

# SOCIALIST-FEMINISM : A COOPERATIVE VISION AND THE RIGHT TO CARE ANN FERGUSON pdf

## 1: The place to find U. S. Law, Lawyers and Opinions

*Introduction: Toward a new socialism / Anatole Anton and Richard Schmitt --Socialist voices / Anatole Anton --Socialist freedom / Richard Schmitt --Equality / Charles W. Mills --Socialist-feminism: a cooperative vision and the right to care / Ann Ferguson --Social feelings and the morality of socialism / Milton Fisk --Can we get there from.*

Those historians use the label " protofeminist " to describe earlier movements. The second wave campaigned for legal and social equality for women. The third wave is a continuation of, and a reaction to, the perceived failures of second-wave feminism, which began in the s. First-wave feminism After selling her home, Emmeline Pankhurst , pictured in New York City in , travelled constantly, giving speeches throughout Britain and the United States. In the Netherlands, Wilhelmina Drucker " fought successfully for the vote and equal rights for women through political and feminist organizations she founded. Simone Veil " , former French Minister of Health " She made easier access to contraceptive pills and legalized abortion "75 " which was her greatest and hardest achievement. Louise Weiss along with other Parisian suffragettes in The newspaper headline reads "The Frenchwoman Must Vote. In the UK and eventually the US, it focused on the promotion of equal contract, marriage, parenting, and property rights for women. By the end of the 19th century, a number of important steps had been made with the passing of legislation such as the UK Custody of Infants Act which introduced the Tender years doctrine for child custody arrangement and gave woman the right of custody of their children for the first time. For example, Victoria passed legislation in , New South Wales in , and the remaining Australian colonies passed similar legislation between and This was followed by Australia granting female suffrage in In this was extended to all women over These women were influenced by the Quaker theology of spiritual equality, which asserts that men and women are equal under God. The term first wave was coined retroactively to categorize these western movements after the term second-wave feminism began to be used to describe a newer feminist movement that focused on fighting social and cultural inequalities, as well political inequalities. In , Qasim Amin , considered the "father" of Arab feminism, wrote The Liberation of Women, which argued for legal and social reforms for women. The Consultative Assembly of Algiers of proposed on 24 March to grant eligibility to women but following an amendment by Fernand Grenier , they were given full citizenship, including the right to vote. In May , following the November elections , the sociologist Robert Verdier minimized the " gender gap " , stating in Le Populaire that women had not voted in a consistent way, dividing themselves, as men, according to social classes. During the baby boom period, feminism waned in importance. Wars both World War I and World War II had seen the provisional emancipation of some women, but post-war periods signalled the return to conservative roles. Feminists in these countries continued to fight for voting rights. In Switzerland , women gained the right to vote in federal elections in ; [49] but in the canton of Appenzell Innerrhoden women obtained the right to vote on local issues only in , when the canton was forced to do so by the Federal Supreme Court of Switzerland. Photograph of American women replacing men fighting in Europe, Feminists continued to campaign for the reform of family laws which gave husbands control over their wives. Although by the 20th century coverture had been abolished in the UK and the US, in many continental European countries married women still had very few rights. Second-wave feminism is a feminist movement beginning in the early s [58] and continuing to the present; as such, it coexists with third-wave feminism. Second-wave feminism is largely concerned with issues of equality beyond suffrage, such as ending gender discrimination. The feminist activist and author Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political", which became synonymous with the second wave. The book is widely credited with sparking the beginning of second-wave feminism in the United States. Third-wave feminism Feminist, author and social activist bell hooks b. So I write this as a plea to all women, especially women of my generation: Turn that outrage into political power. Do not vote for them unless they work for us. I am not a post-feminism feminist. I am the Third Wave. This perspective argues that research and theory treats women and the feminist movement as insignificant and refuses to see traditional science as

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## **2: Road and Bridge | Smith County, TX**

*Chapter 1 Introduction: Toward a New Socialism Part 2 Part One: Principles Chapter 3 Socialist Voices Chapter 4 Socialist Freedom Chapter 5 Equality Chapter 6 Socialist-Feminism: A Cooperative Vision and the Right to Care Chapter 7 Social Feelings and the Morality of Socialism Chapter 8 Can We Get There From Here?.*

Tel , Fax , ude. This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial License <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>: This article has been cited by other articles in PMC. The same oncologic principles that are applied to open-thoracotomy lobectomy, such as complete anatomic resection with negative resection margin, and complete hilar and mediastinal lymph node dissection, are applied in VATS lobectomy for lung cancer. VATS lobectomy can reduce postoperative pain, length of hospital stay, and occurrence of complications, as well as facilitate adjuvant chemotherapy [ 2 - 10 ]. Technological advances in thoracoscopic equipment and accumulation of experience with VATS lobectomy procedures have contributed to the expanded application of VATS lobectomy. The current recommended indications of VATS lobectomy are as follows. Weber et al reported successful application of VATS lobectomy for benign pulmonary disease for western population [ 15 ]. However, the most challenging issue when performing VATS lobectomy in Asian population for treatment of benign lung disease is pleural adhesion, because adhesions frequently accompany inflammatory changes in the pleural cavity. Furthermore, tight adhesion of inflamed lymph nodes to the pulmonary vessels is one of the most common causes of conversion into open-thoracotomy during VATS procedure [ 16 ]. Therefore, thorough evaluation of hilar structures by preoperative enhanced chest CT is essential. Reported outcomes of these trials are comparable to those of open-thoracotomy lobectomy, indicating the need for prospective research. VATS lobectomy is not indicated in patients who cannot sustain single lung ventilation due to poor pulmonary function. However, previous lung surgery, focal pleural adhesions, or incomplete interlobar fissures are not absolute contraindications of VATS lobectomy. In left side procedures, right-sided double lumen endotracheal intubation does not interfere in the manipulation of the left main bronchus, and facilitates subcarinal lymph node dissection. However, right-sided endotracheal tube might block the right upper lobar bronchus, so it must be well-positioned and maintained by experienced anesthesiologists. The patient is placed in the full lateral decubitus position, and bent downward around the hip to widen the intercostal space. Secure fixation is very important, because the patient can be tilted to both sides during the operation to retract the lung by gravity. Before thoracoscopic port placement, it is important to consider a few things as followings; ergonomically good position to handle the instruments, easiness to convert open thoracotomy in emergency, cosmetically good looking, and less postoperative pain. The first port for the thoracoscope is placed at the 7th or 8th intercostal space in the mid-axillary line, and the pleural space is inspected. Specially-designed wound retractors are commercially available to enhance instrument handling and prevent wound contamination. An additional port is made at the 7th ICS in the post-scapular line. This port configuration guarantees safe and prompt conversion to open-thoracotomy in emergent situations by connecting the working window and the posterior port. Simply by changing the thoracoscope port and applying appropriate maneuvers, all lobes can be accessed by this three-port configuration without major modifications. We recommend standing on the right side of the operating table because it allows smooth right-hand movement. When doing left side VATS lobectomy, a 10 mm port for the thoracoscope is placed at the 7th intercostal space in the posterior scapular line, and fissure development and subcarinal approach can easily be accomplished without disturbance by the thoracoscope. Advantage of this approach is that it avoids fissure division and consequent reduction of air leaks. A good understanding of anatomic structures of the lung and surgical experience are required for this approach. VATS lobectomy can be performed in the same order and technique as conventional open-thoracotomy lobectomy. In lung cancer surgery, hilar structures are usually divided in the order of pulmonary vein, pulmonary artery, and bronchus. By dividing the pulmonary vein first, it is easy to manipulate the artery, and tumor dissemination into the bloodstream during

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manipulation of the lung may be prevented. It is important to assess the condition of the fissure when selecting the approach. We recommend starting from the hilum by opening the parietal pleura covering the hilar structures from the middle lobar vein up to the azygos vein, and then inserting the endo-vascular stapler white cartridge through the inferior port to divide the upper lobar branch of the superior pulmonary vein. When dividing the pulmonary vessels, careful release of the perivascular sheath is critical to secure sufficient space for stapler passage, while incomplete release makes stapling difficult and increases the risk of bleeding. Traction of vessels with tapes or rubber bands can be helpful, but is not necessary when the vessels are fully released. Applying lubricant jelly around the stapler head may help smooth passage.

