

Forthcoming Feminisms: Gender Activism, Politics and Theories

26th October 2012: Weetwood Hall, Leeds

Programme



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**BSA Gender Study Group's Inaugural Conference in collaboration with the
Centre for Interdisciplinary Gender Studies (CIGS), University of Leeds.**

Programme at a Glance

9:30-10:00 Registration

10:00-10:15 Welcome

Sally Hines

10:15-11:15 Keynote: *Julia Downes*

(Room: Lawnswood 1) (Chair: Zowie Davy)

11:15-12:45 Parallel Session (PS1)

(PS1a) Divisions and Coalitions

(Room: Cedar)

(Chair: Zowie Davy)

(PS1b) Generations I

(Room: Kirkstall)

(Chair: Stevie de Saille)

(PS1c) Sexualisation and Sexual Violence

(Room: Beech)

(Chair: Sally Hines)

(PS1d) Young People and Gender

(Room: Maple)

(Chair: Sam de Boise)

13:45-14:00 Lunch

14:00-15:30 Parallel Session (PS2)

(PS2a) Colonial Feminisms

(Room: Cedar)

(Chair: Zowie Davy)

(PS2b) Educational Institutions

(Room: Kirkstall)

(Chair: Sally Hines)

(PS2c) Feminism and Embodiments

(Room: Beech)

(Chair: Mercedes)

(PS2d) Inclusions and Exclusions

(Room: Maple)

(Chair: Amy Macmillan)

15:30-15:45 Refreshments

15:45-17:15 Parallel Session (PS3)

(PS3a) Generations II

(Room: Cedar)

(Chair: Sally Hines)

(PS3b) Global Feminisms

(Room: Kirkstall)

(Chair: Stephanie Boulila)

(PS3c) Intersections

(Room: Beech)

(Chair: Zowie Davy)

17:15-18:15 Keynote: *Imogen Tyler*

(Room: Lawnswood 1) (Chair: Sally Hines)

18:15-18:30 Closing Remarks

Zowie Davy

Keynote Abstracts

10:15-11:15: Feminist Punk Rock Academia? Punk Praxis, Grassroots Activisms and the Future of Feminisms

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Many commentators have argued for a contemporary resurgence of feminism in the UK. Feminism has become visible in the public domain as organisations (e.g. London Feminist Network, Fawcett Society, Object and UK Feminista) annual marches (e.g. Million Women Rise, Reclaim the Night and Slut Walk), young feminist voices in the media (e.g. Finn MacKay, Laurie Penny and Kat Banyard) and courses on women's and gender studies in Universities are proving popular. Public feminist campaigns have put pressure on the government to defend women's rights and improve women's lives (e.g. sexualisation of culture, reproductive rights, higher education, austerity and public cuts). In this paper I will take a critical look at the relationship between, and development of, academic feminism and feminist activism. Feminist theory, once/also thrashed out in activist circles, in the academy is argued to be detached from activism as an inaccessible privileged site of knowledge production. I focus on grassroots queer feminist punk practices as a place of alternative knowledge production, critical pedagogy and 'radical feminist imaginary' (McRobbie 2009). DIY feminist punk cultures offer a crucial site for the transformation of common sense understandings of both feminist activism and dominant conventions of academic feminism. I argue that (arguably more visible) DIY queer feminist punk music cultures are part of a rich legacy of girls, women and queers political radicalism - across intersections of class, race and sexuality - that occur outside and alongside formal feminist organisations and campaigns. From riot grrrl, queer feminist music cultures and Pussy Riot what could the use/analysis of music and music culture do for future feminist theory and activism? How possible is feminist punk rock academia in the current higher education institution? What can we learn from punk rock feminist activists to resist exclusionary practices in academia? How can we make our grassroots activism more effective? How can we make the relationship between academia and activism more mutually respectful?

17:15-18:15: Revolting Subjects: The Sexual and Racial Politics of Eviction and Occupation in the 'Big Society'

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On the 19th of October 2011 around 150 riot police converged on the largest Gypsy and Traveller site in Europe, Dale Farm in Essex, England, to enable Basildon Borough Council and the notorious private bailiff company Constant and Co. Ltd to carry out the biggest forced eviction of British citizens from their land and homes in living memory. Around 500 people (of whom approximately 100 were children) had been targeted for eviction from a six-acre plot of land owned by Irish Traveller families. While one half of the Dale Farm site had been a Traveller site since the 1960s, and had the necessary planning permission for the establishment of dwellings, the second half of the site, developed on a former scrap-yard, contravened local planning laws and was deemed 'illegal'. In what a *Guardian* editorial described as 'stomach-

churning scenes', terrified residents watched as police and bailiffs stormed onto their land (Editorial, 2011). Essex police, in what was dubbed 'Operation Cabinet', employed Taser guns - their first use by British police in a 'crowd-control situation' - a battering ram, iron bars, batons, sledgehammers and shields in order to enter the site, which had been barricaded by Travellers and large numbers of activist allies. The 2011 forced eviction at Dale Farm was one of the most disturbing and corrosive events in the history of British race relations, the consequences of which are still unfolding. But what were the *sexual politics* of this eviction, and the forms of resistance and activism which it effected? In this lecture, I will situate the forced eviction of Dale Farm within the broader context of state racism, sexual politics and social abjection in Neoliberal Britain, tracking the heightened stigmatization of Gypsies and Travellers, within news media, political rhetoric, policy and popular culture in the decade leading up to events at Dale Farm. Offering an account of the emergence of *the traveller solidarity network* in the wake of the Dale Farm eviction, I will also consider the relationship between the longer histories of struggle against enclosure by Travellers and the politics of new social movements against neoliberalism, such as the Occupy Movement, which draw inspiration from *the philosophy of the commons* and understand their activism as a politics of occupation against capitalist enclosure.

Parallel Session Abstracts

11:15-12:45 (PS1a) Divisions and Coalitions Chair: Zowie Davy

Feminism in the Media: British Newspapers in the 2000s

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This project investigates people's understanding of the terms 'feminism' and 'feminist(s)', and their use in the British media. Recent publications on the subject of feminism (Banyard, 2010; Redfern and Aune, 2010; Walby, 2011) have argued for the continuing importance of a feminist movement for young people in the 21st century, and decried "feminism's negative image in the media" (Redfern and Aune, 2010: 208). Walby suggests that this 'stigmatisation' affects people's identification with feminism (2011: 3). This project aims to provide a linguistic insight into these claims. A straightforward online survey will be used to investigate people's attitudes toward the word 'feminism': how they would define the term, and whether they would apply the label to themselves. Subsequently, a corpus- and critical stylistic approach similar to that used by Gabrielatos and Baker (2008) and Jeffries and Evans (2011) will be used to organise data from across the range of British national newspapers, and then to provide a rigorous qualitative analysis of it. In this way, it is hoped that it will be possible to gain an understanding of people's attitudes towards feminism, and to suggest how its portrayal in the press may influence these views.

Transing Feminism. How Trans* Changed Feminism

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My paper explores the intersection of Transgender and Feminism, shows how transgender people have influenced feminism and why they are important for a feminist agency. Arguments from ftF (female assigned by birth to Femme) and MtF (male to female) persons are given without eliminating differences between them. Further, opinions of trans* men and genderqueer people clarify what their contributions to the feminist movement are. Common issues of feminism and the trans* movement such as reproductive justice, sex-work, eugenics etc. are also taken into account. Following the tradition of the third wave, I focus on some of the examples of trans*people in popular music and how music helped to disseminate knowledge about the issues and arguments of trans*people, which led to (a partial) acceptance in feminism and finally changed the feminist agenda into a queer-feminist one, focussing less on a rigid identity politics and more on the possibilities of agency.

Letting go of Kindness: Towards an Ethics of Conflict for Feminist Theory

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This paper presents a reflexive account of my thinking about kindness and conflict, and interrogates their relative significance for reinvigorating feminist debates around ethics and affect. The starting point for this paper is my change of heart/mind about kindness as offering something original for furthering feminist ethics. My own initial investment in kindness mirrors feminism's own attachment to reconciliatory rather than conflictual affects. Feminist studies is thought to be undergoing an 'affective' turn, with many scholars turning their attention to the critical study of emotions such as fear, shame, guilt, happiness (Berlant 2004, Cvetkovich 2003,

Brennan 2004, Probyn 2005, Ahmed, 2011). Much earlier, many feminists sought to argue in very different ways for the ethical and political potential of care (Gilligan, Tronto, Sevenhuijsen). A concern running throughout both these lines of enquiry is the political role of emotions and the extent to which feelings might be mobilized for social justice. However few feminists have explored the ethical potential of hostility and conflict as affective repertoires. Despite feminism's own difficult relationship with conflict, I suggest conflict between women and feminists provide important critical and ethical resources for feminist theory and sustenance for feminist debates. Considering our deep ambivalence about being both connected and separate from others can reinvigorate debates about feminist divisions and coalitions. Drawing on Ngai's work on ugly feelings (2005), I argue that we should think about conflict, not as something that needs to be overcome, but as a possible ethical resource. In this paper I also engage with the tensions between those feminists who lean towards post-structural accounts of power as formative of subjectivity and those who privilege a psychoanalytical account of the subject, suggesting that combining an appreciation of how our early attachments shape our affective worlds with a concern for how structures get under our skin provides a more critical and embodied account of affect and its consequences.

