criticism, an approach which has been dealing with the mutual exchange processes between literature and economics since its inception in 1994, authors like McPhee offer a view on the complex interplay of economic and cultural aspects and use the possibilities of literature to create alternate designs of reality. By entering the debate on the financial crisis, novelists and cultural scientists show new ways to understand the crisis in its complexity which exceeds a purely economic perspective.

**3:15-4:55, Lakehouse B**

**Panel 6: Care and Social Reproduction**

**Chair: Sydney Calkin**

**Eleni Anna Bourantani, Southampton**

*What happened to feminism? From New Labour to Coalition: Discursive shifts in childcare policy and the ideological monologue of capitalism*

Childcare is an issue of gender equality and a vital part of the economy that sustains capitalism by perpetuating gender and other inequalities. Though childcare was among the concerns of early second-wave feminists (Gardiner 1997), it rarely appears as a feminist demand in recent and current discursive contexts of UK childcare policy.

First, New Labour's introduction of childcare policy in the UK avoided a feminist label and did nothing to change capitalism's inequalities expressed in childcare; in fact it perpetuated and deepened them (Simon-Kumar 2011). Through critical discourse analysis of Tony Blair's (2004) speech on childcare, it is revealed that parents and the topic of childcare are constructed according to free market's needs, appropriating neoliberal concepts, and with the absence of a significant gender problematic. Second, it is deemed that Coalition's austerity makes New Labour policy appear better than it actually is, thus contributing to the sanctification of Third Way-style approaches. The discursive results of austerity remain to be seen, but both discursive shifts are evaluated as undesirable for feminist interests since they represent a post-class, post-politics hegemony that conceals deeper structures of inequality especially among women.

The need to re-insert feminism into childcare is crucial (Marchbank 2000) but a childcare policy that tries to make itself compatible with capitalism cannot be compatible with feminism. We need to rethink what kind of feminism we want.

**Haley Swenson, Ohio State University**

*Social Reproduction and the Crisis: Familiarization and the Problem of the Generational Paradigm*

Feminist social reproduction scholars have argued that welfare retrenchment under neoliberalism has deepened dependence on families, especially women, for unpaid and unsupported domestic and care labor, creating a social reproductive crisis throughout the world. An analysis of approximately one dozen interviews with participants who experienced downward mobility in the last five years in the United States shows that this crisis has been even more pronounced during the financial crisis, as job scarcity complements austerity. However, this research shows that the crisis places the onus for reproductive labor on families, only insofar as families are defined as always-already unstable, unfixed networks. In the context of neoliberal crisis, the dominant parent-child relation of care is frequently displaced by multi-directional, uni-generational, and even reverse-generational arrangements, as well as immense gender-role flexibility, and the inclusion of non-biological family members in negotiations of reproductive labor.

The relationships of dependence and care participants utilize and discuss in this study highlight the problems of measuring social reproductive change through biological generations, an implication present in much of the social reproduction literature, due to the oft-recognized conceptual equation of various forms of reproduction in feminist political economy. This research explores the disconnect between generational and social reproduction in the financial crisis and raises questions about the kind of political, economic, and social relations that are (re)produced when persistence takes a non-generational form.



**Cigdem Gedikli, University of East Anglia**

*The role of social norms and culture on the labour force participation of women in Turkey*

Eliminating the factors that hinder women's participation in the labour market continues to be one of the vital instrument to enhance women's empowerment, particularly in developing countries. Accordingly, this paper investigates the role of traditional or conservative social norms and culture on labour market participation status of women in Turkey. It is shown that, although it is decreasing in prevalence over time, traditional marriages are still in effect, a considerable amount of women continue to internalize traditional gender roles and have accepting attitudes towards domestic violence. In order to analyse the employment outcomes of this situation, four indices, capturing the incidence of traditional marriages, awareness and use of contraception, women's tolerance towards domestic violence and their attitudes towards gender equality, are developed and included in the multinomial logit model. The results provide evidence that social norms and culture matter for a woman's employment regardless of the level of education she has, or whether she lives in rural or urban areas of the country, or in a region with a relatively high level of economic development, although the size and form of the effect differ across the factors. While conservative or traditional social norms and culture reduce the probability of a highly educated, urban woman being a wage worker significantly and increases her chance of not working, they are also associated with an increased probability of a poorly educated, rural woman being in informal work in the form of being an unpaid family worker.