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## 3: Feminist Perspectives on Class and Work (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

*Finally, one can argue that since the human care involved in taking care of children and elders creates a public good, it should clearly be characterized as work, and those who are caretakers, primarily women, should be fairly compensated for it by society or the state (Ferguson and Folbre Folbre , Ferguson ).*

How is Global Gender Solidarity Possible? This political problem, sometimes seen as a more general problem of identity politics, has both a theoretical and a practical component. The theoretical question is this: I consider several feminist answers to this question using different concepts of sisterhood and solidarity, including those of Robin Morgan and Chandra Mohanty, and defend my own view. I hold a view similar to that of bell hooks, that there is a kind of solidarity which is transformational that can provide the base for global feminist coalitions across differences. Our view holds that political processes of debate, discussion, and action together can allow participants to reconstruct their interests so as to make them compatible. I develop a materialist and historical analysis of global feminist politics which focuses on the question of what specific kind of global feminist coalitions are possible, given capitalist corporate globalization and previous national and regional inequalities based on European colonialism. I outline the anti-globalization economic and political networks coming into existence, as evidenced by networks of worker-owned cooperatives, labor unions, fair trade commitments, squatter and other land reform movements. To show how this process can work I give as an example the transformational solidarity coalitions for reproductive justice that have made common cause in spite of differences<sup>1</sup>. What is solidarity and under what conditions is it possible? Distinguishing cosmopolitan and civic solidarity from organic solidarity, Gould claims that common interest solidarity occurs when people<sup>2</sup> form a group, such as a labor union, to stand up for common interests, an action which is associated by a felt sense of bonding with members of the group<sup>2</sup>. This implies that the group has a common ethical and political project that unifies them, fighting unjust oppression, while group interest solidarity could be found among a band of thieves or colluding corporate executives engaging in fraud that have no such common social justice project. Political solidarity is more particularistic than is the humanist concept of universal human solidarity, for it also presupposes a group that one defines oneself against, who are maintaining unjust privileges or power over the group that one is a part of or allied to. While those so engaging in political solidarity may also have solidarity due to a common social position, for example they could be women feminists demanding an end to gendered violence against women or labor union activists demanding fair wages, they could also be allies who do not have the social identities targeted in the unjust practices, such as male feminists and those who are not workers. The Political Problem of Solidarity and Intersectionality<sup>3</sup> We can now put the solidarity problem of intersectionality for feminist global politics in this way: For example, with respect to the class injustice which affects women workers in sweatshops, Iris Young argues that all consumers of their products have a political responsibility to challenge these injustices, whether by consumer boycotts or other means. What do women need in order to achieve solidarity with women very different from them in terms of their nationality, class, sexuality, ethnicity, race, or religion? Mohanty ; Narayan ; Grewel and Kaplan Morgan is taken to task by Mohanty for simply assuming that the reason cross-border, class or other social difference surmounting is possible for a group of differentiated women who express gender solidarity with each other is that the commonality of being a woman is seen to be more important and basic than their differences. This assumption is called by E. There is still a rather weak sense in which one can use the concept of group interest of women as a possible motivator for a normative claim for group solidarity. Her argument is based on the view that modern capitalist societies have historically developed interest-based politics in which groups seek political power to shape their own choices based on their group perception of these interests which pit them against competing groups. Thus, they can be said to share a formal interest to achieve that access to shape their choices in those areas, even though their content interests are divided by class, race, religious belief etc. The popular way of putting this interest-based

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argument in the US second-wave socialist feminist movement was the slogan: On the other hand, one may argue that even very wealthy women can be victims of lack of self-esteem, and love dependencies on men that perpetuate their continued lack of equal choices in a love relationship, for example, being victims of male violence. If they were able to feel solidarity with other women they would also benefit themselves because of the mutual aid and reciprocity involved in solidarity relations, which could allow them to challenge the internalized sexism that impedes their freedom to leave such abusive relationships. Such a common context creates potential coalitions of and by those placed in similar oppressive structures that might allow them to form a collective oppositional moral and political vision, or alternative common values, e. Mohanty sees this to be possible for Third World women and some racialized white women because of historically similar work locations in systems of global white supremacist capitalist patriarchy which create common interests. But historically similar work locations do not automatically create similar identities for those in them<sup>3</sup>. Mohanty here limits her view of common interests to those who not only share a similar work relation to global capitalism, but who also have the potential to achieve a vision- or value-based theory of solidarity. Such dialogue, with the permission to express and debate disagreements, is a necessary ongoing process to produce trust and a sense of common cause. While this may be understood at first to include the good of those particular women whose situation one has empathized with and understood across differences, hopefully the next step is to be open to identifying more generally with the collective good of all women regardless of their differences. Emphasizing transformational solidarity rather than identity politics solidarity is also compatible with the emphasis of Chantal Mouffe and Judith Butler who suggest that feminist politics should ally with a more general left coalitional politics that fights any type of social subordination based on socially ascribed identities. But what Mouffe and Butler do not sufficiently emphasize is that male dominated gender systems always provide feminists with commonalities at some level around which to bond in spite of identity differences. For example, one recent paper on queer feminist politics by Cressida Heyes has emphasized how non-transgendered feminists can ally with transgendered people because of our understanding that patriarchal body norms makes all women and to some extent men uncomfortable with our bodies. So, for example, transgendered people uncomfortable with their original bodies are not qualitatively different in this one aspect from women who must put on cosmetics to feel comfortable in public. Justice as Solidarity We are now ready to discuss the empirical situation that we find ourselves in such that solidarity networks can exist and the concept of justice as solidarity that is, that each ought to give to relevant others according to his or her ability and receive from them according to his or her needs is conceivable as a practical normative principle. It is conceivable and practicable because the contradictions of capitalist globalization have created internal spaces which are importantly at odds with the usual normative bottom line logic of capitalist social relations, so more people within these spaces can come to adopt the solidarity principle of justice in part as an external critique of the larger system against which they defines themselves. An increasing number of the anti-corporate globalization social movements are no longer satisfied with either the welfare state capitalist model or the state socialist model as alternative visions for social justice. They attempt to operate as much as possible on the radical solidarity principle of justice I described above, which they have framed in a decentralized vision that either bypasses or supplements reliance on the state or the capitalist economy to deliver the conditions for solidarity justice<sup>7</sup>. Alternative local solidarity economies now exist in all countries, including the U. These are not isolated examples of coops or individual projects, but whole networks of people which are forging what Bowman and Stone , call a solidarity economics, and what Alperovitz <sup>12</sup> calls a commonwealth tier alongside of the capitalist economy and centralized nation state. There are transnational links between these alternative economic networks at the nation-state level. For example, the new Latin American political-economic block, ALBA, encourages trading and economic in-kind exchanges not based on the market logic of profit Klein Venezuela has been initiating, through the state-owned oil company Citgo, low-priced oil to poor communities in the US which are exchanges not sanctioned by the US government. There are also transnational labor union connections, such as those between UE in the US and FAT in Mexico,