Accepting the Legacy, but Rejecting Feminism? Exploring the Impact of Religious Commitments and Contexts on Conceptions of Feminism: Empirical Evidence from Ordained Buddhist Women in Contemporary Britain

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In the context of a global resurgence in academic interest in religion (Thomas 2005), this paper critically evaluates the interactions between religious commitments and feminism in the contemporary British landscape. 'Religion' and 'feminism' have a somewhat chequered history, and, according to Vincett et al. (2008: 7), 'mainstream feminism has given little coverage to women's religiosity'. Religion has been portrayed as oppressive, patriarchal and unwilling to recognise female achievement (Elliot 2008), but at the same time, various groups of 'religious feminists' have attempted to unmask the liberatory potential of religious traditions for women, and unite religious and feminist aims (Shussler Fiorenza 1983, Cooley 1996, Gross 1993, Kabilsingh 1991). Yet, there remain significant tensions between what is seen as 'political' feminism and religious perspectives, particularly within a Buddhist context where the basic aim is to recognise the truth of suffering (*dukkha*) and liberate yourself from attachment to 'worldly' goals and *samsara* (the cycle of birth, death, rebirth). These tensions have led some women to reject 'feminism', believing it to be incompatible with their religious orientation. Why might some women find a place for their religious beliefs within feminism, whilst others feel they are not able to belong? Using empirical evidence from my study of ordained Buddhist women in Britain, I will explore this question and critically evaluate the contexts that influence particular perspectives, via a series of perceptual maps (Knott and Khoker 1993). Furthermore, I will explore how some ordained Buddhist women, whilst deliberately rejecting a 'feminist' identity, simultaneously promote 'gender equality' and consciously or unconsciously utilise some (religious) feminist strategies, drawing on the feminist legacy to make sense of their Buddhist practice. Ultimately, I will evaluate the implications of this for the future of 'feminism' in an era where religion has reappeared in academic consciousness.

11:15-12:45 (PS1b) Generations I Chair: Stevie de Saille

Telling the Time: Feminist Engagements with Generation, Culture and the Experience of Social Change

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This paper addresses the 'Feminist Times and Generations' question raised in the call for papers. It reflects on a series of theoretical and political puzzles raised in two programmes of empirical work. Each draws on interviews from a multigenerational sample. However the researchers in each project found that locating the different participants in 'time' and 'generation' was problematic. One project explores the legacies of feminism and other social movements in the profound shifts in politics, policy and culture over the last 60 years while also exploring issues of generational difference and belonging (*Working the spaces of power: activism, neoliberalism and gendered labour*). The empirical work (based on interviews with 56 women across 4 generations) showed how age and generational belonging inflected the discursive framings and narrative structures through which the women interviewed 'storied' their lives. However the data also shows iterative processes of political formation that could not be mapped neatly into periods and that did not correspond with dominant narratives of British feminism (see also Hemmings, 2005). The project attempted to promote intergenerational learning, and shows how future politics both needs to separate from the politics of previous generations while also building on the capacities and resources generated by earlier political movements. The second project, *Enduring Love? Couple Relationships in the 21st Century*, explores changes and continuities in women's and men's couple relationships over the past thirty years and examines how policy might speak to the diverse experiences and needs of couples. One of the project's analytic foci is generation; its aim is to understand how enduring relationships are lived and felt by couples at different generational points in the life course and in the socio-cultural context of shifting discourses on love and 'marriage', currently inflected through the political-economic context of austerity and financial in/security. Interview data from the project and from a pilot study in which the project's analytic foci were developed, illustrate how ideas of generation are deployed by participants to narrate their own and others' experiences of long-term relationships. More especially, the data indicate the ways in which generation and gender are woven together to construct accounts of social change in which feminism is always arguably a silent presence. Each project, then, attempts to deal with questions of 'generation' as something beyond the conventional framings of vertical sequencing – in which generations succeed each other in a linear fashion – or horizontal cohorts of shared belonging (see for example Burnett, 2010). Instead we offer three rather different perspectives on generation, each of which builds on the others, and each of which is a means of addressing puzzles we have confronted in trying to make sense of the empirical data we have gathered. The first points to ambiguities in the concept generation: the first project, for example, shows how generational belonging often does not correspond to age alone, but is mediated through both personal biography and the wider political/cultural context. The second project identifies similar mediations but through the ways in which familial meanings of generation are used to highlight gender inequalities within relationships in the past in order to compare and situate contemporary relationship experience. This takes us to a second perspective on generation that flows from our empirical work: one that points to wider political/cultural forces - what Raymond Williams (1977) terms the 'structure of feeling' of a particular period (see also Hoggett, 2009). This, however, often produces mappings

of social change that are rather to neatly divided into political periods. Here we follow Claire Hemmings's critique of the 'developmental narrative' through which feminist theory recounts its past (Hemmings, 2005) and use this to puncture typifications of political differences between different generations. The third perspective takes up this point of political differences across generations and addresses the formation of generational stereotypes and the emergence of a politics of intergenerational blame (Maskovsky, 2009; Newman 2011). Alongside generational difference, we argue, there is a need to explore empirically and theoretically points of intergenerational connections, learning and forms of political action. Across these questions both pieces of research highlight the importance of different political and social conjunctures that inflect apparent resonances across time. This conditions the ways in which the research is able to 'speak to the present' as well as offering resources for the future.

“You Have Fought For Freedom for So Many Years – Why Can’t You Grant Me My Freedom?” Feminism, Generational Difference and the Veil
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In 2010, the Swiss national television aired a debate between feminist/former MP Rosmarie Zapfl, demanding the prohibition of the Muslim veil, and Nora Illi, a young Swiss woman who since converting to Islam wears a *niqab*. The show was aired six months after Switzerland passed a popular initiative that banned the building of minarets and at the height of a political debate about Islam's apparent incompatibility with liberal rights. Although the campaign had been driven by Christian-conservative forces, women's rights were at the centre of the argument which drew some feminist support. In a global political climate where women's and queer rights are misused for repressive and racist politics, the call for a self-reflective and inclusive feminist politics has become louder and has launched a fierce debate amongst activists and theorists (Haritaworn 2012; Ahmed 2011; Jacobsen and Stenvoll 2010; Kuntsman and Miyake 2008; Puar 2007; Fekete 2006; Cohen, Howard and Nussbaum 1999). Whilst the cultural turn gave way to new perspectives and concepts for white Western feminism to contest its own biases and exclusions, many have been reluctant to take the paradigm shift on board. However, the veil debate between Zapfl and Illi suggests that different paradigms are not the only reason why there seems to be a generational gap between feminists when it comes to the question of multiculturalism. Whilst it is second-wave feminists that appear to be the most vocal against Islam, there also seems to be an incomprehensibility and anger towards women who abandon this generation's achievements and norms by adopting conservative religious traditions (of which Islam has become a signifier of) (Midden 2012). This paper explores the power dynamics between Zapfl and Illi as they both position themselves within feminist achievements to justify their conflicting positionalities and rights as women.

‘And Then the Last One is My Mum’: Maternal Identifications in Women’s Accounts of ‘Becoming Feminist’

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This paper asks how the concept of the maternal operates in women's narratives of 'becoming feminist' and the ways in which it structures women's complex responses to feminism. The stories of the various women interviewed as part of this research revealed affective and temporal investments in feminist politics; in this paper we will see that relationship with the feminist mother is intricately bound to the narrator's personal and political identification with a particular feminist time. It presents a detailed analysis of the story of a woman named Rebecca

to trace the presence of the family, and in particular the feminist mother, in education and work choices, personal and political identifications. Using the concept of temporality this paper considers how Rebecca's narrative engages with the generational and familial tropes that dominate the retelling of feminist histories and explores the ways in which she maps her own and her mother's interlinked experiences geographically, temporally and affectively. Taking note of the distinct historical and social setting of the temporally situated account enables us to consider the question of how women are forging new relationships with feminist time through what are seen by many as well-rehearsed and weary familial and generational metaphors. Thinking through the familial and maternal in conjunction with a consideration of identification and temporality allows us to open up rather than delimit possibilities for engagement with feminism and its histories.