**Agus Pratiwi, Padjadjaran University, Indonesia**

*The inequity of Gender Mainstreaming policy under denationalized governance*

Indonesia has experienced two phases of financial crisis: the 1997 crisis and the 2008 crisis. The scope of the impact on both phases is the same: labour-intensive sector, in which most of its workers are women. In the 1997 crisis, the collapse of major labour-intensive industries has encouraged the government to informalize those industries through home-based industry. The government assumes that it is a way to maintain the interest of (foreign) investors because of its low-cost of production. This approach has been reinforced in 2008 through a regulation on the strategy in overcoming the impact of global financial crisis. Supported by private actors, funding agencies, NGOs, and MNEs, the government packages the mobilization of women in home-based industry with gender mainstreaming programme called economic empowerment of women. Based on the study in Surakarta and in Bandung, this programme has exacerbated gender relations in household domain because women are re-enforced as persons with double burden. Finally, the indicator of gender equality through gender mainstreaming, women's participation in public domain, tends to be a jargon of the government. This paper reveals how the gender mainstreaming policy, which is precisely loaded with gender inequity, is the embodiment of the interests of private actors, regional and international organizations (such as the AEC project and the World Bank), funding agencies, NGOs, and MNEs within the denationalized governance. This paper also offers some options to reform the prevailing strategy by bridging the gap of resistance against the denationalized governance and the advocacy for gender equality.

## Participants and Contact Information

| <u>NAME</u>           | <u>AFFILIATION</u>                    | <u>EMAIL</u>                        |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Gemma Ahearne         | Liverpool John Moores                 | G.Ahearne@2008.ljmu.ac.uk           |
| Ezi Beedie            | Birkbeck                              | ezi.beedie@btinternet.com           |
| Juliana Bidadanure    | York                                  | jub500@york.ac.uk                   |
| Katie Bishop          | York                                  | klb509@york.ac.uk                   |
| Sam de Boise          | York                                  | sam.deboise@york.ac.uk              |
| Eleni Anna Bourantani | Southampton                           | E.A.Bourantani@soton.ac.uk          |
| Sam Burgum            | York                                  | samburgum@live.co.uk                |
| Sydney Calkin         | York                                  | sac525@york.ac.uk                   |
| Lucile Cremier        | York                                  | lc810@york.ac.uk                    |
| Rosallia Domingo      | La Salle University, Philippines      | rosallia.domingo@dlsu.edu.ph        |
| Maja Dragosavac       | CIPS, University of Sarajevo          | dragosavacmaja@yahoo.com            |
| Diane Elson           | Essex                                 | drelson@essex.ac.uk                 |
| Matthew Evans         | York                                  | mhe501@york.ac.uk                   |
| Cigdem Gedikli        | East Anglia                           | C.Gedikli@uea.ac.uk                 |
| Anne Marie Joyce      | Limerick                              | Annmarie.Joyce@ul.ie                |
| Bridget Lockyer       | York                                  | bridget.lockyer@york.ac.uk          |
| Megan O'Branski       | Newcastle                             | m.o'branski@newcastle.ac.uk         |
| Tanita Maxwell        | Aberdeen                              | r01tlm11@abdn.ac.uk                 |
| Pupak Moheballi       | York                                  | pm768@york.ac.uk                    |
| Ruth Pearson          | Leeds                                 | r.pearson@leeds.ac.uk               |
| Agus Pratiwi          | Universitas Padjadjaran,<br>Indonesia | a.pratiwi@unpad.ac.id               |
| Annabel Quaynor       | LSE                                   | annabel@quaynor.com                 |
| Beatriz Ranea Trivino | Universidad Complutense<br>Madrid     | beatriz.ranea@gmail.com             |
| Sara Reis             | Kings College London                  | sara.rsreis@gmail.com               |
| Lisa Rodan            | Goldsmiths                            | lisavictoriarodan@gmail.com         |
| Judith Schulz         | Mannheim                              | schulz@mannheim-business-school.com |
| Ken Searle            | Nottingham                            | searleken@hotmail.co.uk             |
| Alex Simpson          | York                                  | as1520@york.ac.uk                   |
| Kathryn Smyth         | York                                  | kes528@york.ac.uk                   |
| Carole Spary          | York                                  | carole.spary@york.ac.uk             |
| Holly Steel           | York                                  | has502@york.ac.uk                   |
| Haley Swenson         | Ohio State University                 | swenson.38@buckeyemail.osu.edu      |
| Abigail Tazzyman      | York                                  | alt510@york.ac.uk                   |
| Paul Tobin            | York                                  | pat506@york.ac.uk                   |



## **On the Day- Contact Information**

If you have any questions on the day, please ask one of our volunteers. They are wearing green name badges.

**If you get lost at any point, please call or text Sydney at 07948706188 or the Ron Cooke Hub porters at 01904 325120.**

## **Acknowledgements**

Many thanks to our sponsors:

The Political Studies Association Special Event Fund  
The Political Studies Association Development Studies Group  
York Annual Fund  
York Department of Politics  
York Graduate Students' Association Postgraduate Community Fund

Special thanks to members of the Politics Department for their support, particularly Lisa Webster, Caroline Carfrae, Matthew Festenstein, and Carole Spary

Thanks to our volunteers from the York Politics and Women's Studies Departments!