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and other labor union solidarity, as well as non-governmental organizational solidarity around immigrant rights and against free trade policies in favor of fair trade policies, some of these organized through network solidarity cf. Gould , at anti-corporate globalization World Social Forum meetings which occur every 2 years in different countries<sup>8</sup>. Okin and to rights against sexual violence in war MacKinnon Stages of Solidarity Practices One way to understand this alternative normative political-economic space that is developing is to think of political solidarity practices in the contemporary era as having possible stages, each geared to different normative principles. So, for example, labor union activists who are demanding fair wages may be appealing to an equality principle of justice, claiming that labor contracts ought to promote the positive freedom of those involved to a decent standard of living, housing, health care and education. Feminists condemning violence against women may appeal to a freedom principle of justice, claiming that relations between men and women ought to be based on free, uncoerced consent which violence or the threat of violence violates. That is, the inability of the white supremacist, capitalist patriarchal world-system to deliver on its promises of freedom and equality for all requires the construction of alternative systems which subvert the logic of capitalism, racism and sexism. The Feminist Debate on Reproductive Freedom and Justice To see how coalitional solidarity using a certain set of Western liberal principles emphasizing individual freedom and equality can morph into a transformational solidarity movement using a new more radical paradigm of justice, let us consider the example of the development of feminist reproductive politics from the s to the present. An example of a classic market liberal feminist approach to an issue which uses the libertarian principle of justice is the abortion rights movement. A split developed between the more conservative libertarian liberal feminists and the more progressive social welfare feminists. The latter argued in solidarity with many women of color who are disproportionately represented among the poor that for those too poor to afford an abortion, abortion is not a real choice. It is interesting to note that more diverse solidarity politics developed from the s forward by such groups as the Women of Color Resource Network and the Reproductive Rights National Network, and changed their demands from abortion rights to opposition to sterilization abuse, hence to the broader concept of reproductive rights. Later in this transformational solidarity process, they realized that lack of jobs, adequate food and health care, as well as environmental hazards, could also infringe on reproductive choices to have children, and so broaden the unifying concept for the coalitions to be defined as reproductive justice Fried In this way they were able to link women of color, white women, and queer LGBTI networks in a broader network where the goal of reproductive justice promotes thinking through issues of reproduction from the point of view of the most marginalized people in the country. Thus, those involved in these transformational solidarity politics redefined and broadened their individual and group interests to include the priorities of those in the most marginalized groups. Reproductive justice is only present, according to this line of thought, if one has a viable choice not only not to have children including to have non-reproductive lesbian and gay sex , but to have children that will be healthy and socially accepted as well. This includes not only questions of whether abortion services and birth control are accessible, and whether sterilization is really a choice and not imposed by language barriers or economic pressures. It also includes whether the social conditions are present to raise a healthy child, including whether there is a healthy environment for raising children, adequate child care, health care, educational possibilities, and housing. Thus 16 environmental justice now comes to be included in the broadened concept of reproductive justice Bullard Many proponents of reproductive justice, since they must engage in coalitions with other left social justice movements in order to deal with the intersectional justice demands of their members, are open to the promotion of alternative economic and community self-help measures of the sort that suggest an emerging Solidarity paradigm of social Justice<sup>9</sup>. Interests and Values One implication of social movements and networks operating in a transformational solidarity process that I described above is that it requires those operating in accord with it to transform their own identities so that they re-conceive what their common interests are. Rather, solidarity alternative economic and political networks provide them the material and emotional possibilities to form the kind of empathic connections with individuals, associations, networks and groups to transform their identities

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toward a more collective vision that sees their enlightened interests as connected with a radical change in the total system My analysis suggests that most people have increasing access to alternative solidarity networks in their local areas that have transnational implications, not only local 17 worker and producer economic cooperatives, but NGOs which have created concrete networks on issues of social justice to support those oppressed by various systems of domination in other countries who are organizing to challenge these injustices This has created concrete and particular ways to relate to others who are not thought of as abstract others because they have met them or their representatives face-to-face in visiting delegations, or have seen documentaries about their struggle, or have heard news of them over the internet or independent media. Concrete solidarity work has become a possibility not just for feminist women, but for women and men who have the possibility to connect to labor, environmental, fair trade, reproductive and sexual rights, and other solidarity networks which allow them to come to a changed understanding of their long- range interest Such a transformed understanding of self-interest connects to a notion of collective good only achievable by solidarity projects which challenge structural injustices and allow those engaged in them to form bridge identities Ferguson which allow them to empathize, bond and struggle along with those oppressed by such structures. This solidarity politics goes beyond identity politics to embrace a broader set of social justice values based on a radical solidarity principle of justice, the Ability-Needs principle outlined and critiqued as utopian by Marx in the Critique of the Gotha Program in Rather, the contradictions of advanced corporate 18 globalization have created alternative economic and political spaces where this radical solidarity principle of justice is now operative between many of those involved in broader social justice movements, including women, whether or not they define themselves as feminists. Another world is becoming possible! It overlaps this present paper in its discussion of the concrete social justice and alternative economic networks that now exist in which solidarity relations, particularly those between women across race, class and national borders, are being formed. It appears in a special issue of Philosophical Topics, v. While Shelby is arguing for a type of pragmatic Black nationalist identity politics, he does not deal with the problem of the conflicting class, gender, sexual and other interests that divide African-Americans and hence might make such solidarity difficult. This idea of power is of a relation in which power only appears when it is actualized in collective action. And for some political problems with lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersexual global alliances, see Ungar The crises over both sorts of value imbalance have fueled decentralized autonomist alternative visions that are neither classically capitalist nor socialist but that aim to promote both collective solidarity and individual rights through participatory democracy that recognizes the need for a politics of difference cf. Allard, Davidson and Matthei for solidarity economic network papers from the U. Social Forum in Atlanta. In this case, the transformational process of solidarity networking has developed the value of solidarity justice as an integral part of its practice of promoting the value of freedom that it started with, thus dialectically developing the concept of freedom itself to include solidarity, and also transforming those espousing freedom into those demanding solidarity justice. Many of the larger NGOs have government or corporate funders whose interests are to use their economic initiatives to build an infrastructure for corporate globalization. These for-profit efforts, e. For a number of papers which deal with these developing solidarity movements, see the archive of papers at the website of the Center for Global Justice in San Miguel de Allende, Mexico [www.cjg.org](http://www.cjg.org). Although political conflicts around some feminist and transgendered identity politics exist, e. Heyes , Ungar , Boucher

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## 4: Disability Services Coordinator Jobs, Employment in Ann Arbor, MI | [www.enganchecubano.com](http://www.enganchecubano.com)

*Edited by Gregory Albo and Leo Panitch, For years, intellectuals have argued that, with the triumph of capitalist, liberal democracy, the Western World has reached "the end of history."*