'Feminism Hurts': A Feminist Analysis of the Anti-trans Politics of (Some) Radical Feminists

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Since the late 1970s, some radical feminists have seen the existence of trans people, together with the medico-legal systems which enable people to 'change sex', as both undermining and threatening the political goals of feminism. Within this discourse, trans people are invariably cast as 'victims' of sex-role conformity produced through patriarchal social structures and as complicit with, and reinforcing of, the oppression of women. Employing a 'weak' constructionist framework, trans women are seen as a 'breed' of artificial 'constructed women' who, through gender-reassignment, violate women's bodies, infiltrate women's culture and space, and mutilate women's realities, self-definitions, sexuality and politics. Trans men, on the other hand, are seen as 'women' who have been duped and 'assimilated' into a male defined world, as 'tokens' who serve to give the (false) impression that trans-ness is a universal 'human problem' rather than a 'man-made' patriarchal construct, and as 'disappearing lesbians' who, in being controlled through the patriarchal attribution of masculinity, are rejecting lesbian lifestyles in favour of hyper-masculine forms of manhood. While 'strong' constructionist approaches to gender such as post-structuralist feminism and also queer theory present a challenge to such understandings, some radical feminists are continuing to champion these ideas. Recent examples include the new book 'Gender Hurts' by Sheila Jeffreys and, in the summer of this year, the RadFem2012 conference which, in promoting 'a new era of radical feminist activism', selected Jeffreys as a main keynote speaker and also adopted a 'women-born women, living as women' door policy for the event. Anti-trans discourse also appears to be continuing to circulate in a number of radical feminist Internet blogs and also in the newspaper columns of a few radical feminist journalists. While a number of trans activists and trans academics have accused these feminists of engaging in hate speech and promoting transphobia, non-trans feminist supporters of trans people, particularly academics, have yet to fully respond. In this paper I aim to contribute to such a response, and stimulate engagement with the issues being raised, by examining radical feminist anti-trans discourse from the perspective of a non-trans feminist. The paper will critically reflect on the nature and construction of the anti-trans arguments being put forward by radical feminists and will address the negative impact these have on women and feminism more broadly, as well as on trans people themselves.

11:15-12:45 (PS1c) Sexualisation and Sexual Violence Chair: Sally Hines

'Frapping', 'Sexting', 'Trolling' and 'Rinsing': Social Networking, Feminist Thought, and the Construction of Young Women as *Victims* or *Villains*

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In the last decade, social networking sites such as *Facebook*, *Bebo* and *Twitter* have become essential interactional tools for negotiating both public (professional) and private (personal) lives. Via these sites, online spaces are created for individuals to parody and play with a multitude of identities by presenting themselves in one or several virtual profiles, thus allowing for the constant contesting and remoulding of their electronic personas depending on the specific purpose or context. While these activities began as relatively trivial, even peripheral, recently, public and media concern has grown, especially in light of a so-called rise in 'problematic' gendered/sexualised behaviours on social networking sites, which involve young women in particular. Examples of these behaviours include 'frapping', 'sexting', 'trolling' and 'rinsing'; behaviours which push the boundaries of acceptability in terms of normative gendered/sexualised and embodied practices, but which have become central to women's everyday interactions. Hence, paradoxically, young women are presented as both *victims* of more predatory, deviant and/or criminal behaviours on social networking sites, such as 'cyber-stalking' and 'cyber-bullying' and their consequences (wider deviant/criminal acts such as paedophilia and pornography), and *villains* in terms of their engagement in the aforementioned gendered/sexualised online interactions. In terms of feminist thought, the latter behaviours have been said to indicate a shift from second-wave feminism, which promoted women's opportunity for independence from, rather than acquiescence to, heteronormative sexualisation, to a third-wave in which a new generation of young women 'outwardly embrace sexual imagery' (Karaian, 2012: 69). Via the presentation of recent case studies, this paper explores the contradictory and paradoxical framing of young women's social networking use in public and media discourses and situates it within current debates regarding the future of feminism for young women.

How to be a Feminist in a Sexualised World?

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The concept of sexualisation and its function in modern society has been the subject of much research, analysis and debate recently, and particularly over the past decade. Contemporary Western culture is said to have become sexualised - in other words, sex is increasingly visible, accessible and explicit and new forms of sexual discourse are at work. According to Gill, liberal opinions regarding sexual matters are becoming more prevalent as well as "contemporary preoccupation with sexual values, practices and identities". The mainstreaming of what may previously have been deemed obscene contributes to an environment in which sexuality is visible in the media, advertising and consumer culture in more explicit ways than were previously deemed acceptable. Yet the implications of this cultural shift for women and for feminism are hotly contested. Some scholars suggest that sexualisation marks a victory for the rights of women to be seen as sexual subjects and leading to greater visibility of sexual plurality. From this standpoint, women are now free to actively desire because representations of female desire are commonplace. Or is sexualisation merely a way to ensure women are complicit in their own objectification? Rosalind Gill, for example, argues that, within the discourse of sexualisation, women are, "endowed with agency so that they can actively choose to objectify

themselves”, leading to a false sense of empowerment. With echoes of the pornography debates of the 1970s and 80s, these opposing viewpoints create tensions within feminism – Is sexualisation the enemy or the champion of women’s rights? In this paper, I intend to utilise these debates in order to address the question – What *does* it mean to be a feminist in today’s sexualised landscape?

The Girlfriend Gaze

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This paper has been developed from my forthcoming book *Girlfriends: Postfeminist Sisterhood* (Palgrave 2013). Popular culture marketed to women has always positioned the female body as an object of scrutiny, anxiety and aspiration. However, I want to suggest that there is a new culture of homosocial bonding through the bodies of women by women. Across media platforms, the male gaze is rendered benign, and instead it is women who are represented as looking at other women’s bodies. In addition, female sociality and female networks such as internet forums (Mumsnet, wedding media) are sites where women can congregate through systems of mutual governance. This homosocial surveillance is marketed as solidarity or sisterhood through the rhetoric of girlfriendship. It is sold as entitlement, or ‘girl time’. Rather than depending on relationships with men, or male approval, this culture of girlfriendship places women’s relationship with women at the core of feminine identities. In a postfeminist landscape where women are girls, men are cast as an accessory in proving a girl’s worth to the most important people in her life - a circle of girlfriends. Because the marriage market is a high risk scenario and dependency on men smacks of victimhood, friendship networks are sold as a means of empowerment in a neoliberal market. Policing the body is sold as strategic as it is linked to branding, self-branding and the figure of woman as entrepreneur and brand manager. I look at the girlfriend gaze as it is enacted in magazines like *Heat* where the female body is relentlessly scrutinized and analysed among a homosocial market of women. I also look at Reality TV, arguing that the ‘girlfriend gaze’ is highly punitive. It is white and middle class, and consequently exploits and reinforces divisions among women, particularly along the lines of class. For example, in *Eat Yourself Thin*. Finally, I ask if there is space outside this neoliberal co-opting of sisterhood. Can this market of female sociality also be used to subvert this female gaze which is in the service of the beauty and fashion complexes? Can these systems of mutual self-governance also be utilized as a means to free the female body from its permanent surveillance? Can the girlfriend gaze be politicized?

11:15-12:45 (PS1d) Young People and Gender Chair: Sam de Boise

Queer Questions and Straight Answers? -Gender Mainstreaming in Higher Education Contested, a Case from Taiwan

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School systems bear responsibilities in education and socialization, on the other hand, it often reflects the inequality of the society. Many researches pointed out that inequalities include the hierarchical administrative structure at school, the gender segregation in curriculum design, the gender-biased textbooks, the power difference between teachers and students, gendered campus space etc. In higher education context it is no exception. Since the university is often the academic and research institution, the gap between gender theories and practices is often huge, and thus disparity/inequality is even more severe. Two key questions I would ask are what are the political, cultural and social debates and discourse required to push implement “gender mainstreaming” in higher education in such a gendered reality? What are the strategies to foster these debates? Over the past years, Taiwan’s educational conversations on gender mainstreaming have dramatically changed. The latest gender equity education law amendment has demonstrated that if we do not figure out what are the necessary political, cultural and social debates and discourses which facilitate the gender mainstreaming in higher education, if we do not even start to talk about them, if the material conditions which foster gender mainstreaming are not met, the current effort remains lip service by governmental officials, legislators and administrations in schools. Even in the worst scenario, the meaning of gender, the core value of gender diversity gets lost under the banner of gender mainstreaming. My project starts out from a viewpoint of a teacher in gender and law in the gender master program at the university and an advocate in NGOs, and attempts to present a reflection and a proposal for feminist debates. Actions need to be undertaken. Doubts and worries need to be answered because I am not sure gender mainstreaming is all that good to the LGBTIQ community. I wish not only to criticize, rather to incorporate activism in teaching, researching, and daily administrative operations.

