

**Call for Papers:
Feminism and social movements**

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Despite the emphasis within liberal democracy on individualism and the self, in practice women have been organizing and resisting more established and emerging forms of oppression and inequality collectively (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019; Smolović Jones et al, forthcoming). While more conventional forms of organizing through trade unions and radical political parties are not to be lightly dismissed (Dean, 2018), we also need to better understand the potential (and limitations) for furthering feminism through social movements (Daskalaki et al, 2017). Movements hold the promise to reach beyond traditional identities, whilst also acknowledging material struggles, drawing together diverse collectives around intersecting experiences of oppression (Chun et al., 2013), as well as forums for the expression of love, empathy, care and solidarity (Butler, 2015; Hardt and Negri, 2000; hooks, 2018). They also hold promise to bind the past with the present, building continuity and solidarity between generations of feminists through time and space (Federici, 2018; Johansson and Jones, 2019; 2020).

We can distinguish between movements formed around feminism – such as the Women’s Movement in Rojava - and the experiences of women within broader social movements. In terms of the latter, the Landless Workers’ Movement, potentially the largest movement in Latin America, fights predominantly against unjust land reforms in Brazil that impoverish rural people, and within this movement women are organizing collectively to explicitly further the demands of a women’s proletariat. Black Lives Matter was formed by three women and its ethos is explicitly informed by feminism, equality and inclusion, yet it represents all Black people (see Black Lives Matter, 2020). In this special issue, we welcome submissions that either focus on women-specific social movements or on women’s experiences and struggles within broader movements.

Feminisation of poverty and dispossession

Dominant forces of capital that we recognise today as ‘neoliberalisation’, ‘democratisation’, ‘globalisation’, facilitated by a coalition of supranational and international organizations and corporations (e.g. NATO, WTO, WB, IMF, UN, USAID, etc.), in conjunction with western European and US governments, have adversely affected women disproportionately to men. Thus, existing inequalities become widened, generating new precarious and transient populations (Federici, 2012; Sheller, 2018) and a “displace[ment of] thousands of poor people” (Motta and Seppälä, 2016: 6). It is not surprising, then, that women are organizing around issues of protecting their territories, livelihoods and cultural practices that have been hijacked through new forms of colonisation, under the guise of international development, instituted by these bodies in close collaboration with forces of capital (see Gujarara, 2020). Inequalities are further entrenched and deepened by capital’s perpetual financial crises (the 2008 global recession being the most pronounced of these) and their accompanying austerity measures (Durbin et al, 2017); pandemics such as Ebola and Covid-19 (CARE, 2020); the climate crisis (Habtezion, 2012); ecocide of Indigenous lands; and the rise of right-wing movements and governments across the globe (Bruder-Bezzel, 2019). Women continue to suffer the consequences more than men, as they are more dependent on precarious labour, take on more

unpaid domestic labour and do more unpaid care-work in the community. Therefore, we welcome submissions that surface struggles and mobilisations around the feminisation of poverty caused by the spread of neoliberalism and its accompanying rises in inequality, unemployment, the expropriation of communal lands, devastation of livelihoods and networks of support (e.g. welfare and cultural systems). We will specifically consider submissions concerning the struggles of Indigenous groups for equality, groups organizing in the face of the genocide and epistemicide that colonization and the post-maintenance of colonialist technologies of power have promoted and continue to promote (Kuokkanen, 2019). While the State does not even guarantee rights to its territories, genocidal capitalism is a structure that imposes continuous resistance upon a group that suffers various types of violence independent of the recent pandemic, including death contextualized in dynamics of deterritorialization.

Environmentalism

Environmental activism has experienced an upsurge of interest and support, mobilising millions of people globally; recently and most prominently via Extinction Rebellion. Indeed, the climate crisis is disproportionately harming women (Habtezion, 2016), due to the preponderance of women in precarious rural labour (CARE, 2020: 6). Campaigns for more 'green jobs' and a 'green new deal' may also be framed as feminist struggles, as carbon neutral work such as caring and teaching is more likely to be performed by women (Aronoff et al, 2019). Yet despite the emphasis on democracy, anti-colonialism, anti-patriarchy, transparency and inclusion of Extinction Rebellion, concerns have been raised that its tactics are by and for middle-class, white protesters, shown for example in how the 'glamorisation' of being arrested for civil disobedience overlooks experiences of violence suffered by Black and Minority Ethnic groups at the hands of the police (Akec, 2019; Gayle, 2019). The fight to protect livelihoods often brings women to the forefront of these movements, such as Patricia Gualinga of the *Ecuador Amazon movement* and Greta Thunberg of *Skolstrejk för klimatet*, where they are exposed to brutal attacks, sometimes life-threatening (see Frontline Defenders, 2018). We welcome submissions that offer a richer picture of the gendered dynamics of environmental movements as it is paramount to surface these experiences, raise awareness that these efforts are not optional, and shed light on the source and nature of resistance to such movements.