Rooted in classical liberal economic thought, neoliberalism claims that a largely unregulated capitalist economy embodies the ideal of free individual choice and maximizes economic efficiency and growth, technological progress, and distributive justice. Economic globalization is associated with particular global political and economic institutions, such as the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, and specific neoliberal economic policies, such as the following: Signatory countries typically agree to eliminate tariffs, such as duties and surcharges, as well as nontariff obstacles to trade, such as licensing regulations, quotas on imports, and subsidies to domestic producers. Trade liberalization is associated with the easing of restrictions on capital flow and investment, along with the elimination of government regulations that can be seen as unfair barriers to trade, including legal protections for workers, consumers, and the environment. Privatization of public assets. Economic globalization is marked by the sale of state-owned enterprises, goods, and services to private investors in the name of expanding markets and increasing efficiency. Such assets include banks, key industries, highways and railroads, power and electricity, education, and healthcare. Privatization often also involves the sale of publicly owned, economically exploitable natural resources, such as water, minerals, forests, and land, to private investors. Elimination of social welfare programs. Neoliberalism favors sharp reductions in public expenditures for social services, such as housing, health care, education, and disability and unemployment insurance, as a crucial means of reducing the role of government and making private businesses more efficient. Structural Adjustment Policies SAPs have been instrumental in requiring countries in the global South to eliminate social welfare spending. Since the early s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund have required debtor nations to adopt SAPs as a condition of borrowing money or improving conditions of existing loans. SAPs require debtor nations to restructure their economies along neoliberal lines, by, for example, removing government regulation, eliminating social welfare programs, and promoting market competition. While many countries have liberalized capital markets and eased barriers to transnational trade in goods and services under globalization, most have not eliminated barriers to the flow of labor. Indeed, some affluent countries, such as the United States, have implemented more restrictive immigration policies, leading to the detention and deportation of thousands of undocumented immigrants and the militarization of national borders. Despite these restrictions, however, migration has increased along with other processes of globalization. Political philosophers are concerned with the effects of these policies on human well-being. Proponents of globalization claim that economic liberalization has enabled many people throughout the world to move out of conditions of dire poverty. Critics point out that neoliberal policies have created the widest gap between the very rich and very poor in history, with unprecedented wealth for the rich and poverty and destitution for millions of the global poor Nikiforuk , Pogge Feminist philosophers insist that economic globalization must also be understood in terms of the effects it has had on women, who make up a disproportionate percentage of the global poor. Most agree that these effects have been primarily negative. For instance, Jaggar argues that globalization has promised many things that are crucial to feminists: However, neoliberal policies have brought about the opposite of these aspirations. Political globalization refers to changes in the exercise of political power that have resulted from increased transnational engagement. Prior to World War II, the international political system was understood in terms of the so-called Westphalian model. According to this model, political power is exercised primarily through governance at the level of the territorial state. The international political system is comprised of sovereign states, which enjoy a monopoly on political power within their own territories. International treaties govern relations among states; however, states generally cannot legitimately intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations. Thus, when problems, such as famines, genocides, and civil wars arise,

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they are seen primarily as security issues for individual states, not matters of justice affecting the global community Fraser In addition to holding states accountable for adhering to mutually agreed upon norms and standards, global institutions often set the agendas that determine which issues receive international attention. Most global institutions privilege Western and corporate interests over those of vulnerable and marginalized people, and few have been successful in challenging the structural inequalities that give rise to gendered harms, such as deprivation, discrimination, and violence. The expansion of global communications has led to the development of new transnational political networks, comprised of individuals, non-governmental organizations, and social movements. For instance, some feminists argue that globalization has created new transnational public spheres in which political opinion can be marshaled to hold leaders democratically accountable Fraser , Gould Given the complexity of globalization, how have feminist political philosophers addressed the social, political, and economic challenges posed by it? Below, we provide an overview of several feminist theoretical approaches to this task. These various approaches include those developed by postcolonial feminists, transnational feminists, and feminists who endorse an ethics of care. In this section, we identify four key features shared by these various feminist approaches to globalization and outline some of the distinctive characteristics of each theoretical orientation. Rather than developing all-encompassing ideal theories of global justice, however, feminist philosophers tend to adopt the non-ideal theoretical perspectives, which focus on specific, concrete issues. Early feminist analyses focused on issues that were widely believed to be of particular importance to women around the world, such as domestic violence, workplace discrimination, and human rights violations against women. While gendered analyses of these issues have provided valuable insights into the distinctive nature of the harms involved, many feminist philosophers view this approach as too narrow, both in terms of the specific issues it addresses and its methodological approach to these issues. They contend that even apparently gender-neutral global issues often have a gendered dimension, including war, global governance, migration, southern debt, and climate change. Although gender oppression takes different forms in different social, cultural, and geographical locations, women in every society face systematic disadvantages, such as those resulting from their socially assigned responsibility for domestic work. Because of these structural injustices, women of all nationalities tend to suffer more from the poverty, overwork, deprivation, and political marginalization associated with neoliberal policies. Thus, more recent feminist analyses of globalization tend to understand the outcomes of globalization not as disparate or contingent phenomena, but rather as a result of systematic, structural injustices on a global scale. Indeed, some contend that the global basic structure itself is implicitly biased against women Jaggar a. The second key feature of feminist approaches to globalization is a shared commitment to core feminist values, including an opposition to the subordination of women. Some theorists also draw upon feminist interpretations of mainstream moral and political ideals, such as equality, democracy, and human rights, to develop critiques of neoliberal policies. Many feminists also use the language of human rights to address the challenges of globalization. While they acknowledge that traditional understandings of human rights are implicitly male-biased, they contend that feminist rearticulations these norms can help to identify the gendered harms involved in sexual slavery, forced domestic labor, and the systematic withholding of education, food, and healthcare from women and girls that follow from severe economic deprivation Bunch , Cudd , Jaggar a, Nussbaum , Robinson , Okin , Reilly However, not all feminist political philosophers agree with this approach. Some believe that new feminist ideals, such as relational understandings of power, collective responsibility, and mutual dependence, are needed to diagnose the gender injustices associated with globalization Hankivsky , Held , , Kittay , , Miller , , Robinson , , Weir a, b, Young For instance, Iris Marion Young argues the traditional ideal theories of justice are unable to account for the unjust background conditions that contribute to the development of sweatshops in the global South. She argues that a new relational model of responsibility, which she calls the social connection model, is needed to articulate the obligations that people in affluent northern countries have to workers in the global South. The social connection model holds that individuals bear responsibility for structural injustices, such as those suffered by

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workers on the global assembly line, because our actions contribute to the institutional processes that produce such injustices. In particular, northern consumers have a responsibility to organize collectively to reform the injustices associated with sweatshop labor Young The third key feature of feminist approaches to globalization is an emphasis on feminist methodologies. In particular, these approaches tend to embody three key methodological commitments. The first is intersectionality, which maintains that systems of oppression interact to produce injustices, and thus, that gender injustices cannot be understood solely in terms of sex or gender. Feminist theorists of globalization contend that gender oppression interacts with these systems of oppression, along with other forms of systematic disadvantage that arise within the global context. Salient categories include nationality, geographical location, citizenship status, and socioeconomic position within the global economy for instance, as a Southern elite, a Western laborer, or a worker on the global assembly line. Given this broad conception of intersectionality, feminist theorists of globalization insist that gender injustices arise within specific transnational contexts, such as historical relationships among nations and current global economic policies. The second methodological commitment shared by feminist approaches to globalization is a sensitivity to context and concrete specificity. Feminist philosophers strive to accurately reflect the diverse interests, experience, and concerns of women throughout the world, and to take seriously differences in culture, history, and socio-economic and political circumstances. In this way, feminist approaches to globalization attempt to move between local conditions and global pressures, between historical realities and contemporary experiences of oppression and vulnerability, while being attentive to complex interactions among social, economic, and political forces. In their view, Nussbaum and Okin do not pay sufficient attention to the ways that justice and injustice are mediated by local conditions in their attempts to identify universal moral ideals. Finally, feminist theorists of globalization are committed to developing self-reflexive critiques. At the heart of this methodology is a willingness to critically examine feminist claims, with particular attention to the ways in which feminist discourses privilege certain points of view. For instance, Schutte insists that ostensibly universal feminist values and ideas are likely to embody the values of dominant cultures. This helps to explain why the voices of women from developing countries are often taken seriously only if they reflect the norms and values of the West and conform to Western expectations. Thus, Schutte insists that feminists must engage in methodological practices that de-center their habitual standpoints and foreground perspectives that challenge accepted ways of thinking Schutte The struggle to develop feminist theories that embody these methodological commitments has been ongoing for feminists. In the s, Chandra Talpade Mohanty observed that Western feminist scholarship tends to adopt an ethnocentric perspective, depicting so-called Third-World women as one-dimensional, non-agentic, and homogenous. In her often-cited words, such scholarship tends to suggest that: This, I suggest, is in contrast to the implicit self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities and the freedom to make their own decisions Mohanty , Many of the recent developments in the feminist literature on globalization can be understood as a response to this theoretical failure. In addition to recognizing the ways in which power influences the production of feminist theories, feminist critics of globalization strive to understand the ways in which Western women share responsibility for gender injustices in developing countries and at home, and to articulate their obligations to eliminate these injustices. Below, we examine three prominent approaches to globalization, developed by postcolonial, transnational, and ethics of care feminists. Although it is not possible to draw sharp boundaries around these theoretical perspectives, we identify some distinctive features of each. They begin with the claim that Western colonialism and imperialism have played important roles in shaping the contemporary world, and highlight their enduring effects on global relations and local cultural practices. Although postcolonial and Third-World feminists write from all over the world, they foreground non-Western epistemic standpoints and criticize North-South power asymmetries from the diverse perspectives of members of the global South Herr , Schutte , Postcolonial and Third-World feminists make several important claims. First, they insist that it is impossible to understand local practices in developing countries without acknowledging the ways in which these practices have been shaped