‘Post-feminism’? Not for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Young People

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Weeks (2007), argues in support of a ‘Word we have Won’ when it comes to lesbian, gay and bisexual (LGB) rights and equalities in the UK today. I contest, that whilst social and legal changes over the past 70 years or so have indeed done much to further gender equality and LGB rights, normative gender and heterosexuality is still presumed (see Sedgwick, 2008) and heteronormativity endemic. Thus, LGB identity construction remains problematic, particularly for young people, who face additional challenges within schools. Homosexuality may be more accepted today, but accepted is not equal and for most young people discovering their sexuality, heterosexuality and stereotypical gender expectations are the starting points from which they must understand themselves as they transition into adulthood. Therefore, for young people who are, or think they may be, LGB, the journey to discovering ones identity can pose additional challenges, confusion, negotiation, decisions, and risks, that are absent from their heterosexual peers identity journey’s. Further, current equality and diversity policies may arguably reflect a ‘mainstreaming of feminism’, but on the ground, gender and sexuality inequalities remain with disparities between policies and lived experiences. In this paper I will summarize some of the

key issues for today's LGBT young people, specifically within education and around identity development, comparing the ideals of policy to their lived experiences. I will highlight why, for these young people, a resurgence of feminism, gender activism, politics and theories is vital in a climate of apathy towards their situations and suggestions that sexism and homophobia are a thing of the past.

“But We Say it all the Time, It Doesn't Mean Anything” Language, Power and Sexual Bullying in Schools

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This paper examines young peoples' understandings of sexual bullying and the contradictory roles that language plays in school cultures in the (re)production of dominant discourses on femininities, masculinities and sexualities. The use of misogynistic and homophobic language by young people in schools is well documented (Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Epstein, 1997), with sexual labelling and language used to enforce heterosexual norms and double standards of sexuality (Fine and McClelland 2006; Tanenbaum 2000, Rahman and Jackson, 2010). Homophobic language is commonplace in reinforcing the narrow cultures of (hetero)sexualities in schools and the widespread bullying of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender students.

Drawing on research funded by Tender, we argue that young peoples' use and understandings of language are complex and contradictory, with the power relationships implicit in the use of heteronormative language not always understood or articulated. 156 questionnaires were completed in a range of secondary schools with pupils aged 14-18, followed up with eight focus groups conducted with 32 young people aged 14-19 in two youth clubs, a LGBT youth group and three school sixth forms. Whilst contradictory findings about the use of homophobic language emerged from the research, with a suggestion that they may have been some 'softening of masculinity' (McCormack and Anderson, 2010) and acceptance of same sex relationships amongst older High School students, the experiences of the LGBT participants indicated that although the term 'gay' did not always signify homophobia, homophobic bullying was part of the wider school culture and largely went unchallenged, as it was positioned as an individual discourse rather than a structural issue. Terms of abuse were gendered, regulating young women's and men's sexualities in different ways, with girls having to carefully negotiate the line between appearing 'too' sexual and sexually passive or frigid. For young men, masculinity was constructed in terms of sexual power, prowess and discourses of violence. This applied to both gay and heterosexual young males, with masculinity constructed within a discourse of male sexual activity and those young men not perceived to be sexually active marginalised and bullied. We ask how feminism can problematise these persisting gender inequalities and challenge heteronormative ideals which continue to be privileged as the norm.

14:00-15:30 (PS2a) Colonial Feminisms

Chair: Zowie Davy

Dispositives of Forclosures: Affective Interpellations, Symbolical Capital, Wounding Attachments and Injuring Identities Between Politics of Dissident Activism in pre-1989 Czechoslovakia and Neoliberal Hegemony

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The paper aims to analyze a subliminal backlash against feminism paradoxically within the very cultural context that founded its legitimacy in the discourse of human rights, equality of justice, namely the context of cultural activities or more specifically literary outcomes of the then anti-establishment, dissident activism in former pre-1989 Czechoslovakia. The complex, de-centered, subliminal, intra-active entanglements of discursive and affective mechanisms of silencing (foreclosure) of feminist activism by those highly dignified, symbolically loaded and socially recognised dissident cultural discourses in pre-1989 Czechoslovakia seem to be (despite obvious differences) eerily similar to today's neoliberal rhetorical logic of discursive fabrication of consent in contemporary (gradually crumbling) hegemony of neoliberalism. The paper discusses the ways gender was dispossessed, ridiculed, trivialised, silenced, excluded, made redundant and invisible by processes of interpellating readers through positive, dignified values and identities that were however at the same time essentially wounding and disempowering. In this regard, the microphysics of epistemic violence and the work of self-oppression and silencing was not only de-centered, invisible and performed by those very subjects suffering its consequences but also carried out by them in paradoxically affectively engaged manner. The paper also discusses insidious effects of silencing, forclosing and dispossessing feminist debates by installing them within grand narratives or supposedly superordinate frameworks of „higher“ political agenda. This historical lesson reminds one of the extent to which it is in the long run unacceptable and profoundly counter-productive to accept a then pressing and „inevitable“ logic of a primacy of superordinate interpretative value frameworks, be it a framework of (then denied) „universal human“ rights (that obscured and silenced microphysics of gendered politics of location) or in today's context a primacy of neoliberal emphasis on economic model of society and fiscal crisis.

From Sati to Slut Walks: The Symbolic Indian Woman and Feminisms in India

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Feminist movements in India have long contended with the claim that feminism is a 'foreign' import, levelled by Western feminist scholars and reactionary voices within India alike. Chaudhuri (2005) is among those who refute this claim; while accepting that there has been a continual engagement with Western theoretical positions, she argues that debates over women's rights and gender relations have a long and differentiated history in India. Although this paper will question both the accuracy and the usefulness of essentialised definitions of 'Indian' and 'Western' culture and feminism, it is true that colonial oppression, the nationalist movement and social hierarchies of caste mean that Indian feminism has (and still does) engaged with phenomena unique to an Indian context, as well as more familiar structures such as patriarchy and socio-economic class. This paper will seek to examine 'feminisms of the past' in India, from the start of the women's movement under colonial rule to its involvement in the nationalist movement. In light of these past feminisms, I will also consider current grassroots feminist

politics in India, such as the Delhi SlutWalk (part of the international SlutWalk movement in 2011) and youth engagement in the Indian queer movement. Additionally, I will consider the engagement of Indian feminist scholars and activists with the current concerns of diverse women and men living in the 'fourth worst country in the world' to be a woman.

'Race', (Anti-)Racism and Whiteness within Feminism in England: Learning from the Past?

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The last ten years has seen a reinvigoration of self-defined feminist activity in England. But, reminiscent of debates that occurred within feminist communities in the 1970s and 80s, feminists of colour have again raised concerns about white feminists' lack of ongoing commitment to address racism and white privilege within feminist spaces. This is despite decades of black feminist critiques analysing how white-dominated feminist spaces have reproduced racial inequality, and calling for change. My research seeks to find out how, despite this history of critical engagements, so little appears to have changed. I approach this question by looking at how contemporary feminists in England talk and write about recent feminist history in relation to 'race', and how these narratives influence theory and politics in the present. My findings to date suggest that the dominant narrative about feminism and 'race' in the last 40 years is one which starts with an innocent and naive (white) feminist past, and then skips forward to a 'race-aware', diverse and multicultural present. This narrative leap erases a multitude of debates and conflicts over racism within feminism. In this paper I will argue that underlying claims to a diverse (and implied anti-racist) present, feminism in its dominant forms in England is still structured by whiteness, and that in order to change, contemporary white feminists must engage with and learn from the complicated histories of 'race', (anti-)racism and whiteness within feminist communities.

Relations between Ethnic Majority and Minority Women in Contemporary Women's Movements

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This paper presents findings from a comparative study of contemporary women's movements in Norway, Spain and the UK which examines how relations between ethnic majority and minority women are talked about by women's movement activists. The background for the study is the critique forwarded by black, ethnic minority, indigenous, post-colonial and 'third world' women of white and middle-class dominated women's movement politics as ethnocentric and blind to the importance of race and ethnicity. Inspired by scholars such as Julia Sudbury, Ruth Frankenberg, and Benita Roth, the paper discusses whether ethnic majority women's organisations have embraced and accepted, or resisted and rejected, the interests of minoritised women. This question is explored through an examination of how ethnic majority and minority women's organisations in contemporary women's movements in Norway, Spain and the UK talk about each other as actors and about each other's interests, and how they frame their relations. The paper suggests that increased dialogue, co-operation and alliance between ethnic majority and minority women is needed in order to build more inclusive citizenship practices within women's movements.