Anti-feminism

We need to consider how social movements are formed to oppose and undermine feminist collectives and agendas, how the liquid forms of movements are co-opted and turned towards regressive and violent ends. Gender equality can act as a powerful 'node' around which a range of discourses and forces converge, some seeking equality but others domination (Giritli Nygren et al, 2018). Most obviously anti-feminist movements congeal around far right populist politics, such as Trumpism or Bolsonaroism, but can form at a more local and community level (Smolović Jones et al, 2020). These movements can also superficially appear as feminist but carry an insidious message and agenda, such as the Trad Wife movement in the UK, or institutions that pay lip service to gender equality but undermine such rhetoric through contradictory practice (Johansson and Ringblom, 2017). However, we also welcome submissions on collective efforts against antifeminist politics and practice and how these efforts are mobilised and sustained. Examples of these can be found in the *Ni una menos* movement in Argentina, or *Danas bi bile medju nama* in Montenegro, prompted by a rise in femicides due to a lack of institutional protection and conscientious application of law, or movements for LGBTQ and women's reproductive rights in Poland prompted by the government's attack on liberty and equality.

Assemblies

We invite submissions that explore the formation and dynamics of assembly in relation to feminism. Assembly has been championed as a form of organizing that can performatively enact social change through embodied relationality (Butler, 2015), offering the possibility of working through difference

to generate solidarity (Smolović Jones et al, forthcoming). Assembly has been explicitly linked to precarity (Butler, 2015 and 2016), specifically as a way in which women in low-paid and insecure work can assert their equal right to life. Such mobilisations seem key at a time when women still perform the majority of reproductive and unpaid labour globally while also suffering a steady decline in employment since 1990 (Catalyst, 2020; Távora and Rodríguez-Modroño, 2018; WEF, 2020). Owing to such a precarious economic position, women have been hit harder by the Covid-19 pandemic, perhaps due to women being more likely to occupy essential forms of labour (Zalan, 2020), and this is a phenomenon heightened for Indigenous, Black and Ethnic Minority women (Booth, 2020; Curtice and Choo, 2020). Yet we can also view assembly as a forum of struggle, where various interests and groups press demands and vie for prominence. We know from our experiences of feminist movements that difference can be experienced as stifling and stifled, but can also be liberating and emancipatory (Davis, 2019; hooks, 1987). Submissions that explore these dynamics are welcomed.

Women can be dispossessed by movements but can also find agency through collective action (Craddock, 2017). One such example can be found in Brazil in the form of *quilombism*, the spaces to which Black people enslaved in Brazil fled, but which became sources of collective knowledge generation (Gomes, 2019; Nascimento, 1980). Assembly can also encompass and be shaped by available technologies, places and spaces – drawing disparate women together digitally or in temporarily autonomous zones within heavily policed spaces (Vachhani and Pullen, 2019).

We welcome empirical, conceptual or methodological submissions on the following or related topics, which may of course overlap or adopt a different emphasis to the ones we articulate:

- What are the advantages of organizing within movements as opposed to more traditional organizations for furthering gender equality?
- How do women in precarious employment organize against wholesale exploitation at work and in society (e.g. consequences of structural adjustment policies, privatisation, enclosures, etc.)?
- How do diverse women organize against oppressive governments (e.g. those that proactively curb the liberties and equalities of women by, say, restricting reproductive rights or pushing women out of labour markets)?
- How are diverse concerns such as race and class articulated and reimagined within multitudes constituted largely through gender or feminism?
- How do particular places and spaces foster and/or inhibit collective action for gender equality?
- How do Black feminist movements produce political spaces in relation to feminist agendas?
- How are feminist agendas incorporated into Indigenous movements? How are gender, race and ethnicity linked to these movements?
- What are the benefits and ambivalences of digital technologies for the building of feminist movements? Can digital technologies meaningfully widen participation in feminism?
- What are the lived experiences of women – and particularly Black, Indigenous and Ethnic Minority women – in environmental movements? Are they able to find spaces for non-masculine forms of organizing or do they find themselves within alternative structures of patriarchy? How do environmental activists include/exclude, give voice to/silence, follow/ignore women whose livelihoods are affected by the climate crisis?
- How can feminist researchers gain a thorough and systematic understanding of how anti-feminist movements organize and operate? What are the discourses, tactics and methods of such groups?

- How are mobilisations against anti-feminist movements performed? In particular, how can we interpret these resistance movements as specific responses shaped in the context of illiberal regimes?
- Which methodological innovations can help us better understand feminist social movements? For example, can we re-envisage participant action research, worker inquiry, ethnography and visual and arts-based methods for the fluid and diverse contexts of social movements? Can our methods play a proactive and performative role in enhancing and furthering the effectiveness and longevity of feminist social movements?

Submission Instructions

Submissions should be made electronically through the Scholar One submission system: <https://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/gwo>. Please refer to the Author Guidelines at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/page/journal/14680432/homepage/forauthors.html> prior to submission.

Please select the 'Special Issue' article type on submission and select the relevant Special Issue title from the dropdown list where prompted.

For questions about the submission system please contact the Editorial Office at gwooffice@wiley.com.

For enquiries about the scope of the Special Issue and article suitability, please contact Nela Smolović Jones (n.smolovic-jones@open.ac.uk) directly.

Deadline for submission: 31 August 2021

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