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by their economic and historical contexts, particularly their connection to Western colonialism and imperialism. For instance, as we explained above, some Third World feminists, such as Chandra Mohanty, see elements of imperialism in Western feminist scholarship on women in the global south. Similarly, postcolonial feminists, such as Uma Narayan, criticize feminists for unwittingly adopting a Eurocentric perspective. For instance, some Western feminist scholars, such as Mary Daly, strongly criticize cultural practices, such as sati, the Indian practice of widow immolation, as self-evidently wrong. However, Narayan argues that approaching sati as an isolated, local phenomenon fundamentally misrepresents it. Understanding sati in the context of colonial history provides a richer analysis of this practice, since it gained its symbolic power during British rule as an emblem of Hindu and Indian culture Narayan Highlighting the role that colonialism has played in shaping local practices enables feminists to avoid adopting a Eurocentric perspective. Likewise, postcolonial and Third-world feminists insist that any feminist analysis of the harms of globalization must take seriously the history and ongoing cultural, economic, and political effects of colonialism and imperialism. Postcolonial feminists further argue that although colonialism has formally ended, many aspects of globalization are best understood as neo-colonial practices. As Sally Scholz explains: Multinational corporations and global businesses, largely centered in Western nations, bring their own colonizing influence through business models, hegemonic culture, exploitation of workers, and displacement of traditional trades. Whereas traditional forms of colonialism entailed the colonizer assuming the privilege of ruling the colony, this neocolonialism rules indirectly through the power it creates and enjoys by bringing manufacturing jobs to an area or providing consumer goods to a people – often Western inspired consumer goods as well. Old style colonialism often killed or displaced indigenous peoples; the new style of colonialism impoverishes a culture by swamping society with Western values, products or ideals , More broadly, postcolonial and Third World feminists observe that many of the conditions created by colonialism – economic inequality and exploitation, racism, cultural marginalization, and the domination of the global South by the global North – have been sustained and intensified by neoliberalism. Moreover, they argue, neoliberal policies and institutions systematically favor countries in the global North to the detriment of southern nations. International trade policies serve Western interests even while claiming to be politically neutral and fair. Proponents of this approach begin by observing that most mainstream analyses of globalization either ignore or devalue care. This is problematic, they argue, for at least two reasons:

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## 5: Public land is a feminist issue | New Economics Foundation

See Heidi Hartmann, *"The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union,"* in *Women and Revolution*, , and Ann Ferguson and Nancy Folbre, *"The Unhappy.*

Marxism, Work, and Human Nature Marxism as a philosophy of human nature stresses the centrality of work in the creation of human nature itself and human self-understanding see the entry on Marxism. Both the changing historical relations between human work and nature, and the relations of humans to each other in the production and distribution of goods to meet material needs construct human nature differently in different historical periods: Marxism as a philosophy of history and social change highlights the social relations of work in different economic modes of production in its analysis of social inequalities and exploitation, including relations of domination such as racism and sexism. Marx , , â€”9; Marx and Engels , ; Engels Within capitalism, the system they most analyzed, the logic of profit drives the bourgeois class into developing the productive forces of land, labor and capital by expanding markets, turning land into a commodity and forcing the working classes from feudal and independent agrarian production into wage labor. Marx and Engels argue that turning all labor into a commodity to be bought and sold not only alienates workers by taking the power of production away from them, it also collectivizes workers into factories and mass assembly lines. This provides the opportunity for workers to unite against the capitalists and to demand the collectivization of property, i. Women lose power when private property comes into existence as a mode of production. The rise of capitalism, in separating the family household from commodity production, further solidifies this control of men over women in the family when the latter become economic dependents of the former in the male breadwinner-female housewife nuclear family form. Reed , Leacock , Rosaldo and Lamphere Yet other feminist economic historians have done historical studies of the ways that race, class and ethnicity have situated women differently in relation to production, for example in the history of the United States Davis ; Amott and Matthaei Keys represented the difference side, that women are superior humans because of mothering; while Gilman and Goldman took the equality side of the debate, that is, that, women are restricted, and made socially unequal to men, by unpaid housework and mothering[ 3 ]. Second Wave Feminist Analyses of Housework In the second wave movement, theorists can be grouped by their theory of how housework oppresses women. Typically, liberal feminists critique housework because it is unpaid. This makes women dependent on men and devalued, since their work is outside the meaningful sphere of public economic production Friedan That the necessary work of reproducing the working class is unpaid allows more profits to capitalists. Some even make this analysis the basis for a demand for wages for housework Dalla Costa ; Federici More recently, Federici has done an analysis of the transition to capitalism in Europe. One of the philosophical problems raised by the housework debate is how to draw the line between work and play or leisure activity when the activity is not paid: If the former, then her hours in such activity may be compared with those of her husband or partner to see if there is an exploitation relation present, for example, if his total hours of productive and reproductive work for the family are less than hers cf. But to the extent that childrearing counts as leisure activity, as play, as activity held to be intrinsically valuable Ferguson , no exploitation is involved. Perhaps childrearing and other caring activity is both work and play, but only that portion which is necessary for the psychological growth of the child and the worker s counts as work. If so, who determines when that line is crossed? Since non-market activity does not have a clear criterion to distinguish work from non-work, nor necessary from non-necessary social labor, an arbitrary element seems to creep in that makes standards of fairness difficult to apply to gendered household bargains between men and women dividing up waged and non-waged work. One solution to this problem is simply to take all household activity that could also be done by waged labor nannies, domestic servants, gardeners, chauffeurs, etc. Or, one can argue that although the line between work and leisure changes historically, those doing the activity should have the decisive say as to whether their activity counts as work, i. Finally, one can argue that since the human