14:00-15:30 (PS2b) Educational Institutions Chair: Sally Hines

Feminists in Scottish Academia: Dialogues and Alliances across Boundaries

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This paper focuses on a grassroots organisation of feminist academics in Scottish higher education institutions. In conceiving the first inter-disciplinary networking event for feminists in Scottish academia, the authors sought to create a supportive environment for emerging and established researchers and a chance to network and learn about the different kinds of work being conducted across Scottish universities. Many of those academics self-identifying as feminists are not directly involved in gender or women's studies departments per se; rather, their work often has a gender interest or a feminist hermeneutic that is being applied to their subject area. By building on conceptualisations of doing gender (West and Zimmerman 1987) and intersectionality (Davis 2008) discourses, multiple constructions of feminisms emerged. Drawing on Foucault's (2002) understanding of power relations, this initial session focused on different aspects of feminist academic experience in terms of feminist researcher as activist, challenges faced by feminist research in disciplines where such approaches are considered (too?) 'political', and feminist representation and narratives within the Scottish academy. Feedback from the event suggested that delegates would be interested in establishing a specific network for Scottish academics, as there was a perceived need for this kind of forum not only to challenge traditional thinking on the topic, but also to create virtual and physical spaces to support gender-related research, pursue avenues for collaborative inter-disciplinary research, and discuss pedagogical issues on diversity and equality. This also links to the current political and cultural debates regarding Scottish independence, which raises questions about how gender justice and equality fit in with those movements' agendas and the roles that feminists from Scottish academia can play in bringing gender issues to the forefront in shaping Scotland's future.

The 'Here' and 'There', 'Then' and 'Now' of Gender Studies: Crisis, Competition and Claiming Space

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This paper highlights some of the institutional logics, benefits and tensions in carving out a 'new' space for Gender Studies within a 'new' institution, asking questions on which space – and which subjects – are worthy of feminist 'investment,' within a heightened university-market economy of value, distinction and inequality; which 'feminist subjects' get to 'come forward' as resurgent and which are relegated as uncompetitive, redundant and 'out of time and place' (Halberstam, 2005; Adkins, 2003; McRobbie, 2009, Taylor, 2012)? Questioning the geographies and temporalities of the new-old space (one which e.g. *Centres gender*), the hope is to highlight longstanding *and* continued issues of redistribution, inclusion and social inequality as persistently of concern to feminist activism in and out of academia. But some academics – including institutions and individuals – are more 'out' than others. In highlighting the establishment of a 'new' Masters Degree in Gender and Sexuality at the Weeks Centre for Social and Policy Research, I probe at the 'new' institutional arrival, recognition and marketing of this – as with other similar UK-based gender courses – against *longstanding* presences. The slippages between 'here' and 'there' (like 'then' and 'now') mis-position gender efforts as always 'new' (and therefore impermanent and precarious). The precarity of some – institutions,

subjects, spaces – is complicated in the awkward mis-positioning of the ‘new’ university (post-1992 as always ‘timed’ from that date, irregardless of enduring presences), against its ‘old’ and elite counterparts, where ‘elite’ is removed from re-distributive materialist critique, simply standing as solid and matter-of-fact (Taylor and Allen, 2011). What, then, is the significance of these new-old economies in *re-creating* forms of activism, presence and absence across place? In considering the place of Gender Studies, I ask about the place where *we* stand? I do so within a changing university-market where even activist organizations (such as Stonewall) endorse or stigmatize the good/bad ‘Gay Universities’: such depictions awkwardly market and orientate towards a white, middle-class younger consumer-student. What then, would it mean to orientate differently in considering the (im)permanence, ‘here’ and ‘there’, of Gender Studies amidst ‘crisis, competition and the claiming of space’? This question aims to be responsive to the BSA latest call to ‘work together’ collaboratively for all our (feminist) futures. But that depends on where we stand.

Negativity at Art School and ‘Mother-Daughter’ Encounters

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Although art has traditionally been situated on the side of femininity within the binary oppositions, the concept of the modern artist fits particularly the masculine subject. As such, it excludes the existence of the other – a woman artist. Similarly, the process of becoming an artist, which is institutionally framed as studying in art schools, does not offer women the possibility to constitute their artistic identity without denying crucial aspects of their singular *and* woman identity. To seek a pedagogical encounter with another woman therefore seems to offer escape from an otherwise irresolvable situation; a way to fulfil the longing for a formative encounter through which to mark one’s own beginning and to concentrate creative energies. This paper interprets events which accompanied my dissertation project “Feminist action research – How to study to become a woman artist?” realised at the Faculty of Fine Arts in the Czech Republic in 2010. It mainly focuses on the interpretation of the woman-art teacher and woman-art student relationship which assumed a form of an insurmountable conflict. My reading draws on the post-Lacanian feminist authors (M. Jacobus, J. Kristeva, M. Nixon, J. Rose) and their interpretation of the work by Melanie Klein. The paper shows that it is (non) access to expressing negativity which structures the experience of the woman wanting to become an artist. The (non) access to expressing negativity thus functions as a ‘slash’ between male and female (M/F), i.e., creates the sexual difference. In conclusion I use the concept of *Fascinace* by Bracha L. Ettinger and propose that this kind of encounter between women (teacher and student) within the domain of art might function as a possible model for the formation of woman genealogies and intergenerational relationships.

14:00-15:30 (PS2c) Feminism and Embodiments

Chair: Mercedes Poll

'You can be all Kinds of Trouble While Wearing a Tutu!' Dressing Up & Acting Up: The (Micro) Politics of Queer Femininities

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My doctoral research project theorises queer, alternative and subversive modes of feminine embodiment and subjectivity in everyday life. Using a theoretical framework of Bordieu's concept of the habitus, Butler's (1999) theory of gender performativity and Ahmed's (2006) queer phenomenology concerning processes of orientation, the project investigates how subjects who self identify their femininity as being queer, alternative or subversive, manifest their gender identity according to the affects, objects, people, spaces, aesthetics and positioned intersections of identity, that they orientate themselves towards and away from. The project uses a mixed methodological approach involving a discursive analysis of three major queer feminine autobiographical, theoretical and subcultural texts, namely Ulrika Dahl and Del La Grace Volcano's *Femmes of Power* (2008), Chloë Brushwood Rose and Anna Camilleri's *Brazen Femme* (2002) and Jennifer Clare Burke's *Visible: A Femmethology* (2009), alongside interviews and visual materials in the forms of collages and photographs produced by 15 self identified queerly feminine subjects in the UK. In this paper, I will discuss the (micro)politics of queer feminine embodiment and subjectivities. Against popular associations of femininity with all things frivolous and apolitical. Furthermore, in context of a wide misogyny against femininity, which can be found in patriarchal, feminist *and* queer contexts (Serrano, 2007). I argue that queer, alternative, subversive and other forms of, what can be theorised as, reclaimed femininities, often emerge as inherently political queer feminist identities and modes of embodiment.

Brutal Bitches: Underground Feminisms in the Leeds Metal Music Scene

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Characterized as a predominantly working class, white, masculine community, the Leeds metal scene is demarcated by complex and nuanced relations of hegemonic masculinity, working class identity, and egalitarianism, an environment which seems conflicted to feminist commitments, identities and expressions. Severed Heaven, the only all-female extreme metal band in Leeds, UK, combines extreme brutality, driving rhythms, an absorbing stage presence with unmerciful piercing growls. This paper, which is part of a larger research project, is comprised of my own embodied experiences of attending numerous Severed Heaven concerts as a researcher and as a female metal fan. Using a feminist poststructuralist theoretical lens (Davies & Gannon, 2005) and embodied ethnography (Paulson, 2011; Morton, 2005), this paper explores the ways in which Severed Heaven and myself, as a participant observer, actively and reflexively engage in processes that disrupt the binaries between masculinity and femininity within metal culture. The Leeds extreme metal scene offers a space, albeit paradoxically, for females to actively engage in and express forms of gender resistance, transgression, and individuality through musical performance and embodied physical practices (i.e. moshing, headbanging). Considering the body has been marginalised within popular music literature, it is important to acknowledge of how significant the body is in the production of gender, feminist ideologies, and subcultural identities (Driver, 2011). By integrating multiple female narratives and embodied reflections within a subcultural context, this paper highlights how women may be

empowered within the existing masculine structures of metal and the ways women have resisted hegemonic power with the metal scene by creating their own ways of conceptualizing and participating in metal music.

What Does a Transfeminist Look Like? Transsexuality, Feminism and Embodiment

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In this presentation, I wish to propose a definition of transfeminism as the relationship between trans phenomena, primarily transsexuality, and feminism. This positioning of transfeminism serves as a corrective in that it reintroduces the surgical as a necessary site for transfeminist engagements. The definition is also problematic in that neither transsexuality nor feminism seems to have an automatically available, normative signifying economy; therefore, it appears to remain unclear what (of transsexuality) is related to what (of feminism). However, the term transfeminism does enact a relation, even if it does not do away with the confusion concerning the content of transsexuality and feminism; nor is it imperative that this ambiguity be eliminated. Transfeminism can enact a relation because there is a perceived antagonism between the kind of subjects that trans and feminism claim as their own. Ideally, it is not only that these subjects are posited beside each other in transfeminism; rather, their fundamental interdependence is recognized. My interest lies in fleshing out this interdependence by relying on Gail Weiss's work on intercorporeality (1999). Importantly, Weiss argues that in constructing our body images, we materially enact others. I will argue that this is the case also, and especially, when trans/sexuality is seen as an embodiment at odds with feminist theory. Do these clashes upset feminist bodies as well as theories? Or is trans to feminism as the body is to theory?