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care involved in taking care of children and elders creates a public good, it should clearly be characterized as work, and those who are caretakers, primarily women, should be fairly compensated for it by society or the state Ferguson and Folbre Folbre , Ferguson Patricia Hill Collins argues further that the racial division of labor, institutional racism and different family structures put African American women in yet a different epistemic relation to society than white and other women , Hence our perspectives are so intersectional that they cannot be unified simply by a common relation to work. This involves theorizing a separate system of work relations that organizes and directs human sexuality, nurturance, affection and biological reproduction. While Ferguson and Folbre agree that there is no inevitable fit between capitalism and patriarchy, they argue that there are conflicts, and that the family wage bargain has broken down at present. Walby has a similar analysis, but to her the connection between forms of capitalism and forms of patriarchy is more functional and less accidental than it appears to Ferguson and Smart. Walby argues that there are two different basic forms of patriarchy which emerge in response to the tensions between capitalist economies and patriarchal household economies: Private patriarchy as a form is marked by excluding women from economic and political power while public patriarchy works by segregating women. There is a semi-automatic re-adjustment of the dual systems when the older private father patriarchy based on the patriarchal family is broken down due to the pressures of early industrial capitalism. This is especially notable in the rise of poor single-mother-headed families. However, as it forces more and more women into wage labor, women are given opportunities for some independence from men and the possibility to challenge male dominance and sex segregation in all spheres of social life. The work of feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith has been a notable intervention into the public-private split by bringing into view the institutions and power regimes that regulate the everyday world, their gender subtext, and basis in a gendered division of labor. Legal feminist critics expand on the biopolitics of the patriarchal welfare state, which psychiatrizes as it threatens mothers with the loss of child custody. This represents a new eugenics twist on the enduring mistrust of working-class mothers and casting those who are imprisoned as undeserving parent Guggenheim ; Law African American mothers bear the brunt of punitive and racist family and criminal law Thompson ; Solinger et al. Psychological Theories of Women and Work The socialist-feminist idea that there are two interlocking systems that structure gender and the economy, and thus are jointly responsible for male domination, has been developed in a psychological direction by the psychoanalytic school of feminist theorists. Particularly relevant to the question of women and work are the theories of Mitchell , , Kuhn and Wolpe , Chodorow , , and Ruddick Mothering, or, taking care of babies and small children, as a type of work done overwhelmingly by women, socializes women and men to have different identities, personalities and skills. In a Freudian vein, Mitchell later argues that women learn that they are not full symbolic subjects because compulsory heterosexuality and the incest taboo bar them from meeting either the desire of their mother or any other woman. The sexual division of infant care gives boys, who must learn their masculine identity by separating from their mother and the feminine, a motive for deprecating, as well as dominating, women. On the other side of the debate, Brenner argues that women are not uniformly exploited by men across economic class lines: Hochschild and hooks point out that career women tend to pay working class women to do the second shift work in the home so they can avoid that extra work, and they have an interest in keeping such wages, e. Nancy Fraser and Susan Moller Okin formulate ethical arguments to maintain that a just model of society would have to re-structure work relations so that the unpaid and underpaid caring labor now done primarily by women would be given a status equivalent to other wage labor by various means. Interestingly, the debate between feminist theorists of justice, e. All of these theorists seem to have ideal visions of society which dovetail: Postmodernist Feminist Theory Useful anthologies of the first stage of second wave socialist feminist writings which include discussions of women, class and work from psychological as well as sociological and economic perspectives are Eisenstein , Hansen and Philipson , Hennessy and Ingraham , and Holmstrom Others such as Jaggar and Rothenberg , Tuana and Tong and Herrmann and Stewart include classic socialist feminist analyses in their collections, inviting comparisons of the authors to others grouped under the categories of liberal, radical, psychoanalytic, Marxist,

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postmodern, postcolonial and multicultural feminisms. Various post-modern critiques of these earlier feminist schools of thought such as post-colonialism as well as deconstruction and post-structuralism challenge the over-generalizations and economic reductionism of many of those constructing feminist theories that fall under the early categories of liberal, radical, Marxist or socialist feminism cf. Grewal and Kaplan ; Kaplan et al. Others argue that part of the problem is the master narratives of liberalism or Marxism, the first of which sees all domination relations due to traditional hierarchies and undermined by capitalism, thus ignoring the independent effectivity of racism Josephs ; and the second of which ties all domination relations to the structure of contemporary capitalism and ignores the non-capitalist economics contexts in which many women work, even within so-called capitalist economies, such as housework and voluntary community work Gibson-Graham For example, Spivak , Mohanty , Carby , and Hennessy , are creating and re-articulating forms of Marxist and socialist-feminism less susceptible to charges of over-generalization and reductionism, and more compatible with close contextual analysis of the power relations of gender and class as they relate to work. They can be grouped loosely with a tendency called materialist feminism that incorporates some of the methods of deconstruction and post-structuralism Hennessy ; Landry and MacLean Nonetheless strong emphasis on issues of race and ethnicity can be found in their work on women, class and work. For example, Brewer shows that white and African-American working class women are divided by race in the workforce, and that even changes in the occupational structure historically tend to maintain this racial division of labor. Presupposed in the general theoretical debates concerning the relations between gender, social and economic class, and work are usually definitions of each of these categories that some thinkers would argue are problematic. For example, Tokarczyk and Fay have an excellent anthology on working class women in the academy in which various contributors discuss the ambiguous positions in which they find themselves by coming from poor family backgrounds and becoming academics. One problem is whether they are still members of the working class in so doing, and if not, whether they are betraying their families of origin by a rise to middle class status. Another is, whether they have the same status in the academy, as workers, thinkers and women, as those men or women whose families of origin were middle class or above. Rather than provide a standard philosophical definition in terms of necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in the working class, they provide a cluster of characteristics and examples of jobs, such as physically demanding, repetitive and dangerous jobs, jobs that lack autonomy and are generally paid badly. Examples of working class jobs they give are cleaning women, waitresses, lumberjacks, janitors and police officers. They challenge those that would argue that family origin can be overcome by the present position one has in the social division of labor: More recent work in socio-legal studies also has begun to question the limits of intersectional analysis Grabham et al. Furthermore, because such method is identity-focused it will not get at the dimension of class which has been traditionally thought in relational not locational terms , 29â€” For example, a woman may work on two levels: If in addition her family of origin is professional middle class because, say, her parents were college educated academics , the woman may be seen and see herself as either working class or middle class, depending on whether she and others emphasize her present relations of wage work her individual economic class, which in this case is working class , her household income middle class or her family of origin middle class. Sylvia Walby deals with this ambiguity of economic class as applying to women as unpaid houseworkers by claiming against Delphy that the relevant economic sex classes are those who are housewives vs. Such an identity is usually formed through political organizing and coalitions with other women at her place of employment, in her home and her community. In this sense the concept of sex class is exactly analogous to the concept of a feminist epistemological standpoint: Strategic gender interests, on the contrary, may ally women across otherwise divided economic class interests, since they are those, like rights against physical male violence and reproductive rights, which women have as a sex class to eliminate male domination. Her distinctions, and those of Molyneux, have been changed slightly â€” practical vs. Many have pointed out that the concept of class itself is mystified in the U. The Ehrenreichs , in a classic article, argue that this mystification is due to the emergence of a professional-managerial class that has some interests

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in common with the capitalist class and some with the working class. Whatever its causes, there are empirical studies which show that class distinctions still operate between women, albeit in an indirect way. Barbara Ehrenreich, by adopting the material life conditions of a poor woman, did an empirical study of the lives of women working for minimum wages and found their issues to be quite different from and ignored by middle and upper-class women. Diane Reay does an empirical study of women from manual labor family backgrounds and their relation to the schooling of their children, and discovers that they use a discourse that acknowledges class differences of educational access and career possibilities, even though it does not specifically define these by class per se. Anarchist Perspectives on Work and its Other So far, it has been assumed that work is an intrinsic good. What if waged or unwaged work itself were to be considered problematic or oppressive? Autonomous Marxists contest that liberal or socialist feminist perspectives have unnecessarily mystified work and have operated with a moralism. Whether one ought to be paid for housework or reproductive labor or seek equal employment opportunities, feminists have not sufficiently opposed the sanctification of work. Championing the refusal of work means to abandon a narrow focus on the critique of the extraction of surplus value or of the process of deskilling. Furthermore, it is imperative to interrogate how work dominates our lives Weeks, Kathi Weeks charges that a productivist bias is common to feminist and Marxist analysis. The Wages for Housework campaign demanded purposefully the impossible. These feminists did not only ask for compensation for unpaid domestic labor, but also postulated the end of such work Federici Post-work also means post-domestic care, something that gets lost in some of the ethic of care analysis, which inadvertently fosters a romantic attachment to endowing meaning to such work. A post-work ethic entails a playful commitment to leisure and unstructured activities such as day-dreaming. By ignoring the liberatory power of play, Weeks insufficiently engages the meaning of work and the asceticism of the work ethic Trullinger, Punitive Perspectives on Work and Non-Work While it is reasonable to champion daydreams and play as intrinsic goods, idle time itself is often not felt as a good or luxury, but instead a psychic imposition. Imprisonment is anathema to indigenous, socio-centric peoples in the Global South, and imprisonment is closely connected to the disciplinary apparatus of western colonization of the Americas and Africa Nagel Day-dreaming in a solitary cell becomes positively dangerous and suicides and mental illness increase exponentially Casella et al. In the US, poor children of color, especially Black, Latino, and American Indians living on reservations, are at higher risk of being taken away from their kin and carers and turned over to the foster care system Goldberg The world over, parents who are socially displaced such as Romanian immigrants in Norway, are under greater scrutiny by state actors, e.

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## 6: Socialist Register Rethinking Democracy – Radical Political Economy

*Below are five events in history that paved the way for Trumpcare: 1. The Freedmen's Bureau is dismantled, taking free health care away from millions of formerly enslaved Black people. Right before the Civil War ended, the Freedmen's Bureau was established by an act of Congress.*

Anarcha-feminism[ edit ] Anarcha-feminism also called anarchist feminism and anarcho-feminism combines anarchism with feminism. It generally views patriarchy as a manifestation of involuntary coercive hierarchy that should be replaced by decentralized free association. Anarcha-feminists believe that the struggle against patriarchy is an essential part of class struggle , and the anarchist struggle against the state. In essence, the philosophy sees anarchist struggle as a necessary component of feminist struggle and vice versa. Susan Brown claims that "as anarchism is a political philosophy that opposes all relationships of power, it is inherently feminist". He argued that "[e]qual rights must belong to men and women" so that women can "become independent and be free to forge their own way of life". Bakunin foresaw the end of "the authoritarian juridical family " and "the full sexual freedom of women". A similar paper with the same name was reportedly published later in Montevideo , which suggests that Bolten may also have founded and edited it after her deportation. An editorial asserted, "We believe that in present-day society nothing and nobody has a more wretched situation than unfortunate women. Its feminism can be seen from its attack on marriage and upon male power over women. Its contributors, like anarchist feminists elsewhere, developed a concept of oppression that focused on gender oppression. Marriages entered into without love, fidelity maintained through fear rather than desire, oppression of women by men they hated"all were seen as symptomatic of the coercion implied by the marriage contract. In order to gain mutual support, they created networks of women anarchists. Flying day-care centres were set up in efforts to involve more women in union activities. Working under a male pen name , she was able to explore lesbian themes [16] at a time when homosexuality was criminalized and subject to censorship and punishment. In the past decades two films have been produced about anarcha-feminism. Libertarias is a historical drama made in about the Spanish anarcha-feminist organization Mujeres Libres. Through a Marxist historical perspective, Engels analyzes the widespread social phenomena associated with female sexual morality, such as fixation on virginity and sexual purity, incrimination and violent punishment of women who commit adultery , and demands that women be submissive to their husbands. Ultimately, Engels traces these phenomena to the recent development of exclusive control of private property by the patriarchs of the rising slaveowner class in the ancient mode of production, and the attendant desire to ensure that their inheritance is passed only to their own offspring: In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both Clara Zetkin and Eleanor Marx were against the demonization of men and supported a proletariat revolution that would overcome as many male"female inequalities as possible. Orthodox Marxists argue that most Marxist forerunners claimed by feminists or "Marxist feminists" including Clara Zetkin [24] [25] and Alexandra Kollontai [26] [27] were against capitalist forms of feminism. They agreed with the main Marxist movement that feminism was a bourgeois ideology counterposed to Marxism and against the working class. Instead of feminism, the Marxists supported the more radical political program of liberating women through socialist revolution, with a special emphasis on work among women and in materially changing their conditions after the revolution. Orthodox Marxists view the later attempt to combine Marxism and feminism as a liberal creation of academics and reformist leftists who want to make alliances with bourgeois feminists. For what reason, then, should the woman worker seek a union with the bourgeois feminists? Who, in actual fact, would stand to gain in the event of such an alliance? Certainly not the woman worker. Landy, Marxism and the Woman Question. They contend that elimination of the capitalist profit-driven economy will remove the motivation for sexism, racism, homophobia, and other forms of oppression. Eisenstein[ edit ] Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism was a collection of essays assembled and anthologized by Zillah R. Sociologist and academic Rhonda F. How

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Radical Sociology Changed the Discipline. The demand for real equality of women with men, if taken to its logical conclusion, would dislodge the patriarchal structure necessary to a liberal society. For Haraway, the Manifesto came at a critical juncture at which feminists, in order to have any real-world significance, had to acknowledge their situatedness within what she terms the "informatics of domination". A cyborg does not require a stable, essentialist identity, argues Haraway, and feminists should consider creating coalitions based on "affinity" instead of identity. To ground her argument, Haraway analyzes the phrase "women of color", suggesting it as one possible example of affinity politics. Using a term coined by theorist Chela Sandoval, Haraway writes that "oppositional consciousness" is comparable with a cyborg politics, because rather than identity it stresses how affinity comes as a result of "otherness, difference, and specificity" p. Casalinghe, prostitute, operai e capitale , a feminist critique of Marx. Riccini Mediating the Human Body. Technology, Communication and Fashion Silvia Federici is an Italian scholar, teacher, and activist from the radical autonomist feminist Marxist tradition. Instead, she posits that primitive accumulation is a fundamental characteristic of capitalism itself—that capitalism, in order to perpetuate itself, requires a constant infusion of expropriated capital. Related to this, she outlines the historical struggle for the commons and the struggle for communalism. Instead of seeing capitalism as a liberatory defeat of feudalism , Federici interprets the ascent of capitalism as a reactionary move to subvert the rising tide of communalism and to retain the basic social contract. She situates the institutionalization of rape and prostitution , as well as the heretic and witch-hunt trials, burnings, and torture at the center of a methodical subjugation of women and appropriation of their labor. This is tied into colonial expropriation and provides a framework for understanding the work of the International Monetary Fund , World Bank , and other proxy institutions as engaging in a renewed cycle of primitive accumulation, by which everything held in common—from water, to seeds, to our genetic code—becomes privatized in what amounts to a new round of enclosures. The theory centers on social change rather than seeking transformation within the capitalist system. The term Material feminism was first used in by Christine Delphy. Marxism was inadequate to the task because of its class bias and focus on production. Feminism was also problematic due to its essentialist and idealist concept of woman. Material Feminism then emerged as a positive substitute to both Marxism and feminism. Christine Delphy states that this is why women and all oppressed groups need materialism to investigate their situation. For Christine Delphy "to start from oppression defines a materialist approach, oppression is a materialist concept. Christine Delphy further argued that marriage is a labor contract that gives men the right to exploit women. Hayden describes Material feminism at that time as reconceptualizing the relationship between the private household space and public space by presenting collective options to take the "burden" off women in regard to housework , cooking , and other traditional female domestic jobs. They see the fight to end male supremacy as key to social justice, but not the only issue, rather one of many forms of oppression that are mutually reinforcing. The main goal of the organization was to end gender inequality and sexism, which the CWLU defined as "the systematic keeping down of women for the benefit of people in power". The group is best known for the pamphlet " Socialist Feminism: Nationally circulated, the publication is believed to be the first to use the term socialist feminism. The CWLU was organized as an umbrella organization to unite a wide range of work groups and discussion groups. A representative from each work group went to monthly meetings of the Steering Committee to reach consensus on organizational policy and strategy. Their activism mainly took the form of "zaps", a form of guerrilla theater mixing street theatre and protest , where they used attention-catching and humorous public actions to highlight political and economic complaints against companies and government agencies, frequently involving the use of witch costumes and the chanting of hexes. Witches often appeared as stock characters in feminist Left theatre, representing the misogynist crone stereotype. On Halloween , women from W. H targeted both the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Chicago Eight , saying that they conspired to treat only men as "leaders" of the antiwar movement. Members wore black veils. The protests also involved turning loose several white mice at the event, which Fair attendees began scooping up off the ground. The event resulted in negative media coverage for W. The