'When I Enter the Studio I am Coming Home': Challenging Conceptions of Home through Body and Dance

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'Home' came up as a prominent motif in interviews with female dance teachers as they spoke about their work and experience. This opened a door for reflecting on the concept of home, as well as on the meaning of working and educating through dance in a feminine arena. Feminism has had a long and complex relationship with the concept of the home. As an institute and a symbol embodying an ideal of happiness, feminists marked out the home as a primary target of criticism in an effort to reveal and destabilize its mythical and practical foundations. Writers sought to show that it was women who carried the burden and responsibility of nurturing and preserving the happiness of others. However, other feminist voices soon began to question the wholesale rejection of the ideal of the home. While accepting much of earlier analyses, these scholars also pointed to the crucial values embedded in the concept of 'home', such as safety, privacy, individuation and ownership, and to the critical political potential latent in these values. Two core elements, which I suggest may contribute to the theoretical discussion of the home, emerge from my study. The first touches on the position of *movement* in the sensation and experience of home. While home is often thought of as a stationary place, or as an idea or state of mind, dance and dance teaching emphasize dimensions of movement, of the body shaping time through movement. The second issue has to do with home as a *space of action*, a space of (woman's) creation of and participation in the making of culture. Here again one can point to widespread notions of home as a sanctuary or safe haven which allows relaxation and rest, though dance teachers underline quite opposite aspects. They stress (and perform) doing,

shaping, managing and participating. I demonstrate the ties between bodily practice, privacy, intimacy and creation, their vulnerability, and their importance and meaning for women.

14:00-15:30 (PS2d) Inclusions and Exclusions

Chair: Amy Macmillan

Missing Men: Theorizing a Role for Both Genders in Empowerment

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This paper addresses a major gap in the current women's empowerment literature: the role of men. Throughout the literature, men are constructed as, at best, irrelevant to the empowerment process and, at worst, as the primary obstacles to empowerment. This poses a major problem for empowerment theories because it reproduces the tendency for mainstream 'empowerment' in a development context to connote development of the individual along neoliberal lines and to neglect a wider critique of relational gender power. The desire of feminist development theorists to return to a focus on *women* after the perceived failure of a *gender* focus to translate into concrete gains in terms of relational power equality is a valid one, but is ultimately misguided. I argue that empowerment approaches cannot neglect a robust role for both genders in the empowerment process without risking gains made by women. By marginalizing men in the process, empowerment approaches reproduce inequalities that they seek to redress. This paper explores the role of men in empowerment literature and theorizes a way forward for empowerment approaches that include both women and men. It forms part of my doctoral research, which examines issues of 'empowerability' of women in development. This paper is closely related to the conference focus on 'citizenship and recognition', as it addresses concerns over who can and cannot find a place in feminist development frameworks for empowerment. It will first analyze the role of masculinities in empowerment in feminist empowerment theory and development agency 'grey literature' and then, based on a critique of the current literature, move to theorize the possibilities for involving men in the empowerment process. The findings will provide insights for a reconceptualization of theoretical and policy-related aspects of women's empowerment that creates space for both genders.

"I Don't Like Being *Told* What to Think": Debating Feminism in Feminist Zines

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Feminist zines – independent, not-for-profit publications that are circulated within DIY subcultures – represent attempts by young women to document the personal and political experiences of the contemporary feminist movement. They provide feminists with a forum to write about their commitment to feminism and experiences of sexism, but they also represent a platform to critique the internal contradictions of the movement itself, and to engage with debates about the future of feminism. This paper draws upon the findings from an analysis of 74 feminist zines, and 27 participant interviews with zine creators in the UK, conducted as part of my doctoral research. Specifically, it focuses on contentions surrounding sex work, racism in feminism, and Transgender, in order to demonstrate how zines are grappling with the ambiguous aspects of contemporary feminist agendas. This paper situates these debates within discourses of 'inclusionary/exclusionary' politics, arguing that feminist zines, although remaining somewhat 'under the radar', represent important attempts to confront the political contradictions found within the feminist movement. Further, it asks the extent to which DIY feminism - a form of grassroots feminist activism that facilitates the creation and exchange of zines – is juxtaposed to feminist 'wave theory', and concludes by exploring the potential of feminist zines, and DIY feminism in a general sense, to challenge institutional forms of the feminist movement.

The 'Femocratic' Turn: Scottish Politics and Feminist Organisations

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As a result of devolution, feminist organisations in Scotland have had considerable opportunities to influence, lobby and work alongside the bureaucratic arm of government and more specifically the Violence Against Women Team. This has shaped the description of gender inequality used by the Scottish government, impacted upon funding and resource allocation for services such as domestic abuse and rape support and increased openings for 'unobtrusive mobilization' (Katzenstein 1990, 1998) within state structures. This paper will examine the term 'femocrat' closely and argue that there has been a 'femocratic' turn within feminist activism and gender politics. The 'femocratic turn' is a useful concept which can illustrate the social construction of boundaries between 'inside' and 'outside' of the state and throw light upon new sites for feminist mobilisation. I will refer to the work of Eisenstein (1991, 1996) and Chappell (2002) in this paper as their research focuses upon the role of femocrats in the UK, Australia and the Canada and provides interesting points of convergence and divergence in analysis.

Occupy Patriarchy: Challenging Sexism in Leftist Protest Movements

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With their focus on progressive politics, social change and active protesting against oppressive ideologies, leftist protest movements have become active, dynamic and crucial parts of social and political discourses, organising around the world through the use of social networking sites. For instance, the worldwide Occupy movement has attested to the power of media in articulating and enacting a coordinated civil discontent over capitalist exploitation and other social inequalities. However, there remains a conceptual blindspot in formulating these progressive leftist politics. More specifically, recent events have demonstrated that leftist movements are not immune to discourses of sexism and misogyny. This is clearly seen in instances such as the Julian Assange trial and his blatant dismissal of the charges, and the attacks on female members of the Occupy Movement. As a result, numerous feminists have voiced their concerns and oppositions to the Left's blindspot in its marginalisation or erasure of misogyny, formulated in parallel movements like Occupy Patriarchy, another grouping which emerged from networking and social media sites. This paper examines the problematic strategies used within many leftist movements to either dismiss or lessen the impact of misogyny, formulating the issue as a direct consequence of unexamined or unchallenged masculine privilege which frequently becomes intensified as it is transferred into such autonomous movements. The paper uses the local example of Occupy Edinburgh to examine the wider movement as an example of such power dynamics, where feminists' discontent and direct engagement with problems of sexual abuse, vulnerability and violence against women were dismissed as 'separatist', 'destabilising to the movement' or 'man-hating fascism', as well as the Assange trial, where numerous leftist intellectuals and feminist have unreservedly dismissed the accusations. A special emphasis is placed on the role of feminism within these movements, and a deconstruction of masculine privilege and self-reflexivity. Finally, the paper highlights the crucial importance of intersectional politics within leftist movements in articulating a progressive approach to social inequalities which would destabilise and make visible existing power structures, challenging the blindspot rather than replicating these issues within their own microcosm.

15:45-17:15 (PS3a) Generations II

Chair: Sally Hines

Men's Role in Feminism: A Generational Issue?

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One of the striking developments in UK feminist activism in recent years is an apparent increase in the number of mixed-gender feminist groups and events. This stands in marked contrast to the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1970s and 80s, which largely defined itself as a women's movement. British feminists seem to be increasingly willing to work together with men, yet men's relationship to feminism remains contentious. There are disagreements about whether men can be feminists and what role, if any, they should play in the feminist movement. These debates are sometimes framed in temporal or generational terms as a clash between 'new' and 'old' or 'second wave' and 'third wave' feminisms, or between different generations of activists. I will explore and critique this framing through analysing some of the ways in which contemporary feminists discuss men's relationship to feminism, drawing on examples from feminist writing and interviews with feminist activists. I will argue that disagreements about men's relationship to feminism are rooted in different political perspectives, which are connected with, but not reducible to, age and generation. I will consider the implications of this for understanding the feminist movement and for intergenerational feminist activism.

Passive Feminism: An Interpretation of Feminism Through a Generational Discourse

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My research explores women's access to higher education, specifically generational differences between the mother-daughter dyad. Participants' views on feminism have revealed a trend in young women who expect the same educational, employment and life opportunities as men, yet do not wish to be vocal campaigners for women's rights. Qualitative research data obtained through in-depth interviews suggests that the politicised language associated with the second wave movement is prohibiting women's engagement with equality issues, despite many of the women in this study demonstrating feminist thinking. Those who did identify themselves as feminists are all educated to degree level, suggesting a link between feminist identity and education. I would argue that many of the women in this research are displaying passive feminism, a term that was used by one of my participants. My interpretation of passive feminism is a lack of visible and voluntary support for on-going feminist causes, despite a clear acknowledgement through lived experiences of the social and political freedoms more readily afforded to women.

"Political Not Generational: Getting 'Real' About Contemporary Radical Feminism"

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There is a growing field of commentary and analysis, from academics, journalists and campaigners, on contemporary feminist activism in the UK; activism which, apparently, is also growing, allegedly pioneered by younger women (Topping, 2012; Mendes, 2011; Banyard, 2010; Bidisha, 2010; Cochrane, 2010; Redfern and Aune, 2010; Measure, 2009). This focus on the role of younger women has furthered familiar generational metaphors regards the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM); underpinned by the wave narrative (Harris, 2004; Dean, 2009; Woodward and Woodward, 2009). Contemporary feminisms are often labelled as third wave, and bound in particular to younger women (Budgeon, 2012; Topping, 2012; Walby, 2011; Orr,

1997). A focus on young women can obscure the presence and activism of older feminists (of any political hue) in the contemporary WLM as well as the existence of younger feminists who do not identify with/as third wave, but in fact with a politics more associated with the feminism of the 1970s and 1980s. In particular, I suggest, such a focus can overlook those younger women who identify as Radical Feminists. In this paper I shall argue that this school of feminism, Radical Feminism, often maligned and misrepresented in the available herstory of the second wave, is alive and well in the contemporary British WLM and is inspiring a new generation of feminist activists (Rees, 2010; Caine, 1997; Byrne, 1996; Gelb, 1986; Campbell, 1980). Using empirical data from recent qualitative research with thirty self-identified Radical Feminists across the UK I shall consider the impact of this school of feminism on younger Radical Feminists, comparing their narratives with the views of older, first generation Radical Feminists on the state of contemporary feminism in the UK and their own perceptions and definitions of their feminist political identity. I shall argue that current observable political differences between feminists should not be reductively explained by age, but remain familiar fault lines that have fractured the British WLM for many years. Decisions about which side of such fractures to position oneself were viewed by participants as political decisions, and were justified with remarkable similarity by Radical Feminists of all ages, from their twenties to their sixties. I will also discuss popular stereotyping of feminists, which arose in the interviews I conducted, and suggest that such critiques are commonly aimed at Radical Feminism in particular (Scharff, 2010; Baker, 2008; Rich, 2005; Budgeon, 2001). I will draw attention to the implicit homophobia and misogyny present in many such stereotypes and argue that too often, in popular and academic discourse, these prejudices are not challenged (Walby, 2011). This leads to a situation where the stereotypical feminist, as lesbian, as separatist, as hairy legged, as extreme, is omnipresent; policing the feminist (and possibly sexual) identification of a new generation of feminists while marginalising and silencing 'real' Radical Feminists who may, or may not, be lesbian, separatist, hairy legged etc (Hesford, 2005).

'I'm in this for Real': Young Women's Accounts of Engagements with Feminism

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Much ink has been spilt in contemporary feminist scholarship about the so-called 'generation wars' – the claim that young feminists (sometimes, problematically, referred to as 'third wave feminists') espouse a politics of individualism, consumption, and sexual expression and display, in contrast to the feminism of the 1960s and 70s (so-call 'second wave feminism') that was rooted in a structural analysis of power, oppression and the path to liberation. The claims are that older women's feminism was rooted in ideas about women as victims which denied their agency and created a universal 'woman' which neglected the diversity of women's experiences (see, for example, Bulbeck, 2010) whereas younger women "are more likely to engage with issues related to popular culture, are less likely to be 'anti-porn' and are (generally) more open to bringing men into a pro-feminist agenda" (Dean 2009: 339). As some scholars have cautioned (eg Budgeon, 2001; Dean, 2009; Harris, 2011; Stevenson, Everingham and Robinson, 2011) this debate has developed caricatures of complex phenomena and has not done justice to the nuances and diversity of contemporary young women's feminism. The concept of 'generations' has been critiqued by Dean (2009) and Stevenson et al (2011). Dean argues that the term 'third wave' has been used to refer to both a clearly defined generational cohort and a set of ideas but that it is better understood as an "empty signifier... which bring(s) into existence political agendas and identities that only existed rather tenuously prior to the moment of naming" (2009:

342). Stevenson et al (2011) warn that “generational wedge politics reinforces populist perceptions of feminism as limiting and burdensome” (139). Some empirical evidence has also been presented to challenge the stereotypes built up about contemporary feminism. For example, Budgeon (2001), Mackay (2011) and Vaccaro (2009) challenge the notion that young feminist women are wedded to a feminism rooted in liberal individualism and consumerism with the limited goal of ‘equality’ rather than ‘liberation’. And while the focus on young women’s ideas about and attitudes towards feminism has been valuable, Harris (2011) reminds us that it is important to also consider young women’s feminist *practice*. This debate has, importantly, complicated the simplified narratives of feminism. However, at times, it has suffered from slippage about what is seen to represent feminism; popular culture, academic scholarship, accounts from young women or young feminist women, analysis of young women’s feminist practice (eg through DIY cultural production or social media – see Harris, 2008) are all drawn upon. There are important differences between these subject positions and what they reflect and represent. While popular culture – eg films and adverts - is an important indicator of public moods and Angela McRobbie (2009, gives a compelling account of how it reflects feminism ‘taken account of’ and while popular feminist texts (for example, *How to Be a Woman*; *Backwards in High Heels: The Impossible Art of Being Female*; *To Be Real: Telling the Truth and Changing the Face of Feminism*) are important contributions to the debates, they shed light on elements of feminist politics and analysis, rather than representing *all* of contemporary feminism. It behoves us to seek out as well the accounts of the ‘ordinary’ young women who are engaged with contemporary feminism. This paper contributes to these discussions by presenting qualitative evidence from a trans-Atlantic study of young women students who identify as feminist. Interviews were conducted with a sample of 40 women, from NE England and NE America, to explore their developing identification with feminism, their feminist values and their experiences of feminist activism. We examine their accounts to identify the diversity of their feminist values, and explore in particular their engagement with concepts which have been taken to reflect key differences between generations of feminists: individualism and collectivities; equality and social justice; choice and empowerment; feminism which privileges the category ‘woman’ and an intersectional approach. We do so in an attempt not to continue the so-called ‘generation wars’, mindful as we are of the limitations and risks of such an approach, but to help build a scholarship which aims to avoid a single narrative of feminism (Harris, 2011) by exploring the contradictions, diversity and messiness of the lived reality of feminism for this group of young women.

15:45-17:15 (PS3b) Global Feminisms

Chair: Stephanie Bouillia

Empowering the Disempowered or Disseminating to the Dominant? Knowledge-for-Development (K4D) and the 'Southern Woman'

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A key programme feature of Northern NGO information intermediaries claiming to promote inclusion for marginalised groups in the dominant knowledge infrastructure is to privilege, where possible, 'Southern voices', particularly 'Southern women's voices'. This paper interrogates the geographies of class and associated characteristics of poverty and marginalisation implied by the use of the term 'Southern', which prevents the problematisation of 'the South' as an important site of power in its own right within dominant knowledge systems. This paper draws inspiration from Foucault's (1980) insights on power and knowledge as well as empirical evidence collected in the UK and India to interrogate the socio-economic and political inequalities in which gender information intermediaries, particularly those based in the Global South, are themselves embedded and the implications this has for the capacity of 'Southern women's' narratives to challenge Northern hegemony. The analysis suggests that those women who have access to networks and thus global knowledge resources, including dominant or global feminist discourses and practices, are in turn more likely to occupy the discursive spaces within the dominant knowledge infrastructure, further exacerbating inequality in the uptake of global information resources and invisibilising local and/or alternative discourses. This raises questions about the nature of elite formations in diverse Southern contexts that potentially mediate the nature of, and access to, dominant knowledge systems. The analysis concludes by focusing on ways in which Northern and Southern information intermediaries might respond more reflexively to the needs of women marginalised from the dominant knowledge infrastructure beyond the generalised category of 'Southern women'.

From Motherhood to Activism: Rethinking Agency via Motherist Movements of Turkey

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This study scrutinizes the mobilization of mothers in Turkey whose children were subjected to state violence or to abuse of rights for a variety of reasons, relying on the "natural" legitimacy rooted in being a mother, and their entrance into the political sphere with which they had not been familiar. How individual attempts having the aim of saving / finding a child and the pain evolved towards collective action and a collective identity, and how the struggle process transformed the mentality of the mothers are the basic questions of this study. Considering clear and hidden forms of resistance special to motherhood, how the title of "mother," which serves to confine women in the home and which is shown as the reason for woman's oppression by some feminists was used as the "weapon of the weak" by the mothers and how it led to reverse their disadvantageous position in the public sphere are analyzed. The study, which examines the motherist movements in Turkey by classifying those in four periods (1975-2000s), highlights the contribution of motherist movements to temporal feminist movement.