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"zap" protests used by W. Big Flame[ edit ] Big Flame was "a revolutionary socialist feminist organisation with a working-class orientation" [48] [49] in the United Kingdom. Founded in Liverpool in , the group initially grew rapidly, with branches appearing in some other cities. Its publications emphasised that "a revolutionary party is necessary but Big Flame is not that party, nor is it the embryo of that party". The group was influenced by the Italian Lotta Continua group. In time, they came to describe their politics as " libertarian Marxist ". The Revolutionary Marxist Current also joined at about this time. However, as more members of the group defected to the Labour Party , the journal ceased to appear in , [51] and the group was wound up in about . Ex-members of the group were involved in the launch of the mass-market tabloid newspaper the News on Sunday in , which folded the same year. It dealt with a fictional strike and work-in at the Liverpool Docks. Gordon says that because the foundation of socialist feminism rests on multiple axes, socialist feminism has a history of intersectionality that can be traced back to a period decades before Dr. She says many lesbian women criticized the movement for its domination by heterosexual feminists who perpetuated heterosexism in the movement. Similarly, Black women asserted that they were deprived a voice due to the overwhelming majority of white women in the WLM advocating widely held views regarding violence against women, the family, and reproductive rights that failed to account for the distinct struggles faced by women of color. They assert that there is nothing natural about the gendered division of labor and show that the expectation that women perform all or most reproductive labor , i. In order to free themselves from the conditions of work as a mother and housekeeper, socialist feminists such as Charlotte Perkins Gilman saw the professionalization of housework as key. This would be done by hiring professional nannies and housekeepers to take the load of domestic work away from the woman in the house. These changes would necessitate the communalization of meal preparation and consumption outside the home and free women from their burden of providing meals on a house-by-house scale.

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## **7: Toward a New Socialism : Anatole Anton :**

*For instance, Ann Ferguson argues that anti-globalization networks, such as worker-owned cooperatives, labor unions, fair trade organizations, and land reform movements, are creating the conditions for North-South women's coalition movements based on non-essentialist political commitments to global gender justice (Ferguson, ; see also Kang.*

Concepts of post-democracy, anti-politics, and the like are gaining currency in theoretical and political debate. Now that capitalist democracies are facing seismic and systemic challenges, it becomes increasingly important to investigate not only the inherent antagonism between liberalism and the democratic process, but also socialism. Is socialism an enemy of democracy? Could socialism develop, expand, even enhance democracy? While this volume seeks a reappraisal of existing liberal democracy today, its main goal is to help lay the foundation for new visions and practices in developing a real socialist democracy. Amid the contradictions of neoliberal capitalism, the responsibility to sort out the relationship between socialism and democracy has never been greater. No revival of socialist politics in the twenty-first century can occur without founding new democratic institutions and practices. The struggle over actually existing democracy Sheila Rowbotham: Linking lives with democracy Martijn Konings: From Hayek to Trump: In fear of populism: Referendums and neoliberal democracy Adam Hilton: Fake democracy, bad news Tom Mills: Democracy and public broadcasting Nina Power: Cooperative democracy or competitiveness? The Kerala experience Paul Raekstad: From democracy to socialism, then and now Ian McKay: Challenging the common sense of neoliberalism: Gramsci, Macpherson, and the next left Alex Demirovic: Radical democracy and socialism.

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## 8: How is Global Solidarity Possible? | Ann Ferguson - [www.enganchecubano.com](http://www.enganchecubano.com)

*In the face of today's for-profit childcare and elder care providers, a vision of care that returns to this model is urgently needed. Women Breaking Boundaries workshop series by Esha Thapur NEF is currently in the process of establishing the UK's first childcare co-operative for low-income families in Vanguard Estate, Lewisham.*

This way, they could continue to communalise washing and cooking and give each other support when abused by men. This is just one story in a long history connecting socialist feminism to the politics of the commons. Across the UK in the past few years, this radical history has continued as community groups led by women have sprung up to take control of housing in their local area. They are rethinking the way that gender inequalities are built into the physical structure of homes and cities. The driving force behind this movement is the need for more genuinely affordable homes. Reclaim Holloway activists were similarly concerned that private developers would prioritise luxury flats on the Holloway prison site while there are 20, families on the waiting list for social housing in Islington. They are right to be concerned. Our recent report has shown that only one in five new homes built on public land will be affordable. But there is a lesser known aspect to this story, which is that the lack of affordable or social housing disproportionately disadvantages women, particularly women of colour. Sisters Uncut occupation of Holloway Prison The gender pay gap means that women spend a higher proportion of earnings on rent and have more difficulty saving for a deposit. The bedroom tax affects twice as many women as men because of its implications for single parents who are more likely to be women. And housing benefit changes have made it harder to support women who flee domestic violence. Community-led housing can address these gender inequalities, not only by building new homes but by changing the way we build them. Preventing domestic abuse For thousands of women and children across the country, their home is the most dangerous place they can be. We also discussed the role of communal spaces as a form of resistance to domestic abuse. Helen Hester highlights how intimate partner violence flourishes in sites of isolation as victims are more easily manipulated, and detached from their support networks. Reorganising housework Women Breaking Boundaries workshop series by Esha Thapur The restructuring of housing and public space into more communal arrangements is not just a question of power and safety but also work. Unpaid domestic work such as cooking and cleaning means that women work longer hours than men for much less money in isolating conditions. Today, the single family home is still labour intensive and energy inefficient. How many cookers are on at 6pm? But community-led developments on public land could also offer high quality, communally accessible workshops, health facilities, media suites, labs, food growing and maker spaces. Collective care How can these projects also ensure that elderly and disabled people are integrated into the community? The prevailing approach of warehousing older people into low density bungalows at the edge of towns increases loneliness and assumes a privatised model of care provision. At a recent StART meeting, architecture student Ricardo explained how co-housing offers a strategy for adults to share caregiving in reciprocal relationships among an extensive group of people. A similar project has been discussed as one potential use for the old visitors building on the site in Holloway. Projects like this could start to tackle these problems. However, as activist researchers Helen Hester and Joni Cohen have highlighted, we should expand this conversation to think about the needs of many different kinds of caregiver. In the absence of state support, queer and trans people frequently led by people of colour have had to establish their own communities of care without wider infrastructures of support in the face of employment discrimination, threats of gendered violence and increased vulnerability to homelessness. If we want to offer spatial solutions to social problems we need to ensure that campaigning groups are inclusive and representative of vulnerable groups in the wider community. Together we can build a new economy where people really take control. Sign up for updates.

## 9: Feminism - Wikipedia

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