This study introduces mothers' political stances independently of those of their children and focuses on the uniqueness of these movements as far as the transformation of the traditional motherhood is concerned. Via practices of these women, this study seeks to reconsider "agency" and "activism" in relation with motherhood.

Turkish Feminist Movements: National and International Impacts

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Although prior to the period of 1980s there were some significant achievements in relation to women's rights in Turkey, 1980s is the time that feminism was probably recognized as a political and social movement. Women's participation to the society in many ways and the cracks on the strong patriarchal and conservative social norms has been recognized since this period. Feminist movements in Turkey have a unique character for many parts of the world. Feminist movements in 1980s followed, or in other words, copied what has been done so far by Western feminists. However, it has, at the same time, become a role model for many feminists who actively work on women's rights in the Muslim world. Likewise, as a geographically strategic location, Turkey has become strategically important for the feminist movements. Therefore this paper aims to analyse how Turkey's national feminist movements have adopted Western feminist principles and how they may guide other countries with their achievements. Turkey will be considered as a bridge between the Western and Middle Eastern/Muslim feminism at this study. The paper is divided into three parts. During the first part the aim is to give a very general framework of the Turkish feminist movements and the way and which their differentiation within the same territory of Turkish Republic. In the light of this scope mainly the Kemalist and non-Kemalist feminist movements in Turkey will be analysed. This will be an important analysis to see how different groups identify the problems that women face in Turkey. During the second part, on the other hand, the paper will give specific examples on how Turkish feminist movements have affected the Turkish legal system in favour of women. This part will analyse Turkish Penal and Civil Code's amendments and how those have been affected by the Western feminist movements during the amendment period. Turkish feminist movements will be analysed as a powerful tool to break the patriarchal attitudes of the lawmakers in Turkey. Finally the last part aims to analyse the Turkish feminist movement as a role model for other countries. A specific attention will be given to the Muslim countries and how they may or may not adopt Turkish feminist movements in their countries. The Middle Eastern and North African countries' feminist movements will be analysed generally under this section and specific examples will be given in terms of how Turkish feminist movements may be used as a role model for some feminist movements in those region that try to increase women's rights and protect them from the strict patriarchal interpretation of Islam.

Is Japanese 'Homosexual Child Pornography' a Site of Feminist Activism?

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Japan is the most longstanding developed, global power in East Asia. However, in the West, Japan is also associated with tolerance of child pornography and criticised for continuing to perpetuate gender inequalities. Both perceptions are contentious and, whilst in some respects not 'wrong', are likely based on differing cultural understandings of 'pornography' and of 'feminism'. This presentation will give an introduction to Japanese *Boys Love* manga which portrays romantic and sexual relationships between young men. Many examples of this genre are available in English and some will meet the UK legislative criteria for child pornography. However, maybe surprisingly, *Boys' Love* is usually produced by women and the readers are primarily teenage girls and young adult females, in Japan but also now in countries worldwide. In 2010, possibly with increasing international pressure, Tokyo prefecture banned for general sale manga, animé, and games 'likely to interfere with the healthy development of youth.' Contemporaneously, in the UK, the term 'manga' appeared for the first time in prohibited images

of children legislation. And, in Australia, proposals on internet filtering have been bolstered by on-line availability of manga interpretable as child pornography. However, this presentation will explore the argument that *Boys' Love* can be understood as a site of (young) feminist activism. If *Boys' Love* can be considered feminist activism it is, indeed, highly innovation, peculiar, and queer and is subject to increasing legislative discrimination within frameworks assuming a predatory, adult, male subculture.

15:45-17:15 (PS3c) Intersections Chair: Zowie Davy

Location, Location, Location: Or, What Is Missing from the Intersectional Approach When Considering Women's Bodies in the Global Bioeconomy

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Drawing from a recently-completed PhD study of knowledge practices amongst an international group of activists from the Feminist International Network of Resistance to Reproductive and Genetic Engineering (FINRRAGE), this paper will consider some of the difficulties in developing feminist activism around the emergence of a globalised bioeconomy. Beginning with a brief overview of the socio-historic context of feminist resistance to reproductively technologies in different parts of the world in the 1980s and 90s, I will use the example of gestational surrogacy to illustrate the complexification of two of the most central problems of transnational feminism: how to theorise autonomy versus exploitation when it involves the use of one woman's body by another, and what happens to that theory as feminism travels from one location to another. While I suggest that a transnational approach is necessary in order to differentiate between contexts and to account for locality in the shaping of both feminism and technology, this also runs the risk of intellectual paralysis. How is 21st century feminism to create an adequate response to the commodification of women's bodies within a globalised, unregulated fertility industry, particularly within conditions exacerbated by austerity economics? By 'adequate' I do not mean a single solidified position, but a framework of analysis which is robust enough to confront the aspirations of those unable to procreate without intervention, with the effects on other parties whose bodies may be implicated in the fulfilment of such aspirations, including the aspect most often overlooked in such discussions: the biological integrity of the 'outsourced' child. I will conclude by considering the possibilities inherent in an intersectional analysis of gestational surrogacy with the addition of geo-political location – a qualifier frequently lacking in this approach – as a way of breaking through some of the normative assumptions around the exercise of autonomy which tend to limit this debate.

Decolonizing Difference through Feminist Interventions – Scrutinizing the Discourse on Difference within the World Social Forum

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Social movements are increasingly understood as spaces in which political knowledges and subjectivities are produced and acted upon. The 'open space' of the World Social Forum has, in some strands of feminist debate, recently served as focal point for discussing the role of difference in building 'an-other' world. In this context, feminist scholar-activists have argued that patriarchal and colonizing systems of power and authority tend to be perpetuated also in social movement spaces that claim to foster alliance-building that does rest on shared identities or experiences. Thus, they have developed concrete organizational practices that intend to decolonize alliance-building in the spaces provided by the World Social Forum. The proposed paper proceeds in three steps: Firstly, it traces the trajectory of feminist concerns with the role of difference in and between social movements from the Combahee River Collective to decolonial feminist approaches. Secondly, a postcolonial-feminist perspective is applied to critically reflect on how feminist movements and feminist scholarship construct certain understandings of difference. This is done by scrutinizing the discourse on one particular feminist 'knowledge-practice': the Inter- Movement Dialogues of the World Social Forum, which apply a workshop-

format inspired by intersectional theory to encourage social movement actors to reflect on how they deal with issues of race, class, gender and sexuality in their daily practices. I use Foucauldian discourse analysis to analyze how journal articles, activists' reports and the self-representations of activists involved in the Inter-Movement Dialogues construct difference simultaneously as insurmountable predicament and valuable resource. I conclude my paper by discussing the role of feminists scholars and activists in appraising and thereby constructing difference as a means to decolonizing alliance-building and by reflecting on the inclusions and exclusions produced by the prevalent discourse on difference.

Toward a Pragmatic Approach to Masculinity Theory

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This paper argues for a pragmatic approach to theorizing masculinities within the social sciences, calling for scholars to consider a problem-based approach to understanding men in society. The paper traces how hegemonic masculinity theory (HMT) supplanted sex role theory to become the dominant theory for understanding masculinities, arguing that this was a necessary product of the academic and social zeitgeist of the 1980s. After critiquing current usage of HMT, it then examines an emerging shift concerning how masculinities are theorized. Namely, that decreasing cultural homophobia renders HMT obsolete in understanding new configurations of male practice. This is because HMT is unable to explain the social dynamics and relations of power between men in more inclusive cultures. Accordingly, it is proposed that inclusive masculinity theory offers a more pragmatic approach for understanding the relations between masculinities, social privilege and power in contemporary culture.

Feminist Leisure Studies and Intersectionality

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The challenge of understanding and researching the intersections of complex multiple inequalities has been a key focus for a range of social science disciplines over the past two decades, including its initial configuration in legal studies (Crenshaw 1990), sociology (Brah and Phoenix, 2004, 2009; Walby, 2007), feminist studies (Davis, 2008; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006), geography (Valentine, 2007; 2010), education (Archer, 2004; Francis, 2001) and physical education (Flintoff, Fitzgerald and Scraton, 2008). As yet however, there has been little direct engagement with intersectionality within leisure scholarship although some social analysts make reference to various relations and interrelations within leisure practices and experiences, particularly those drawing on critical perspectives such as feminism and Critical Race Theory (CRT). Engaging with feminist leisure studies this paper considers the potential use of intersectionality for assessing multiple interconnections of power, identity and discrimination. It outlines some key tenets of intersectionality: as a theoretical perspective; as a methodological approach and as a somewhat elusive and often more loosely termed "framework". It proposes some possible contributions that intersectionality can make to leisure scholarship, and, importantly, offers an assessment of *leisure's* potential to contribute to wider debates on intersectionality. We argue that thinking intersectionally is a useful means of analysing leisure as a dynamic interplay of individual expression and the social relations within which leisure occurs. This is demonstrated through reference to two examples where 'thinking intersectionally' can inform analyses of leisure, one on public leisure space and the second on leisure and embodiment.